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A
Shakespeare Commentary

Volume I.

A
Shakespeare Commentary

Dates of Composition and First Publication; Sources of the Plots and Detailed Outlines of the Plays; together with the Characters, Place-names, Classical, Geographical, Topographical and curious Historical and Folk Allusions, with glosses; to which are added Appendices, giving Extracts from Holinshed, Plutarch, and the various Romances, Novels, Poems and Histories used by Shakespeare in the formation of the Dramas.

By

ARTHUR E. BAKER

Author of

"A Brief Account of the Public Library Movement in Taunton."

"A Concordance to the Poetical and Dramatic Works of Alfred, Lord Tennyson."

"A Tennyson Dictionary: the Characters and Place-names arranged alphabetically and described, with synopses of the Poems and Plays."

"Official Guide to Taunton."

"A Concordance to Tennyson's 'The Devil and the Lady,'" etc., etc.

VOLUME I.

TAUNTON, ENGLAND
1938

Dear to the Muse is he, and well may claim
The grateful tribute of her sweetest lay ;
Who o'er the tomb of Genius strews the bay.—
Nor does he less deserve the meed of Fame,
Whose pious hand repairs its half lost name,
And broken sculpture, which Time's slow decay
Hath marr'd, or Vandal hands have torn away.—
And such due rites and service as became
The Muses' faithful votary hast thou paid.
For all the treasured rolls of antient lore,
Which deep research, and critic labour aid,
The midnight lamp hath seen thine eye explore,
From them of costly gems a wreath to braid,
To deck his tomb, who sleeps on Avon's shore.

W. B. Busby, *Dean of Rochester.*

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To the Memory
of
My Father

"Optima autem hereditas a patribus traditur liberis, omnique patrimonio præstantior, gloria virtutis, rerumque gestarum; cui dedecori esse, nefas, et impium judicandum est." Cicero: *Offices.*

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NOTE.

This *Commentary* was attempted in the belief that, although so much had been written on and about Shakespeare during the past three centuries, there was still room for a publication of this kind ; and the reception accorded to it and the success achieved have more than justified its publication.

The work was originally announced under the name of *A Shakespeare Dictionary*, but the word *Dictionary* being somewhat misleading, the more comprehensive Title of *A Shakespeare Commentary* has been substituted.

At the outset it was intended to treat the whole of the Plays as a single work in one alphabetical sequence.

Having regard, however, to the expense involved, it was decided to issue it in Parts, each Part to deal with a Play, and to be complete in itself.

By adopting this method of publication, the *Commentary* is placed within the reach of those Shakespeareans who, for pecuniary reasons, would otherwise be unable to purchase a copy of the work.

It also affords the opportunity for Students, as well as the general reader, to obtain any Part or Parts in which they are particularly interested.

The general plan or scheme has been to furnish the Dates of Composition and First Publication ; the Sources of the Plots and detailed Outlines of the Plays ; together with the Characters, Place-names and other words which invite explanation —whether fictitious or historical—created or utilised by the dramatist, with glosses and brief comments from various critics and commentators of Shakespeare ; to which are added Appendices, giving extracts from Holinshed, Plutarch, and the various Romances, Novels, Poems and Histories used by Shakespeare in the creation of the Dramas.

The Classical, Geographical, Topographical and curious Historical and Folk Allusions are explained.

In the Historical Plays attention has been drawn to the Historical inaccuracies, and in the case of the *Dramatis Personæ*, not only is their dramatic action summarised, but short memoirs have been added, for which memoirs I am indebted to *Shakspearana Genealogica*, by George Russell French, published by Messrs. Macmillan and Co., and the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Act, Scene and the Number of the Line where references are to be found are given, thus facilitating the finding of a reference or quotation.*

A List of the principal books consulted or quoted throughout the work is appended, and for the valuable information obtained from them I take this opportunity of expressing my acknowledgments.

The Analytical Index at the end of the last volume covers the whole of the work.

The Text used in the preparation of this *Commentary* is that of the *Arden Edition*, and I desire to thank the publishers—Messrs. Methuen and Co., Ltd.,—for allowing me this privilege.

I should like to express my gratitude to the Rev. M. S. Davies, M.A., of Oxford ; Mr. W. A. Lee, Librarian of the Medical Institution, Liverpool ; and the members of the Taunton Public Library Staff for the valuable assistance they have rendered in the preparation of the work. At the same time I tender appreciation to those who have written me letters of congratulations, which—in a task of considerable difficulty—have been a source of great help and encouragement.

A.E.B.

*Where a name appears in the Stage Directions, the letter "p" (*i.e.* preceding), has been placed immediately before the line reference.

CONTENTS.

PAGES

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF JULIUS CÆSAR 1–32

Date of Composition. Date of First Publication.
Source of the Plot. Outline of the Play.
Characters, Place-Names, etc., with glosses.
Extracts from North's Plutarch. [Skeat's edition.]

AS YOU LIKE IT 33–68

Date of Composition. Date of First Publication.
Source of the Plot. Outline of the Play.
Characters, Place-Names, etc., with glosses.
Extracts from Lodge's "Rosalynde."

THE TRAGEDY OF MACBETH 69–128

Date of Composition. Date of First Publication.
Source of the Plot. Outline of the Play.
Characters, Place-Names, etc., with glosses.
Extracts from Holinshed that illustrate "Macbeth."
Extracts from "The Secret History of Macbeth, King of Scotland."
Extracts from "Notes and Queries": "Trebble scepters," and "The Three Witches."
Dr. Forman's Account of the performance of "Macbeth" at which he was present at the Globe Theatre, on the 20th April, 1610.

THE TEMPEST 129–176

Date of Composition. Date of First Publication.
Source of the Plot. Outline of the Play.
Characters, Place-Names, etc., with glosses.
"A Discovery of the Barmvdas, otherwise called the Ile of Divels." By Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Sommers, and Captayne Newport, with diuers others.
Ayrer's "Comedy of the Beautiful Sidea." [from "Cohn's Shakespeare in Germany."]
"Search for the Island of Lampedusa." [from "Harington's "Ariosto."]
Extract from Stirling's "Tragedy of Darius."
The Origin of the "Speech of Gonzalo." [from Florio's "Essayes of Michael Lord of Montaigne."]
Reference to Thomas's "Historye of Italye."
Extract from Hakluyt's "Principal Navigations," etc.

THE TRAGEDY OF HAMLET, PRINCE OF DENMARK 177–244

Date of Composition. Date of First Publication.
Source of the Plot. Outline of the Play.
Characters, Place-Names, etc., with glosses.
Extracts from the "Hystorie of Hamblet, Prince of Denmarke."
"Fratricide Punished; or, Prince Hamlet of Denmark." [from Cohn's "Shakespeare in Germany."]

PAGES

THE TRAGEDY OF KING LEAR 245–300

Date of Composition. Date of First Publication.
Source of the Plot. Outline of the Play.
Characters, Place-Names, etc., with glosses.
" The Story of King Lear and his Three Daughters." [from " Histories of the Kings of Britain," by Geoffrey of Monmouth.]
" The Story of King Lear and his Daughters." [from " Gesta Romanorum."]
Extract from Spenser's " Faerie Queene."
" The Story of Queene Cordila." By John Higgins. [from " The Mirrour for Magistrates."]
" A Lamentable Song of the Death of King Leir and his Three Daughters."
" The Account of Lear, Tenth Ruler of Britain." [from Holinshed.]
Extract from Camden's " Remains concerning Britain."
" The Story of the Paphalgonian Unkind King." [from Sidney's " Arcadia."]

LIFE AND DEATH OF KING JOHN 301–348

Date of Composition. Date of First Publication.
Source of the Plot. Outline of the Play.
Characters, Place-Names, etc., with glosses.
" The Troublesome Reign of John, King of England." Table of Correspondence between " The Troublesome Reign " and Shakspere's " King John."

THE MERCHANT OF VENICE 349–408

Date of Composition. Date of First Publication.
Source of the Plot. Outline of the Play.
Characters, Place-Names, etc., with glosses.
" The Story of the choice of Three Caskets." [from " Gesta Romanorum."]
" The Adventures of Giannetto." [from the " Pecorone of Ser Giovanni Fiorentino."]
Extract from " Cursor Mundi."
" Of a Jew, who would for his debt have a pound of the flesh of a Christian." [from the " Orator " of Alex. Silvayn.]
" Gernutus the Jew of Venice." A Song.
" The Northern Lord." A Song.

THE TRAGEDY OF KING RICHARD THE SECOND 409–482

Date of Composition. Date of First Publication.
Source of the Plot. Outline of the Play.
Characters, Place-Names, etc., with glosses.
Dr. Forman's Account of the performance of " Richard the Second " at which he was present at the Globe Theatre, on the 30th of April, 1611.
Extracts from Holinshed that illustrate " King Richard the Second."

PAGES

THE FIRST PART OF KING HENRY THE FOURTH 483–554

Date of Composition. Date of First Publication.
Source of the Plot. Outline of the Play.
Characters, Place-Names, etc., with glosses.
Extracts from Holinshed that illustrate "The First Part of King Henry the Fourth."
Extracts from "The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth, conteining the Honorable Battell of Agincourt," that illustrate the Comic Scenes in "The First Part of King Henry the Fourth."

THE SECOND PART OF KING HENRY THE FOURTH 555–622

Date of Composition. Date of First Publication.
Source of the Plot. Outline of the Play.
Characters, Place-Names, etc., with glosses.
Extracts from Holinshed that illustrate "The Second Part of King Henry the Fourth."
Extracts from "The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth, conteining the Honorable Battell of Agincourt," utilised by Shakespeare in "The Second Part of King Henry the Fourth."
Extracts from "The Annales; or, Generall Chronicle of England." By Iohn Stow, continued by Edmond Howes.

THE LIFE OF KING HENRY THE FIFTH 623–710

Date of Composition. Date of First Publication.
Source of the Plot. Outline of the Play.
Characters, Place-Names, etc., with glosses.
Extracts from Holinshed that illustrate "The Life of King Henry the Fifth."
Extracts from "The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth, conteining the Honorable Battell of Agincourt," utilised by Shakespeare in "The Life of King Henry the Fifth."

THE FIRST PART OF KING HENRY THE SIXTH 711–794

Date of Composition. Date of First Publication.
Source of the Plot. Outline of the Play.
Characters, Place-Names, etc., with glosses.
Extracts from Holinshed that illustrate "The First Part of King Henry the Sixth."
"The Death of Henry V." (1422). [from Monstrelet's "Chronicles."]

THE SECOND PART OF KING HENRY THE SIXTH 795–878

Date of Composition. Date of First Publication.
Source of the Plot. Outline of the Play.
Characters, Place-Names, etc., with glosses.
Extracts from Holinshed that illustrate "The Second Part of King Henry the Sixth."
"The Manifesto issued by Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York from Ludlow Castle to the burgesses of Shrewsbury, denouncing Somerset, the 3rd February, 1452." [from "Historical Letters," edited by Sir H. Ellis.]

PAGES

THE THIRD PART OF KING HENRY THE SIXTH 879–966

Date of Composition. Date of First Publication.
Source of the Plot. Outline of the Play.
Characters, Place-Names, etc., with glosses.
Extracts from Holinshed that illustrate "The Third Part of King Henry the Sixth."
Richard, Duke of York nominated next heir to Henry VI.
Queen Margaret's Proclamation for Musters.
Extract from "The Act of Attainder of the 1st Edward IV., passed against the Lancastrians who had taken part in the second Battle of St. Alban's, the Battle of Wakefield, and the Battle of Towton."
Extract from "The Act of Attainder of 14th Edward IV., passed against some of the Lancastrians who had taken part in the Battles of Barnet, Tewkesbury, etc."

GENEALOGICAL TABLE

The Family of Edward III., and the Houses of Lancaster and York.

TO THE READER.

"Faultes efcaped in the Printing, correcte with your pennes; omitted by my neglygence, ouerflippe with patience: committed by ignoraunce, remit with fauour."

Lyly, *Euphues and His England*, To the Gentlemen Readers.

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The Life and Death of Julius Cæsar

Written 1600-1601. **Published** 1623.

Source of the Plot. Shakespeare produced the historical materials for the play from the lives of Cæsar, of Brutus, and of Antony in North's translation of *Plutarch*. The only external evidence of the play is contained in a passage from Weever's *Mirror of Martyrs* published in 1601:

> The many-headed multitude were drawne
> By Brutus' speech, that Cæsar was ambitious;
> When eloquent Mark Antonie had showne
> His virtues, who but Brutus then was vicious?

Weever in writing these lines had evidently seen or read Shakespeare's play.

Outline of the Play. A band of plebeians are making holiday in the streets of Rome to celebrate the victory of Cæsar over the sons of Pompey. Images of Cæsar are set up in the city, with diadems upon their heads like kings. These are pulled down by the tribunes Flavius and Marullus, who rebuke the people for their actions, whereupon the crowd disperses.

Cæsar goes to Rome to celebrate an ancient Roman festival—Lupercalia—held in honour of Lupercus the god of fertility. It is represented by Shakespeare as taking place on the 15th February, 44 B.C. On his journey a soothsayer warns Cæsar to take heed of the ides of March, as on that day he will be in great danger:

> *Sooth.* Beware the ides of March.
> *Cæs.* What man is that?
> *Bru.* A soothsayer bids you beware the ides of March.

whereupon Cæsar replies:

> He is a dreamer; let us leave him: pass.

Brutus and Cassius absent themselves from the feast of Lupercalia. They enter into conversation, and conspire for Cæsar's destruction. Cæsar in his remarks to Antony is suspicious of Cassius:

> Let me have men about mé that are fat;
> Sleek-headed men and such as sleep a-nights.
> Yond Cassius has a lean and hungry look;
> He thinks too much: such men are dangerous.
> . . . . . .
> Would he were fatter! But I fear him not:
> Yet if my name were liable to fear,
> I do not know the man I should avoid
> So soon as that spare Cassius.

Cassius instils into the mind of Brutus the reason for his hatred of Cæsar—the covetous desire he has to be called king. He shows Brutus the danger of so much power being vested in the hands of one man. Brutus listens with sympathy to his views, and promises to consider the matter:

> What you have said
> I will consider; what you have to say
> I will with patience hear, and find a time
> Both meet to hear and answer such high things.

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Cæsar returns from the feast with his train. Casca leaves the procession, joins Brutus and Cassius, and narrates what happened at the feast. He tells them that Cæsar has been thrice offered a crown by Antony, and he seemed as if he would have been pleased to accept it, each time refusing it more gently than before:

> he put it by thrice,
> every time gentler than other; and at every
> putting-by mine honest neighbours shouted.

Casca is now drawn by Cassius into the conspiracy against Cæsar—Cinna having already joined it—and it is decided to murder Cæsar for the good of Rome and liberty.

Under cover of darkness Cassius and other conspirators come to Brutus' house, and it is resolved to slay Cæsar at the meeting of the Senate next day. When the conspirators depart, Portia—Brutus' wife—notices her husband's nervous manner, and asks him why he is so changed of late. He promises to tell her on the morrow the cause of his sad brows.

On the morning chosen for the murder, Cæsar's wife, Calpurnia, entreats him not to go out of doors that day, but to adjourn the meeting of the Senate until another day, as during the stormy night she has been warned of danger by many evil omens, and dreaming that Cæsar was slain. His wife remarks:

> When beggars die, there are no comets seen;
> The heavens themselves blaze forth the death of
> princes.

to which Cæsar replies:

> Cowards die many times before their deaths;
> The valiant never taste of death but once.
> Of all the wonders that I yet have heard,
> It seems to me most strange that men should
> fear;
> Seeing that death, a necessary end,
> Will come when it will come.

Yielding to his wife's entreaties and fearing the unfavourable reports from the soothsayer, Cæsar decides not to go to the Senate, but on the entry of Decius Brutus, one of the conspirators—who fears that if Cæsar adjourns the Session that day the conspiracy will be betrayed—he is persuaded to change his mind. Decius reproves Cæsar, saying:

> Besides, it were a
> mock
> Apt to be render'd, for some one to say
> 'Break up the senate till another time,
> When Cæsar's wife shall meet with better dreams.'
> If Cæsar hide himself, shall they not whisper
> 'Lo! Cæsar is afraid'?

and mentions that:

> the senate have concluded
> To give this day a crown to mighty Cæsar.

Cæsar proceeds to the Senate accompanied by a number of Senators—including the chief conspirators—all being apparently friendly. Arriving at the Senate-

House, he sees Artemidorus, a soothsayer, among the crowd of people, and remarks:

The ides of March are come.

the soothsayer answering:

Ay, Cæsar; but not gone.

In vain does Artemidorus endeavour to persuade Cæsar to read the schedule he has drawn up warning him of his danger, but with the words:

What touches us ourself, shall be last serv'd.

Cæsar puts him aside and goes up into the Senate-House. The conspirators surround him, and,—as has been arranged—Metellus Cimber urges the recall of his brother Publius from banishment. Cæsar refuses Cimber's petition. Brutus, Cassius and other conspirators intercede on Cimber's behalf, but their intercession proving fruitless, the signal for Cæsar's murder is given by Casca, who standing behind him, stabs him in the back.

Confusion follows Cæsar's murder, the conspirators dip their hands and swords in his blood, and afterwards march to the market-place where Brutus addresses the populace and gives reasons for Cæsar's death. Antony, in a pathetic speech over Cæsar's corpse, stirs up the people against the conspirators. The people intend to burn Cæsar's body in the Forum, afterwards setting fire to the conspirators' houses:

Come, away, away!
We'll burn his body in the holy place,
And with the brands fire the traitors' houses.

Brutus and Cassius leave Rome in all possible haste riding "like madmen through the gates of Rome."

Antony, Octavius, and Lepidus form an alliance, known as the Second Triumvirate, and after dividing the three-fold world between them, decide whom they shall include in the lists to be put to death as enemies of the State. They also decide to raise forces to oppose Brutus and Cassius.

Brutus and Cassius with their armies arrive at Sardis, and after some discussion decide to cross to Philippi. The same night Brutus sees Cæsar's ghost, who tells him he will meet him at Philippi.

Brutus and Cassius are defeated at Philippi. Thinking all is lost, Cassius asks Pindarus to slay him. He dies exclaiming:

Cæsar, thou art
reveng'd,
Even with the sword that kill'd thee.

Fortune goes against Brutus, and rather than be taken prisoner, he commits suicide. Thus the murder of Cæsar is avenged.

The events of the play extend over a period of two and a half years. It opens in February, 44 B.C., the murder of Cæsar took place on the 15th March of the same year, the meeting of the triumvirs was held in the autumn of 43 B.C., and the battle of Philippi was fought in September, 42 B.C.

Scene: During a great part of the play, at Rome; afterwards at Sardis and near Philippi.

CHARACTERS, PLACE NAMES, &c.

Æneas. I. ii. 111.

> I, as Æneas, our great ancestor,
> Did from the flames of Troy upon his shoulder
> The old Anchises bear, [I. ii. 111-113.]

Son of Anchises and Venus. When Troy was taken and the city burned by the Greeks he escaped through the flames, carried off his father on his shoulders, set sail, and finally landed at Latium in Italy, where he built the city of Lavinium, hence he is claimed as the founder of the Roman race. He married the daughter of Latinus, king of the country.

> Until they had intelligence at the length, [at last] that the enemies had laid siege to the city of Lavinium, in the which were all the temples and images of their gods their protectors, and from whence came first their ancient original, for that Æneas at his first arrival into Italy did build that city. North's *Plutarch.*

Cf. 2 *Henry VI.* V. ii. 62-65.

> As did Æneas old Anchises bear,
> So bear I thee upon my manly shoulders;
> But then Æneas bare a living load,
> Nothing so heavy as these woes of mine.

Æneas is the hero of Virgil's *Æneid*, which celebrates the foundation of Rome.

Anchises. I. ii. 113.

King of Dardanus on mount Ida, father of Æneas and the founder of Ilium or Troy. After the fall of Troy, he was, according to legend, carried out of the city on the shoulders of his son Æneas, and after sharing his son's wanderings over the sea died in Sicily, and was buried on mount Eryx. Homer's *Iliad*, the Homeric *Hymn to Aphroditè*, and Virgil's *Æneid* give his story.

Antonius, Marcus. I. ii. 3, 4, 6, 188; I. iii. 37.

Better known as Mark Antony, a most devoted friend and adherent of Cæsar.

He was tribune for the year 49 B.C., and consul in 44 B.C., when he offered the crown to Cæsar at the feast of the Lupercalia.

At the battle of Pharsalia he commanded the left wing of Cæsar's army.

He was hated by Cassius who suggested to Brutus that Antony should be put to death at the same time as Cæsar. Brutus opposed the idea as Antony

> can do no more than Cæsar's arm
> When Cæsar's head is off. [II. i. 182-183.]

His consistent loyalty to Cæsar was shown even after the latter's death:

> Thou art the ruins of the noblest man
> That ever lived in the tide of times.
> [III. i. 256-257.]

and

> My heart is in the coffin there with Cæsar,
> And I must pause till it come back to me.
> [III. ii. 114-115.]

After Cæsar's assassination he obtained permission from Brutus to address the people, and in an artful and pathetic speech, during which he exhibited to the populace the dead body of Cæsar, he stirred up the people against the conspirators, with the result that there was a general shout of "traitors" and "revenge."

> *First Citizen.* O piteous spectacle!
> *Second Citizen.* O noble Cæsar!
> *Third Citizen.* O woful day!
> *Fourth Citizen.* O traitors! villains!
> *First Citizen.* O most bloody sight!
> *Second Citizen.* We will be revenged.
> *Citizens.* Revenge!—About!—Seek!—Burn!—Fire!
> Kill!—Slay!—Let not a traitor live.
> [III. ii. 205-212.]

and the climax being reached, Antony exclaimed as if almost in complete satisfaction:

> Now let it work. Mischief, thou art afoot,
> Take thou what course thou wilt!
> [III. ii. 267-268.]

Along with Octavius Cæsar and Lepidus he formed the Second Triumvirate, and, after dividing the three-fold world between them, they put to death all those who were

unfriendly to them. At the battle of Philippi he defeated the army of Cassius:

> After that, these three, Octavius Cæsar, Antonius, and Lepidus, made an agreement between themselves, and by those articles divided the provinces belonging to the empire of Rome among themselves, and did set up bills [lists] of proscription and outlawry, condemning two hundred of the noblest men of Rome to suffer death, and among that number Cicero was one.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Antonius on the other side overthrew Cassius in battle, though some write that he was not there himself at the battle, but that he came after the overthrow, whilst his men had the enemies in chase. North's *Plutarch.*

His character, more fully developed and more complex, together with the story of his fall, is given by Shakespeare in his *Antony and Cleopatra.*

Antony.

Antony, Mark. I. ii. 28, 201, 230, 234; II. i. 156, 161, 165, 181; II. ii. 52, 55, 116, 117; III. i. 26, 96, 122, 124, 130, 133, 137, 147, 164, 173, 197, 211, 225, 231, 233, 238, 244, 277; III. ii. 47, 64, 66, 69, 70, 72, 79, 124, 146, 156, 173, 214, 234, 241; IV. i. 3, 5; IV. iii. 92, 152, 167, 173; V. i. 23, 32, 37, 63; V. iii. 8, 10, 53; V. iv. 16, 20; V. v. 37. *See* Antonius, Marcus.

Antony's, A Friend of. III. i. 122.

After Cæsar's assassination the conspirators, according to Plutarch, retired to the Capitol, whither they were followed by Antony's son.

> Brutus and his confederates on the other side, being yet hot with this murther [murder] they had committed, having their swords drawn in their hands, came all in a troup together out of the Senate and went into the market-place, not as men that made countenance to fly, but otherwise boldly holding up their heads like men of courage, and called to the people to defend their liberty, and stayed to speak with every great personage whom they met in their way.
>
> North's *Plutarch.*

Artemidorus. II. iii. 10.

Of Gnidos, son of the historian Theopompus, a doctor of rhetoric in the Greek tongue, who was very familar with the confederates of Brutus and knew the greater part of their practices against Cæsar. As Cæsar was going to the Senate he handed him a document written by himself, containing an account of the conspiracy, which the dictator put with other papers which he held in his hand, thinking it of no material consequence:

> *Cæsar, beware of Brutus; take heed of Cassius; come not near Casca; have an eye to Cinna; trust not Trebonius; mark well Metellus Cimber; Decius Brutus loves thee not; thou hast wronged Caius Ligarius. There is but one mind in all these men, and it is bent against Cæsar. If thou be'st not immortal, look about you: security gives way to conspiracy. The mighty gods defend thee! Thy lover,*
>
> *Artemidorus.* [II. iii. 1-10.]

> And one Artemidorus also, born in the isle of Gnidos, a doctor of rhetoric in the Greek tongue, who by means of his profession was very familiar with certain of Brutus' confederates, and therefore knew the most part of all their practices [plots] against Cæsar, came and brought him a little bill, [scroll] written with his own hand, of all that he meant to tell him. He, marking how Cæsar received all the supplications that were offered him, and that he gave them straight [at once] to his men that were about him, pressed nearer to him, and said: "Cæsar, read this memorial to yourself, and that quickly, for they be matters of great weight, and touch you nearly." North's *Plutarch.*

When Cæsar proceeded to the Senate accompanied by a group of Senators, Artemidorus begged of him to read his humble suit first, to which Cæsar replied

> What! is the fellow mad? [III. i. 10.]

Ate. III. i. 271.

> With Ate by his side come hot from hell, [III. i. 271.]

In Greek mythology the goddess of vengeance, daughter of Zeus and Eris, the goddess of Discord. She plays the same part here as the Furies in Greek tragedy, who were represented as living in the lower world. For her propensity to lead men into

rash acts Jupiter took her by the hair and hurled her from Olympus to earth, where she continued to work mischief. Cf. *King John*, II. i. 63: "An Ate, stirring him to blood and strife;" In *Much Ado about Nothing*, II i. 227, Benedick describes Beatrice as "the infernal Ate in good apparel."

Attendants.

Brutus. I. ii. 157; I. iii. 146.

> There was a Brutus once that would have brook'd
> The eternal devil to keep his state in Rome,
> As easily as a king. [I. ii. 157-159.]

Lucius Junius Brutus the first Roman Consul, who took a leading part in the expulsion of Tarquinius Superbus, the last king who ruled in Rome, and in turning the kingdom into a republic. Afterwards, as Consul, he condemned to death his own sons for attempting to restore the kingdom. From him the Marcus Brutus of the play claimed descent.

Brutus, Decius. I. iii. 148; II. i. 95, 155; II. ii. 57, 63, 68; II. iii. 4; III. i. 187; III. iii. 39.

The organizer of the fleet with which Cæsar defeated the Veneti in Brittany 57 B.C., and who, in Cæsar's campaign against Pompey undertook the siege of Marseilles.

Not having, in his opinion received a sufficient share of the prizes of conquest for his services to Cæsar, he became discontented, and joined in the conspiracy.

It was Decius who asked Cassius:

> Shall no man else be touch'd but only Cæsar?
> [II. i. 154.]

and who worked on the weaker side of Cæsar, luring him to his death:

> But when I tell him he hates flatterers,
> He says he does, being then most flattered.
> [II. i. 207-208.]

When Cæsar decided, after listening to his wife's entreaties, not to go to the Senate House, Decius entered and persuaded him to change his mind. Cæsar condescended to explain to him that his wife was terrified by an ominous dream, and he had consented for her sake to remain at home.

> But in the mean time came Decius Brutus, surnamed Albinus, in whom Cæsar put such confidence, that in his last will and testament he had appointed him to be his next heir, and yet was of the conspiracy with Cassius and Brutus: he, fearing that if Cæsar did adjourn the session that day, the conspiracy would be betrayed, laughed at the soothsayers. North's *Plutarch.*

Decius, however, interpreted the dream favourably to Cæsar, and mentioned that

> the senate have concluded
> To give this day a crown to mighty Cæsar.
> [II. ii. 93-94.]

He reproved Cæsar, saying:

> that he gave the Senate occasion to mislike with him, and that they might think he mocked them, considering that by his commandment they were assembled, and that they were ready willingly to grant him all things, and to proclaim him king of all his provinces of the Empire of Rome out of Italy, and that he should wear his diadem in all other places both by sea and land.
> North's *Plutarch.*

and that probably they would change their minds if he remained away, and if the reason came to be known attribute his absence to fear:

> If you shall send them word you will not come,
> Their minds may change. Besides, it were a mock
> Apt to be render'd, for some one to say
> 'Break up the senate till another time,
> When Cæsar's wife shall meet with better dreams.'
> If Cæsar hide himself, shall they not whisper
> 'Lo! Cæsar is afraid'? [II. ii. 95-101.]

> And furthermore, that if any man should tell them from him they should [were to] depart for that present time, and return again when Calpurnia should have better dreams, what would his enemies and ill-willers [evil-wishers] say, and how could they like of [approve] his friends' words? . . . Therewithal he took Cæsar by the hand, and brought him out of his house.
> North's *Plutarch.*

Decius was present at Cæsar's assassination. He was killed in Gaul by Antony in 43 B.C.

Brutus, Marcus. I. ii. 31, 45, 47, 50, 54, 59, 61, 65, 70, 89, 138, 139, 140, 145, 170, 175, 313, 318, 319; I. iii. 141, 144, 154; II. i. 46, 48, 58, 87, 221, 234, 237, 255, 258, 261 263, 267, 279, 280, 287, 293, 316, 334; II. ii. 110, 129; II. iii. 1; II. iv. 40, 42; III. i. 20, 25, 54, 75, 84, 120, 123, 126 ,128, 130, 134,

135, 185, 232; III. ii. 8, 11, 20, 22, 40, 42, 55, 59, 62, 73, 74, 76, 85, 89, 90, 94, 95, 101, 102, 106, 108, 131, 183, 187, 188, 224, 233, 234, 238, 275; III. iii. 38; IV. i. 40; IV. ii. 40; IV. iii. 13, 28, 55, 79, 84, 86, 113, 117, 121, 134, 161, 234, 237, 281; V. i. 30, 45, 58, 93, 112, 120; V. iii. 5, 52, 74, 77, 86, 87; V. iv. 7, 8, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 25, 26, 30; V. v. 11, 39, 56, 58, 60.

Marcus Junius Brutus, a descendant of Lucius Junius Brutus, brought up by his uncle Cato in the principles of the aristocratic party. He took the side of Pompey against Cæsar at Pharsalia. After the battle he was pardoned by the conqueror, who treated him with the greatest favour, and who, in B.C., 44 appointed him to the office of Prætor Urbanus, yet he became the chief conspirator against him, being persuaded by Cassius and others that Cæsar was not content to be a citizen of the republic, but was aiming at the overthrow of it, and for the title of a king.

He is portrayed by Shakespeare as the chief character in the play, and endowed with every quality of a true patriot. He loved Cæsar much, but he loved Rome and liberty more, and for the good of these was prepared to sacrifice his dearest friend.

> It must be by his death: and for my part,
> I know no personal cause to spurn at him,
> But for the general. [II. i. 10-12.]

In ordinary circumstances he acquitted himself always creditably, but proved incapable of dealing with such a dangerous undertaking as the conspiracy against Cæsar, and the mistakes he made led to his downfall.

Cassius suggested to Brutus that Antony should also be put to death; but Brutus, in allowing him to live, and also to make a funeral oration over Cæsar's dead body, made two fatal mistakes. He was recognised by Cæsar among the conspirators as a party to his death, after which he was obliged with Cassius "to ride like madmen through the gates of Rome."

As a general in the battles at Philippi he appeared to have made several blunders, with the result that he was defeated by Antony and Augustus.

The poet portrays him as a man of nervous temperament, a student rather than a man of affairs, and a sudden call to action was sufficient to deprive him of his sleep.

Previous to Cæsar's assassination his nervous manner was the cause of much anxiety to his wife Portia, who asked him why he was so changed of late. He at first refused to tell her, thinking that the secret was one with which for her own sake she should not be trusted, but afterwards promised to tell her on the morrow the cause of his sad brows. His conversation with his wife is supposed to be one of the finest scenes in literature. *See* Act II., Scene i., lines 233-309.

Brutus quarrelled with Cassius at Sardis, but showed his magnanimity in acknowledging to Cassius that he had been ill-tempered, and called for a bowl of wine in which to pledge their reconciliation, even when he was almost broken-hearted concerning Portia's death.

He was tender-hearted, and one of the finest passages throughout the play is that in which Brutus is shown to be so gentle and considerate towards his servant Lucius—a mere boy—who had fallen asleep in his tent, and although the morning of battle was drawing near, Brutus, who could plunge a dagger into Cæsar, cared not to wake the sleeping boy:

> *Bru.* I should not urge thy duty past thy might;
> I know young bloods look for a time of rest.
> *Luc.* I have slept, my lord, already.
> *Bru.* It was well done, and thou shalt sleep again;
> I will not hold thee long: if I do live,
> I will be good to thee. [IV. iii. 260-265.]

His life closes in the same fine strain:

> Farewell to you; and you; and you, Volumnius.
> Strato, thou hast been all this while asleep;
> Farewell to thee too, Strato. Countrymen,
> My heart doth joy that yet in all my life
> I found no man but he was true to me.
> [V. v. 31-35.]

Following the example of Cassius, Brutus died by his own hand. Octavius ordered that the body should remain that night in his tent, and afterwards be entombed

> With all respect and rites of burial. [V. v. 77.]

Having so said, he prayed every man to shift for himself, and then he went a little aside with two or three only, among the which Strato was one, with whom he came first acquainted by the study of rhetoric. He came as near to him as he could, and taking his sword by the hilt with both his hands, and falling down upon the point of it, ran himself through. Others say that not he, but Strato (at his request) held the sword in his hand, and turned his head aside, and that Brutus fell down upon it, and so ran himself through, and died presently. [forthwith.]

North's *Plutarch* (*Marcus Brutus.*)

Thereupon Brutus, knowing that he should die, did put himself to all hazard in battle, but yet fighting could not be slain. So seeing his men put to flight and overthrown, he ran unto a little rock not far off, and there setting his sword's point to his breast, fell upon it and slew himself; but yet, as it is reported, with the help of his friend that despatched him.

North's *Plutarch* (*Julius Cæsar.*)

Cæsar. V. i. 54, 56.

or till another Cæsar
Have added slaughter to the sword of traitors.
[V. i. 54-55.]

i.e., Octavius, who had assumed the name of Caius Julius Cæsar Octavius.

Cæsar, Julius. I. i. 35, 74, 77; I. ii. 2, 5, 10, 12, 17, 21, 59, 78, 96, 101, 110, 114, 117, 132, 139, 145, 147, 176, 181, 188, 193, 209, 214, 246, 247, 251, 255, 258, 277, 290, 318, 325, 326; I. iii. 1, 36, 79, 86, 103, 111; II. i. 19, 27, 61, 154, 156, 157, 161, 165, 167, 169, 170,, 171, 182, 183, 184, 186, 187, 194; II. ii. 3, 8, 10, 12, 13, 25, 28, 29, 42, 44, 45, 48, 58, 65, 68, 69, 94, 99, 100, 101, 102, 109, 112, 114, 118, 124, 128; II. iii. 1, 7, 11, 15; II. iv. 15, 24, 27, 28, 29, 34, 38, 43; III. i. 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 18, 21, 24, 28, 32, 33, 40, 47, 50, 52, 55, 56, 73, 74, 77, 87, 104, 106, 114, 127, 129, 132, 133, 148, 154, 162, 172, 182, 194, 203, 213, 214, 219, 222, 225, 237, 240, 244, 247, 270, 278, 281; III. ii. 8, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 42, 58, 59, 65, 66, 77, 82, 85, 86, 88, 92, 98, 99, 114, 116, 126, 136, 139, 147, 149, 151, 156, 160, 165, 178, 185, 188, 189, 191, 196, 203, 206, 232, 236, 243, 247, 250, 251, 259, 271; III. iii. 1, 21; IV. i. 7,; IV. iii. 19, 58, 104; V. i. 24, 31, 32, 40, 42, 44, 53, 56; V. iii. 42, 45, 94; V. v. 17, 50, 70.

The Cæsar of the play is in some respects entirely different from the Cæsar of history. Known in history as a great general, statesman, orator, and historian, he is nevertheless portrayed by Shakespeare as weak, easy to be moved by flattery, and on several occasions arrogant and boastful:

I rather tell thee what is to be fear'd
Than what I fear, for always I am Cæsar.
[I. ii. 208-209.]

But I am constant as the northern star,
Of whose true-fix'd and resting quality
There is no fellow in the firmament.
[III. i. 60-62.]

His language in the Senate previous to his assassination showed arrogance and haughtiness:

When they had decreed divers honours for him in the Senate, the Consuls and Prætors, accompanied with the whole assembly of the Senate, went unto him in the market-place, where he was set by the pulpit for orations, to tell him what honours they had decreed for him in his absence. But he, sitting still in his majesty, disdaining to rise up unto them when they came in, as if they had been private men, answered them: 'that his honours had more need to be cut off than enlarged.' This did not only offend the Senate but the common people also, to see that he should so lightly esteem of the magistrates of the commonwealth:

North's *Plutarch.*

and his refusal at the meeting of the Senate to repeal the banishment of Publius Cimber —brother to Metellus—led to his death a number of nobles carrying their conspiracy into execution on the Ides of March, 44 B C.

Then part of Brutus' company and confederates stood round about Cæsar's chair, and part of them also came towards him, as though they made suit with Metellus Cimber, to call home his brother again from banishment: . . Who denying their petitions, ... Metellus at length, taking his gown with both his hands, pulled it over his neck, which was the sign given the confederates to set upon him.

North's *Plutarch.*

For dramatic purposes Shakespeare represents him as spoiled by his long-continued

victorious career, and the reception of the greatest honours and highest offices possible to be conferred upon him. His very bearing showed that he was no longer fitted to be merely a citizen of a great republic. He was also shown as weak and easily moved by flattery. One of his conspirators, Decius, worked on this trait in his character:

> But when I tell him he hates flatterers,
> He says he does, being then most flattered.
> [II. i. 207-208.]

The good fortune which attended him in his wars caused him to be excessively self-confident, on many occasions endangering his life in a most reckless manner, utterly crushing his enemies on almost all occasions, until almost the entire Roman world lay at his feet.

Cæsar, Octavius. III. i. 276, 289, 296; III. ii. 269, 278; IV. i. 18, 29, 40; IV. iii. 92, 152, 167, 173; V. i. 16, 29; V. ii. 4; V. iii. 6, 51; V. iv. 31; V. v. 37, 66.

Called at first Caius Octavius and afterwards Caius Julius Cæsar Octavianus, though better known under his later name Augustus; nephew of Julius Cæsar.

He was sent by Cæsar in 45 B.C., to Appollonia in Illyricum, where some legions were quartered in order to acquire a thorough training in military affairs. When the news of his uncle's murder reached him he returned to Italy forthwith, and on arriving learnt that Cæsar had adopted him in his will and made him his heir, in consequence of which he assumed the name of Cæsar.

Joined the republican party on Cæsar's death, became Consul, and, with Antony and Lepidus, formed the Second Triumvirate.

> After that, these three, Octavius Cæsar, Antonius, and Lepidus, made an agreement between themselves, and by those articles divided the provinces belonging to the empire of Rome among themselves, and did set up bills [lists] of proscription and outlawry, condemning two hundred of the noblest men of Rome to suffer death, and among that number Cicero was one.
> North's *Plutarch.*

He carried on the work begun by his uncle, perhaps not with so much genius, but with a far greater prudence, particularly noticeable in one so young.

> 'Thy youth, Augustus, and thy tongue's good gift,
> Thy valour, wisdom, and thy worthy feats,
> Thy country's love, thy laws and statutes, lift
> Thy throne above all other princely seats.'

Along with Antony he overthrew Brutus and Cassius at Philippi, thus avenging Cæsar's murder. His wisdom in taking the faithful followers of Brutus into his service after the battle showed an excellent stroke of policy.

In 27 B.C., the Senate voted him the title of Augustus. He was the first and greatest of the emperors of Rome, being founder of the Roman Empire.

The concluding portion of his life and character will appear in *Antony and Cleopatra.*

Cæsar's angel. III. ii. 188.

> For Brutus, as you know, was Cæsar's angel:
> [III. ii. 188.]

Among the Romans the belief was that either a good or evil spirit attended a man through life; the allusion here is to the good angel.

Cæsar's blood. III. i. 106.

> Stoop, Romans, stoop,
> And let us bathe our hands in Cæsar's blood
> Up to the elbows, and besmear our swords:
> [III. i. 105-107.]

The bathing of their hands in Cæsar's blood was an acknowledgment of their (the conspirators) responsibility for the assassination, as well as a fulfilment of Calpurnia's dream:

> She (Calpurnia) dream'd to-night she saw my statue,
> Which, like a fountain with an hundred spouts,
> Did run pure blood; and many lusty Romans
> Came smiling, and did bathe their hands in it.
> [II. ii. 76-79.]

According to Plutarch, "the conspirators went with bloody hands and naked swords to the Capitol, but does not describe them as deliberately washing their hands in their victim's blood."

Cæsar's friends. III. i. 104.

> So are we Cæsar's friends, that have abridg'd
> His time of fearing death. [III. i. 104-105.]

This thought gives some satisfaction to the mind of Brutus. Macmillan (*Arden Shakespeare*).

Cæsar's images. I. i. 290.

I could tell you more news too;
Marullus and Flavius, for pulling scarfs off
Cæsar's images, are put to silence.
[I. ii. 288-290.]

An allusion to the diadems placed on the images of Cæsar in the city of Rome. These diadems were pulled down by the Tribunes Marullus and Flavius, and Cæsar deprived them of their Tribuneships in consequence:

> After that, there were set up images of Cæsar in the city, with diadems upon their heads like kings. Those the two tribunes, Flavius and Marullus, went and pulled down, . . . Cæsar was so offended withal, that he deprived Marullus and Flavius of their tribuneships. North's *Plutarch.*

Cæsar's three-and-thirty wounds. III. ii. 232; V. i. 53.

When think you that the sword goes up again?
Never, till Cæsar's three-and-thirty wounds
Be well aveng'd; [V. i. 52-54.]

Plutarch gives the number of wounds received by Cæsar as twenty-three:

> For it is reported, that he had three and twenty wounds upon his body: and divers of the conspirators did hurt themselves, striking one body with so many blows. North's *Plutarch.*

In Beaumont and Fletcher we are told that the number was thirty-two:

Mar. So Cæsar fell, when in the capitol
They gave his body two-and-thirty wounds.
Be warned, all ye peers; and, by my fall,
Hereafter learn to let your wives rule all!

Beaumont and Fletcher: *Noble Gentleman, V. i.*

Cæsar's trophies. I. i. 74.

let no images
Be hung with Cæsar's trophies. [I. i. 73-74.]

Ornaments in honour of Cæsar. Symbols of victory; originally a monument erected on a battle-field at the point where the enemy had been put to flight. It was decorated with captured arms. Cf. I. ii. 288-290: "I could tell you more news too; Marullus and Flavius, for pulling scarfs off Cæsar's images, are put to silence."

Cæsar's wing. I. i. 77.

These growing feathers pluck'd from Cæsar's wing
Will make him fly an ordinary pitch, [I. i. 77-78.]

By plucking from Cæsar's wing these feathers [i.e. power] that are growing so fast they would lower his pride. *Pitch* is a technical term in falconry, and means the height to which a falcon soars before swooping down upon its prey.

Caius. II. i. 166.

= Cassius (q.v.)

Caius. II. i. 314, 329.

= Ligarius (q.v.)

Calpurnia. I. ii. 1, 3, 7, 183; II. ii. 2, 75, 90, 105.

The last wife of Julius Cæsar and daughter of the consul Piso. One of the few female characters of the play:

> And shortly after also, Cæsar self [himself] did marry Calphurnia, the daughter of Piso, whom he caused to be made Consul, to succeed him the next year following. North's *Plutarch.*

Cæsar debated whether to go to the Capitol on the Ides of March. Calpurnia entreated him to remain at home, but he replied boastfully:

Cæsar shall forth: the things that threaten'd me
Ne'er look'd but on my back; when they shall see
The face of Cæsar, they are vanished. [II. ii. 10-12.]

Calpurnia refused to be comforted. Her anxiety for her husband was great, and her terrors increased as the result of a dream. She further appealed to Cæsar not to leave his house:

When beggars die, there are no comets seen;
The heavens themselves blaze forth the death of princes. [II. ii. 30-31.]

To her entreaties Cæsar at first yielded, but was afterwards persuaded by Decius Brutus to go to the Capitol, where he was assassinated.

> Then going to bed the same night, as his manner was, and lying with his wife Calpurnia, all the windows and doors of his chamber flying open, the noise awoke him, and made him afraid when he saw such light: but more, when he heard his wife Calpurnia, being fast asleep, weep and sigh, and put forth many fumbling [rambling] lamentable speeches: for she dreamed that Cæsar was slain, and that she had him in her arms . . . Insomuch that, Cæsar rising in the morning, she prayed him, if it were possible,

not to go out of the doors that day, but to adjourn the session of the Senate until another day. . . Thereby it seemed that Cæsar likewise did fear or suspect somewhat, because his wife Calpurnia until that time was never given to any fear and superstition: . . . then he determined to send Antonius to adjourn the session of the Senate. But in the mean time came Decius Brutus, surnamed Albinus . . he, fearing that if Cæsar did adjourn the session that day, the conspiracy would be betrayed, laughed at the soothsayers, and reproved Cæsar, saying, "that he gave the Senate occasion to mislike with him, and that they might think he mocked them, considering that by his commandment they were assembled, and that they were ready willingly to grant him all things, and to proclaim him king of all his provinces of the Empire of Rome out of Italy, . . And furthermore, that if any man should tell them from him they should [were to] depart for that present time, and return again when Calpurnia should have better dreams, what would his enemies and ill-willers [evil-wishers] say," . , . Therewithal he took Cæsar by the hand, and brought him out of his house. North's *Plutarch.*

Capitol. I. i. 68; I. ii. 185; I. iii. 36; II. i. 201, 211; II. iv. 11, 19, 24, 26; III. i. 12; III. ii. 44; III. iii. 26; IV. i. 11.

The great national temple and citadel of Rome, erected by Tarquinius Superbus on the Mons Capitolinus, one of the seven hills of the city, which terminates in the precipice known as the Tarpeian rock to which a victorious general entering the city in triumph rode to return thanks to Jupiter. It was dedicated to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, and contained three cells, one dedicated to each. During the civil war of Marius, 83 B.C., it was burnt down, and rebuilt by Sulla; destroyed again by the soldiers of Vitellius, and rebuilt by Vespasian. In the reign of Titus it was for the third time destroyed, and rebuilt by Domitian, who made it more magnificent than any of his predecessors.

The Tarpeian rock, the peak occupied by the citadel, derives its name from Tarpeia, daughter of Spurius Tarpeius, governor of the citadel, who, tempted by offers of gold bracelets from the Sabines, opened the gates of the fortress. As the Sabines entered they threw their shields upon her and crushed her to death. She was buried in the capitol, from which afterwards criminals condemned of treason were precipitated; hence the saying: "The Tarpeian Rock is near the Capitol," signifying the close connection between glory and disgrace.

According to Shakespeare the Capitol was the scene of the assassination of Cæsar. Plutarch, however, makes Pompey's porch the scene of the murder.

> For these things, they may seem to come by chance; but the place where the murther [murder] was prepared, and where the Senate were assembled, and where also there stood up an image of Pompey dedicated by himself amongst other ornaments which he gave unto the theatre, all these were manifest proofs, that it was the ordinance of some god that made this treason to be executed, specially in that very place.
>
> North's *Plutarch.*

Capitol. I. iii. 75.

> and roars
> As doth the lion in the Capitol, [I. iii. 74-75.]

Hudson remarks: "This reads as if a lion were kept in the Capitol to roar for them. But the meaning is that Cæsar roars in the Capitol like a lion. Perhaps Cassius has the idea of Cæsar's claiming or aspiring to be among men what the lion is among beasts."

Capitol. II. i. 111.

> and the high east
> Stands, as the Capitol, directly here.
> [II. i. 110-111.]

Wright remarks: "that the Tower which would be the building in London most resembling the Capitol to Shakespeare's mind, was as nearly as possible due east of the Globe Theatre on Bankside. There is no reason to suppose that he troubled himself about the relative positions of Brutus' house and the Capitol, even if the site of the former were known."

Capitol. II. ii. 21.

> Which drizzled blood upon the Capitol;
> The noise of battle hurtled in the air,
> [II. ii. 21-22.]

Red rain, such as lately (April 1901) fell in Italy and other parts of the Continent, is mentioned as ominous of coming bloodshed in *Iliad xvi.*, and in the *Ramayana* . . . . .

Calpurnia as she spoke could still see, or seemed to see, the battle in the sky. The red rain falling on the Capitol, which could not be seen by her, must have been announced by a messenger, and might, for anything she knew, have ceased. Macmillan [*Arden Shakespeare.*]

Capitol . . lion. I. iii. 20.

> Against the Capitol I met a lion,
> Who glaz'd upon me, and went surly by,
> Without annoying me; [I. iii. 20-22.]

Macmillan (*Arden Shakespeare*) says:

> The lion is not mentioned in Plutarch's account of the signs and wonders that preceded Cæsar's death. There were at the time in Rome many lions, that had been imported for the sports of the amphitheatre. But what probably suggested to Shakespeare the appearance of a lion against the Capitol was the fact that in the Tower of London, the English Capitol, lions had been kept since the time of Henry I. These lions were regarded with superstitious awe by the people of London.

Cf. II. i. 110-111.

Casca. I. ii. 177, 187, 213, 216, 231, 256, 293; I. iii. 1, 38, 42, 48, 57, 72, 116, 121, 135, 153; II. i. 96; II. ii. 111; II. iii. 2; III. i.. 19, 30, 188; III. ii. 182; III. iii. 39; V. i. 43.

Publius Servilius, known in the play as one of the most blunt and violent conspirators against Cæsar. He was induced, without much difficulty, by Cassius to join in the conspiracy.

A humorous man, as is evident in his conversation with Brutus and Cassius, though the manner was only temporarily assumed, as in reality he was a weak man who strove to hide his weakness by assuming a blunt and abrupt manner.

It was he who first stabbed Cæsar, thus giving the signal to the other conspirators:

> Then Casca, behind him, strake [struck] him in the neck with his sword; howbeit the wound was not great nor mortal, because it seemed the fear of such a devilish attempt did amaze him and take his strength from him, that he killed him not at the first blow. But Cæsar, turning straight unto him, caught hold of his sword and held it hard; and they both cried out, Cæsar in Latin: "O vile traitor Casca, what doest thou?" and Casca, in Greek, to his brother: "Brother, help me." North's *Plutarch.*

Antony in his funeral oration over Cæsar's body says:

> See what a rent the envious Casca made:
> [III. ii. 182.]

Casca was one of the tribunes in 44 B.C. He was killed at the battle of Philippi.

Cassius. I. ii. 29, 35, 43, 51, 62, 81, 101, 110, 115, 180, 191, 198, 319; I. iii. 42, 79, 90, 140; II. i. 61, 70, 162; 185; II. iii. 2; III. i. 21, 22, 84, 186, 212; III. ii. 3, 6, 9, 131, 181, 275; III. iii. 38; IV. i. 41; IV. ii. 3, 29, 41, 46; IV. iii. 9, 15, 32, 66, 77, 78, 93, 94, 106, 109, 113, 120, 143, 158, 231, 247, 305; V. i. 47, 63, 73, 111, 117; V. iii. 5, 11, 48, 53, 54, 62, 80, 88, 90, 97, 103.

Previously a soldier, having fought in the civil war with Pompey against the Parthians, but after the battle of Pharsalia he surrendered to Cæsar, who, through the intercession of Marcus Brutus, pardoned him and promised him the government of Syria.

He won over Brutus—whose sister he married—to join in the foul plot for the assassination of Cæsar. His motive was not altogether like that of Brutus—Cæsar's growing ambition—but was tinged with personal feelings of jealousy:

> Now when Cassius felt his friends, and did stir them up against Cæsar: they all agreed, and promised to take part with him, so [provided that] Brutus were the chief of their conspiracy. North's *Plutarch.*

> *Cas.* And why should Cæsar be a tyrant then?
> [I. iii. 103.]

Though Brutus was the leading man in the conspiracy, the originator was Cassius, who decided to approach Brutus on what he knew to be his weak side, his love for his country's well-being, and his hatred of imperial power.

Belonging to the Roman aristocracy, he could not endure the prospect of a king in Rome, and in his desire for the old republican rule, he had the foresight to see that it would be better, as subsequent events fully verified, that Antony should be put to death with Cæsar, but Brutus opposed the idea.

> All the conspirators, but Brutus, determining upon this matter, thought it good also to kill Antonius, because he was a wicked man, and that in nature favoured tyranny: besides also, for that he was in great estimation with soldiers, having been conversant of long time amongst them: and especially having a mind bent to great enterprises, he was also of great authority at that time, being Consul with Cæsar. But Brutus would not agree to it.
>
> North's *Plutarch.*

Bru. Our course will seem too bloody, Caius Cassius,
To cut the head off and then hack the limbs,
Like wrath in death and envy afterwards;
For Antony is but a limb of Cæsar.

[II. i. 162-165.]

But Cassius was not to be thwarted in his purpose, and was ready to use means, harsh or otherwise, in order to accomplish his purpose.

He dined the day following Cæsar's murder at the house of Antony, who asked him whether he had then a dagger concealed in his bosom. "Yes," he replied, "if you aspire to tyranny."

After Cæsar's death he, along with Brutus, met Antony and Octavius Cæsar at the battle of Philippi. His troops were defeated by Antony in the first engagement, while Brutus was successful against Cæsar. Thinking that all was over, he called upon Pindarus to stab him:

> Antonius on the other side overthrew Cassius in battle, though some write that he was not there himself at the battle, but that he came after the overthrow, whilst his men had the enemies in chase. So Cassius, at his earnest request, was slain by a faithful servant of his own called Pindarus, whom he had enfranchised: because he knew not in time that Brutus had overcome Cæsar. North's *Plutarch.*

Come hither, sirrah.
In Parthia did I take thee prisoner;
And then I swore thee, saving of thy life,
That whatsoever I did bid thee do,
Thou should'st attempt it. Come now, keep thine oath;
Now be a freeman; and with this good sword,
That ran through Cæsar's bowels, search this bosom.
Stand not to answer; here, take thou the hilts;
And, when my face is covered, as 'tis now,
Guide thou the sword. Cæsar, thou art reveng'd,
Even with the sword that kill'd thee.

[V. iii. 36-46.]

He is described as a man with a rash and violent temper, and many of the wrong steps which Brutus took were attributed to the advice of Cassius.

Cato. II. i. 295; V. i. 102; V. iv. 4, 6, 11.

Surnamed Uticensis, from the place of his death. A Roman patriot and Stoic philosopher, great-grandson of Cato the "Censor." He supported Cicero against the Catilinarians, and sided with Pompey against Cæsar on the outbreak of civil war 49 B.C. After the battle of Pharsalia he took command of the Corcyrean fleet, and on the death of Pompey joined himself to Scipio. Scipio being defeated by Cæsar at Thapsus—of which city he was the governor—he retired to Utica, where, rather than fall into Cæsar's hands, he committed suicide, B.C., 46, when fifty-nine years of age. His last moments, we are told, were spent in reading Plato's *Treatise on the Immortality of the Soul.*

> but he [Cæsar] being specially desirous of all men else to have Cato alive in his hands, he went with all possible speed unto the city of Utica, whereof Cato was governor, by means whereof he was not at the battle. Notwithstanding being certified by the way that Cato had slain himself with his own hands,
>
> North's *Plutarch.*

Cato belonged to the Stoic sect of philosophers and was a staunch champion of freedom, preferring death as a free man to life without liberty.

> When Barton Booth [1713] first appeared as "Cato," Bolingbroke called him into his box and gave him fifty guineas for defending the cause of liberty so well against a perpetual dictator. *Life of Addison.*

After his death Cæsar wrote a book entitled "Anticaton" in which he made many accusations against the philosopher. It was written in opposition to one which had been previously written by Cicero in praise of Cato. Both these works have been lost:

> Cicero had written a book in praise of Cato, which he entitled "Cato." This book in likelihood was very well liked of, by reason of the eloquence of the orator that made it, and of the excellent subject thereof. Cæsar therewith was

> marvellously offended, thinking that to praise him of whose death he was author was even so much as to accuse himself: and therefore he wrote a letter against him, and heaped up a number of accusations against Cato, and entitled the book "Anticaton." Both these books have favourers unto this day, some defending the one for the love they bear to Cæsar, and others allowing [approving] the other for Cato's sake.
>
> North's *Plutarch.*

His suicide at Utica is the subject of Addison's Drama.

His daughter Portia (q.v.) became the wife of Marcus Brutus.

Cicero. I. ii. 183, 281; I. iii. 4, 40; II. i. 141; IV. iii. 177, 178, 179.

Marcus Tullius Cicero, Roman orator, statesman, and man of letters, but regarded as a commoner and viewed with little favour by the nobility of Rome on account of having sprung from the common people. In 66 B.C., he supported the appointment of Pompey to the eastern command. He rose, by fame and power through the successive grades of civic rank until he obtained the consulship in 63 B.C. He took sides with Pompey against Cæsar, but on returning to Italy was kindly received by Cæsar. Being a man of undecided character he found it difficult to choose between Pompey and Cæsar, with the result that he earned the distrust of both parties. After Cæsar's murder he roused the anger of Antony, whom he vigorously attacked in his speeches. In revenge for this, when Antony, Octavius, and Lepidus formed the Second Triumvirate they proscribed him. He endeavoured to escape, but was overtaken by Antony's soldiers, and executed at his villa at Formiæ in 43 B.C., when sixty-three years of age. His head was carried to Rome and exhibited in the Forum, where it was subjected to indignity:

> The head and right hand of the orator were carried to Rome, and hung up in the Roman forum; and so inveterate was Antony's hatred against the unfortunate man, that even Fulvia, the triumvir's wife, wreaked her vengeance upon his head, and drew the tongue out of the mouth, and bored it through repeatedly with a gold bodkin, verifying in this act of inhumanity what Cicero had once observed, that *no animal is more revengeful than a woman.*
>
> *Classical Dictionary.*

Cicero occupies an unimportant part in the play, not much mention being made of him by Shakespeare.

> and Cicero
> Looks with such ferret and such fiery eyes
> As we have seen him in the Capitol,
> Being cross'd in conference by some senators.
> [I. ii. 183-186.]

This suggests to a certain extent, his excitability of character.

In Act II. i. 144-146 Shakespeare gives an idea as to his age and lofty character, being at the time of Cæsar's death about sixty-one years of age:

> for his silver hairs
> Will purchase us a good opinion
> And buy men's voices to commend our deeds:

He was not consulted by the conspirators when they met to consider Cæsar's death. The dramatist gives his vanity as the reason for this:

> *Bru.* O! name him not; let us not break with him;
> For he will never follow any thing
> That other men begin. [II. i. 150-153.]

In this instance the poet has not followed *Plutarch*, who gives as the reason for his not being consulted, "that he being a coward by nature, and age having also increased his fear, he would quite turn and alter all their purpose."

> After that time they began to feel all their acquaintance whom they trusted, and laid their heads together, consulting upon it, and did not only pick out their friends, but all those also whom they thought stout enough to attempt any desperate matter, and that were not afraid to lose their lives. For this cause they durst not acquaint Cicero with their conspiracy, although he was a man whom they loved dearly, and trusted best: for they were afraid that he being a coward by nature, and age also having increased his fear, he would quite turn and alter all their purpose,

Cimber, Metellus. I. iii. 134, 149; II. i. 96, 218, 311; II. ii. 120; II. iii. 3; III. i. 27, 33, 35, 187.

A friend of Cæsar's, who turned traitor and became one of the conspirators. It was arranged by the conspirators that Metellus should present a petition to Cæsar appealing for the recall of his brother Publius from banishment. He prostrated himself before Cæsar, who, however, spurned

the petition, whereupon Cimber took hold of the dictator's robe as a signal for the rest to strike:

Met. Most high, most mighty, and most puissant Cæsar,
Metellus Cimber throws before thy seat
An humble heart,—
Cæsar. I must prevent thee, Cimber.
These couchings and these lowly courtesies,
Might fire the blood of ordinary men,
. . . . . .
Thy brother by decree is banished:
[III. i. 33-37; 44.]

Then part of Brutus' company and confederates stood round about Cæsar's chair, and part of them also came towards him, as though they made suit with Metellus Cimber, to call home his brother again from banishment: and thus prosecuting still their suit, they followed Cæsar till he was set in his chair. Who denying their petitions, and being offended with them one after another, because the more they were denied the more they pressed upon him and were the earnester with him, Metellus at length, taking his gown with both his hands, pulled it over his neck, which was the sign given the confederates to set upon him. North's *Plutarch.*

Cinna. I. iii. 133, 136, 142; II. i. 96; II. ii. 120; II. iii. 3; III. i. 188; III. iii. 32.

Cornelius Cinna, represented in the play as one of the conspirators against Cæsar, but in reality took no part with the exception of approving of the action. After the murder of Cæsar, and Antony's oration over the dead body, he was obliged to flee with the other conspirators for fear of being murdered by the Roman mob. His daughter Cornelia married Cæsar and became the mother of Julia.

Cinna. III. iii. 28, 30, 34.

C. Helvius Cinna, a poet of some fame, and an intimate friend of Cæsar's.

The evening preceding the murder Cinna dreamed that he was invited to dine with Cæsar:

I dreamt to-night that I did feast with Cæsar,
And things unluckily charge my fantasy:
I have no will to wander forth of doors,
Yet something leads me forth.
[III. iii. 1-4.]

and Plutarch:

There was one of Cæsar's friends called Cinna, that had a marvellous strange and terrible dream the night before. He dreamed that Cæsar bad [invited] him to supper, and that he refused and would not go: then that Cæsar took him by the hand, and led him against his will.

He went to attend the obsequies of Cæsar, and being mistaken for Cinna the conspirator was put to death by the Roman mob:

First Cit. What is your name?
Second Cit. Whither are you going?
. . . . . .
Cin. Directly, I am going to Cæsar's funeral.
First Cit. As a friend or an enemy?
Cin. As a friend.
. . . . . .
Third Cit. Your name, sir, truly.
Cin. Truly, my name is Cinna.
First Cit. Tear him to pieces; he's a conspirator.
Cin. I am Cinna the poet, I am Cinna the poet.
Fourth Cit. Tear him for his bad verses, tear him for his bad verses.
Cin. I am not Cinna the conspirator.
Second Cit. It is no matter, his name's Cinna; pluck but his name out of his heart, and turn him going.
[III. iii. 5-6; 21-23; 27-36.]

the next morning, when he [Cinna] heard that they carried Cæsar's body to burial, being ashamed not to accompany his funerals, he went out of his house, and thrust himself into the prease [press] of the common people that were in a great uproar. And because some one called him by his name Cinna, the people, thinking he had been that Cinna who in an oration he made had spoken very evil of Cæsar, they, falling upon him in their rage, slew him outright in the market-place. North's *Plutarch.*

Citizens.

Claudius. IV. iii. 241, 243, 288, 298.

Servant to Brutus. The armies of Brutus and Cassius were encamped near Sardis. Claudius was commanded by Brutus to sleep the night in his tent.

It may be I shall raise you by and by
On business to my brother Cassius.
[IV. iii. 246-247.]

Brutus saw Cæsar's ghost. Claudius cried out in his sleep, and Brutus, thinking he too had seen the apparition, questioned him and Varro:

Why did you so cry out, sirs, in your sleep?
[IV. iii. 302.]

Claudius and Varro were innocent in the matter, and answered:

> Did we, my lord? [IV. iii. 302.]

Brutus sent Claudius along with Varro to Cassius with instructions to put his troops in motion early in the morning in advance of the army of Brutus.

Clitus. V. v. 4, 5, 10. 12.

Servant to Brutus. At the second battle of Philippi, Brutus, thinking all was lost, begged secretly of Clitus to slay him, but Clitus replied:

> I'll rather kill myself. [V. v. 8.]

On hearing the sound of alarum Clitus begged of Brutus to fly, or all was lost.

> *Cli.* Fly, fly, my lord! there is no tarrying here.
> *Bru.* Farewell to you; and you; and you, Volumnius.
> . . . . . .
> *Cli.* Fly, my lord, fly!
> *Bru.* Hence, I will follow. [V. v. 30-31; 43.]

> Now the night being far spent, Brutus as he sat bowed towards Clitus, one of his men, and told him somewhat in his ear: the other answered him not, but fell a-weeping. . . and amongst the rest, one of them said, that there was no tarrying for them there, but that they must needs fly. North's *Plutarch.*

Colossus. I. ii. 134.

> Why, man, he doth bestride the narrow world
> Like a Colossus; [I. ii. 133-134.]

The Senate had erected a bronze statue of Cæsar standing on a globe, and inscribed "Cæsar the Demigod," which inscription however, Cæsar caused to be erased.

The original Colossus was a gigantic statue of Apollo at Rhodes, which was one of the seven wonders of the ancient world. It was an immense brazen statue at the entrance to the harbour of Rhodes, the chief city of the island of Rhodes, in the Ægean Sea, and represented the sun-god with his head surrounded by rays, and his feet resting one on each side of the entrance to the port. The name of this statue became a generic name for any very large statue; hence too, the origin of the word *colossal.*

Dardanius. V. v. 8, 9.

Servant to Brutus. Brutus asked him to kill him. Dardanius in surprise exclaimed:

> Shall I do such a deed? [V. v. 8.]

Clitus asked Dardanius what request Brutus made of him, and Dardanius answered:

> To kill him, Clitus. Look, he meditates. [V. v. 12.]

> Now the night being far spent, Brutus as he sat bowed towards Clitus, one of his men, and told him somewhat in his ear: the other answered him not, but fell a-weeping. Thereupon he proved [tried] Dardanus, and said somewhat also to him: North's *Plutarch.*

Epicurus. V. i. 77.

> You know that I held Epicurus strong, [V. i. 77.]

Firmly maintained the doctrines of Epicurus. Epicurus was born 342 B.C., and was the founder of the Epicurean school of philosophy, which maintained that events depended on natural causes; that the gods did not concern themselves with the affairs of this world. Cassius was a believer in this doctrine:

> It is also reported, that Cassius (though otherwise he did favour the doctrine of Epicurus) beholding the image of Pompey, before they entered into the action of their traitorous enterprise, he did softly call upon it to aid him: but the instant danger of the present time, taking away his former reason, did suddenly put him into a furious passion, and made him like a man half besides [beside] himself. North's *Plutarch.*

Erebus. II. i. 84.

> Not Erebus itself was dim enough
> To hide thee from prevention. [II. i. 84-85.]

The third of the five divisions of hell, and the name used by poets to denote the dark and gloomy cavern under the earth.

Fates, The. II. iii. 16; III. i. 98.

See Parca's fatal web. (*Henry V.*)

Flavius. I. ii. 289.

One of the two tribunes—the other being Marullus—who rebuked the common people making holiday in the streets of Rome, to celebrate Cæsar's triumph over the sons of Pompey. They were rebuked, not for making a demonstration, but for making it on a "labouring day" as opposed to a holiday, and for making it in honour of Cæsar, who had returned from Spain, after his victory over the sons of Pompey in the battle of Munda, 45 B.C., in which one of

Pompey's sons was slain. Plutarch says that this triumph "did as much offend the Romans, and more, than any thing that ever he had done before: because he had not overcome captains that were strangers, nor barbarous kings, but had destroyed the sons of the noblest man of Rome, whom fortune had overthrown."

The Tribunes were first appointed B.C., 494 for the protection of the plebeians against the oppression of the patrician magistrates. Under Sulla they had been deprived of a greater part of their power, but their power had been restored by Pompey, hence Flavius and Marullus belonged to the party of Pompey, and resisted every attempt to honour Cæsar.

Flav. Hence! home, you idle creatures, get you home:
Is this a holiday? What! know you not,
Being mechanical, you ought not walk
Upon a labouring day without the sign
Of your profession? [I. i. 1-5.]

At the request of Flavius and Marullus the crowd dispersed to their houses.

After Cæsar had refused the offer of the crown at the feast of *Lupercalia* he commanded it to be carried unto Jupiter in the Capitol, and statues of Cæsar were afterwards set up in the city of Rome and crowned with garlands. These garlands were torn down by Flavius and Marullus, who ordered those who had saluted Cæsar as king to be imprisoned. Flavius and Marullus were subsequently deprived of their tribuneships by Cæsar.

> I saw Mark Antony offer him a crown; yet 'twas not a crown neither, 'twas one of these coronets; and, as I told you, he put it by once; but, for all that, to my thinking, he would fain have had it. Then he offered it to him again; then he put it by again; but, to my thinking, he was very loath to lay his fingers off it. And then he offered it the third time; he put it the third time by; and still as he refused it, the rabblement shouted, and clapped their chopped hands, and threw up their sweaty night-caps, and uttered such a deal of stinking breath because Cæsar refused the crown, that it had almost choked Cæsar; for he swounded and fell down at it.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> I could tell you more news too;
> Marullus and Flavius, for pulling scarfs off Cæsar's images, are put to silence.
> [I. ii. 234-48; 288-290.]
>
> Antonius, . . . came to Cæsar, and presented him a diadem wreathed about with laurel. Whereupon there rose a certain cry of rejoicing, not very great, done only by a few appointed for the purpose. But when Cæsar refused the diadem, then all the people together made an outcry of joy. Then Antonius offering it him again, there was a second shout of joy, but yet of a few. But when Cæsar refused it again the second time, then all the whole people shouted. Cæsar having made this proof, found that the people did not like of it, and thereupon rose out of his chair, and commanded the crown to be carried unto Jupiter in the Capitol. After that, there were set up images of Cæsar in the city, with diadems upon their heads like kings. Those the two tribunes, Flavius and Marullus, went and pulled down, and furthermore, meeting with them that first saluted Cæsar as king, they committed them to prison. . . . Cæsar was so offended withal, that he deprived Marullus and Flavius of their tribuneships, and accusing them, he spake also against the people, and called them Bruti and Cumani, to wit, beasts and fools.
> North's *Plutarch.*

Flavius. V. iii. 108.

Labio and Flavius, set our battles on:
'Tis three a clock; and, Romans, yet ere night
We shall try fortune in a second fight.
[V. iii. 108-110.]

See Labio.

Guards.

Havoc. III. i. 273.

Shall in these confines with a monarch's voice
Cry 'Havoc!' and let slip the dogs of war;
[III. i. 272-273.]

In old times "Havoc" was a signal in battle that no quarter was to be given. Only kings and generals were entitled to give the signal. Cf. *King John* II. i. 357:

Cry 'havoc!' kings; back to the stained field,

and *Coriolanus III. i.* 275:

Do not cry havoc, where you should but hunt
With modest warrant.

Dogs of war is thought to mean fire, sword, and famine:

Then should the warlike Harry, like himself,
Assume the port of Mars; and at his heels,
Leash'd in like hounds, should famine, sword, and fire
Crouch for employment. *Henry V. Pro.* 5-8.

Hybla bees. V. i. 33.

Hybla was the name of a town and mountain in Sicily famous for the fine flavour of

its honey. The bees fed on the thyme and odoriferous flowers which grew on the hill, hence its exquisite flavour. The word Hybla which is used here adjectivally, means that Antony could not be so honey-tongued, unless he had exhausted thyme flavoured Hybla.

Ides of March. I. ii. 17, 19, 23; III. i. 1; IV. iii. 18; V. i. 114.

The Ides were the Roman method of reckoning the days of the month. The first of each month were called Calends; the Nones on the fifth, but on the seventh in March, May, July, and October; and the Ides, the thirteenth, but the fifteenth in March, May, July, and October, hence:

> In March, July, October, May,
> The Ides are on the fifteenth day.

Cæsar was murdered on the Ides of March, 44 B.C. On his way to celebrate the feast of the *Lupercalia* a soothsayer warned him to beware of the Ides of March:

> *Sooth.* Beware the ides of March.
> *Cæs.* What man is that?
> *Bru.* A soothsayer bids you beware the ides of March.
> [I. ii. 17-19.]

> Furthermore there was a certain soothsayer that had given Cæsar warning long time afore, to take heed of the day of the Ides of March, (which is the fifteenth of the month), for on that day he should be in great danger.
> North's *Plutarch.*

The warning was, however, disregarded, and on the way to the Senate, Cæsar seeing him amongst the crowd remarked:

> The ides of March are come.

to which the soothsayer replied:

> Ay, Cæsar; but not gone. [III. i. 1-2.]

> That day being come, Cæsar going unto the Senate-house, and speaking merrily unto the soothsayer, told him, "the Ides of March be come:" "so they be," softly answered the soothsayer, "but yet are they not past."
> North's *Plutarch.*

On arriving at the Senate-house the conspirators demanded the recall from banishment of Publius Cimber, and Cæsar on refusing, was attacked. Casca struck the first blow. Cæsar resisted, until Marcus Brutus also smote him, then with the words "*Et tu, Brute!*" [Even thou, Brutus] covered his face and fell.

Italy. I. iii. 88.

> Indeed, they say the senators to-morrow
> Mean to establish Cæsar as a king;
> And he shall wear his crown by sea and land,
> In every place, save here in Italy.
> [I. iii. 85-88.]

Italy was excepted, because since the expulsion of the Tarquins, monarchy was forbidden among the Romans.

> and that they [the senate] were ready willingly to grant him all things, and to proclaim him king of all his provinces of the Empire of Rome out of Italy, and that he should wear his diadem in all other places both by sea and land.
> North's *Plutarch.*

Italy. III. i. 264.

Labio. V. iii. 108.

> Labio and Flavius, set our battles on:
> 'Tis three a clock; and, Romans, yet ere night
> We shall try fortune in a second fight.
> [V. iii. 108-110.]

Hudson remarks: "These two men [Labio and Flavius] are not named among the persons of the drama, because they speak nothing. Labio was one of the stabbers of Cæsar; and it is related that when he saw that all was lost, having dug his own grave, he enfranchised a slave, and then thrust a weapon into his hand to kill him."

Lena, Popilius. III. i. 14, 15, 23.

Plays an unimportant part in the play, little mention being made of him. One of the senators who accompanied Cæsar to the senate, all being apparently friendly. Popilius caused some anxiety among the conspirators, who feared from his expression that their purpose was discovered:

> *Pop.* I wish your enterprise to-day may thrive.
> *Cas.* What enterprise, Popilius?
> *Pop.* Fare you well.
> [*Advances to Cæsar.*
> [III. i. 13-14.]

especially so when Popilius approached Cæsar, and entered into conversation with him:

When Cæsar came out of his litter, Popilius Læna (that had talked before with Brutus and Cassius, and had prayed the gods they might bring this enterprise to pass) went unto Cæsar, and kept him a long time with a talk. Cæsar gave good ear unto him: wherefore the conspirators (if so they should be called) not hearing what he said to Cæsar, but conjecturing by that he had told them a little before that his talk was none other but the very discovery of their conspiracy, they were afraid every man of them; and, one looking in another's face, it was easy to see that they all were of a mind, that it was no tarrying for them till they were apprehended, but rather that they should kill themselves with their own hands.

North's *Plutarch.*

They were, however, assured by Brutus that all was well:

Bru. Cassius, be constant:
Popilius Lena speaks not of our purposes;
For, look, he smiles, and Cæsar doth not change.
[III. i. 22-24.]

Lepidus, M. Æmilius. III. ii. 271; IV. i. 2, 7, 34; IV. iii. 173.

Friend of Cæsar, and Cæsar's Master of the Horse. When Civil War broke out he took the side of Cæsar against Pompey, but after Cæsar's death he supported the cause of Antony, and with him and Octavius Cæsar formed the Second Triumvirate in 43 B.C. They met to decide whom they should include in the lists of those who were to be put to death as enemies of the State, though each was for saving his friends and executing his enemies:

After that, these three, Octavius Cæsar, Antonius, and Lepidus, made an agreement between themselves, and by those articles divided the provinces belonging to the empire of Rome among themselves, and did set up bills [lists] of proscription and outlawry, condemning two hundred of the noblest men of Rome to suffer death, and among that number Cicero was one.

North's *Plutarch.*

Though Lepidus is described as a man of weak character:

Ant. This is a slight unmeritable man,
Meet to be sent on errands: is it fit,
The three-fold world divided, he should stand
One of the three to share it?
Oct. So you thought him;
And took his voice who should be prick'd to die
In our black sentence and proscription.
[IV. i. 12-17.]

yet at the meeting of the Triumvirate he proved the least execrable villain of the three:

Ant. These many then shall die; their names are prick'd.
Oct. Your brother too must die; consent you, Lepidus?
Lep. I do consent—
Oct. Prick him down, Antony.
Lep. Upon condition Publius shall not live,
Who is your sister's son, Mark Antony.
Ant. He shall not live; look, with a spot I damn him.
But, Lepidus, go you to Cæsar's house;
Fetch the will hither, and we shall determine
How to cut off some charge in legacies.
[IV. i. 1-9.]

After the battle of Philippi 42 B.C.. he received as his portion of the three-fold world the government of Africa, and remained there until 36 B.C., when he was called to Sicily by Augustus to help in the war against Sextus Pompeius. In trying to secure Sicily for himself he was easily defeated by Augustus, who compelled him to resign the power to which he was entitled as a triumvir:

that having put Lepidus their companion and triumvirate [triumvir] out of his part of the empire, and having deprived him of all honours, he retained for himself the lands and revenues thereof, which had been assigned unto him for his part.

. . . . . .

that for [as for] Lepidus, he had indeed deposed him, and taken his part of the emqire from him, because he did over cruelly use his authority. North's *Plutarch.*

The concluding portion of his life and character will appear in *Antony and Cleopatra.*

Lethe. III. i. 206.

Sign'd in thy spoil, and crimson'd in thy lethe.
[III. i. 206.]

Lethe is the name given by Homer to a river of the lower world, a drink of whose waters was said to cause forgetfulness of the past. The name here is applied to the blood as the stream or river of death.

Ligarius. II. i. 215, 311, 312, 318; II. ii. 111; II. iii. 5; III. iii. 40.

A Roman proconsul of Africa, and a mortal enemy of Cæsar's. In the Civil Wars he took the side of Pompey, but was pardoned when

Cæsar proved victorious. His enemies were, however, determined upon his ruin, but Cicerò, in an eloquent oration still extant, defeated his accusers. He subsequently became one of the conspirators against Cæsar. About the time of the conspiracy he fell ill, and Brutus remarked to him that had he any choice in the matter he would have chosen some other time to be an invalid:

> Now amongst Pompey's friends, there was one called Caius Ligarius, who had been accused unto Cæsar for taking part with Pompey, and Cæsar discharged [acquitted] him. But Ligarius thanked not Cæsar so much for his discharge, [acquittal] as he was offended with him for that he was brought in danger by his tyrannical power; and therefore in his heart he was always his mortal enemy, and was besides very familiar with Brutus, who went to see him being sick in his bed, and said unto him: "Ligarius, in what a time art thou sick?" Ligarius rising up in his bed, and taking him by the right hand, said unto him: "Brutus," said he, "if thou hast any great enterprise in hand worthy of thyself, I am whole."
>
> North's *Plutarch.*

Ligarius was so anxious to carry out the exploit that he was pleased to throw off his kerchief—the badge of a sick person—in order to take part in Cæsar's assassination.

On the day previous to the murder of Cæsar, Ligarius with other conspirators met at Cæsar's house. Cæsar was surprised to see him, remarking:

> Caius Ligarius,
> Cæsar was ne'er so much your enemy
> As that same ague which hath made you lean.
> What is 't a clock?
>
> *Bru.* Cæsar, 'tis strucken eight.
>
> *Cæs.* I thank you for your pains and courtesy.
>
> [II. ii. 111-115.]

Lucilius. IV. ii. 3, 13, 19, 52; IV. iii. 138; V. i. 69, 93; V. iii. 106; V. v. 59.

Friend to Brutus and Cassius, and an officer of high rank in the army of Brutus encamped near Sardis. He brought news to Brutus that Cassius was near, and that Pindarus, servant to Cassius

> is come
> To do you salutation from his master.
>
> [IV. ii. 4-5.]

When Cassius arrived, Lucilius was commanded by Brutus to keep the door of his tent, allowing no man to enter until the conference was over.

At the battle of Philippi he fled with Brutus, but being overtaken by a party of horsemen allowed himself to be wounded, calling out that he was Brutus. He was captured, carried to the conquerors, and pardoned:

> amongst whom there was one of Brutus' friends called Lucilius, who seeing a troupe [troop] of barbarous men making no reckoning of all men else they met in their way, but going all together right against Brutus, he determined to stay them with the hazard of his life; and being left behind, told them that he was Brutus: and because they should believe him, he prayed them to bring him to Antonius, for he said he was afraid of Cæsar, and that he did trust Antonius better . . . . Then he [Antonius] embraced Lucilius, and at that time delivered him to one of his friends in custody; and Lucilius ever after served him faithfully, even to his death. North's *Plutarch.*

On hearing of the suicide of Brutus he said:

> So Brutus should be found. I thank thee, Brutus,
> That thou hast prov'd Lucilius' saying true.
>
> [V. v. 58-59.]

Lucilius had said that Brutus would kill himself rather than be taken captive:

> Safe, Antony; Brutus is safe enough.
> I dare assure thee that no enemy
> Shall ever take alive the noble Brutus;
> The gods defend him from so great a shame!
> When you do find him, or alive or dead,
> He will be found like Brutus, like himself.
>
> [V. iv. 20-25.]

> In the meantime Lucilius was brought to him, who stoutly with a bold countenance said: "Antonius, I dare assure thee, that no enemy hath taken, or shall take Marcus Brutus alive, and I beseech God keep him from that fortune: for wheresoever he be found, alive or dead, he will be found like himself. North's *Plutarch.*

Lucius. II. i. 1, 3, 5, 7, 229, 309; II. iv. 44; IV. ii. 50; IV. iii. 141, 160, 229, 251, 288, 292, 294, 298.

The boy servant to Brutus, and for whom Brutus had a very tender regard. On the eve of the second battle of Philippi he was in the tent of Brutus drowsily fingering the strings of his instrument. Other servants were lying down, and Lucius too, dropped into sleep. Instead of waking the sleeping

boy, Brutus gently took the instrument from his hand:

> Canst thou hold up thy heavy eyes awhile,
> And touch thy instrument a strain or two?
> *Luc.* Ay, my lord, an 't please you.
> *Bru.* It does, my boy.
> I trouble thee too much, but thou art willing.
> *Luc.* It is my duty, sir.
> *Bru.* I should not urge thy duty past thy might;
> I know young bloods look for a time of rest.
> *Luc.* I have slept, my lord, already.
> *Bru.* It was well done, and thou shalt sleep again;
> I will not hold thee long: if I do live,
> I will be good to thee. [IV. iii. 255-265.]

This courtesy and kindness to his servant makes one of the finest passages in the play, revealing as it does, Brutus' noble character.

In his sleep Lucius cried out, and Brutus thought that like himself he had seen Cæsar's apparition, but Lucius answered:

> My lord, I do not know that I did cry, [IV. iii.295.]

and on being questioned by Brutus as to what he had seen, he replied:

> Nothing, my lord. [IV. iii. 297.]

Lupercal. I. i. 72, III. ii. 103.

The *Lupercalia*, a celebrated Roman festival, held in the middle of February in honour of Lupercus the god of fertility, who was afterwards identified with Pan, the god of shepherds. It was originally a local purification ceremony in which human victims were sacrificed in the Lupercal cave near the Porta Romana. In historic times goats and dogs were substituted for human victims, the Luperci or priests cutting the skins into thongs and running through the streets of the city striking men and women. This act was a symbolic purification and fertilisation of land and people. This explains the words in the directions to Act I. Scene ii. "enter Antony for the course," *i.e.*, stripped to the waist and wearing a girdle of goatskin; and the request of Cæsar that he should touch Calpurnia.

> At that time the feast *Lupercalia* was celebrated, the which in old time men say was the feast of shepherds or herdmen, and is much like unto the feast of the Lycæans in Arcadia. But, howsoever it is, that day there are divers noblemen's sons, young men, (and some of them magistrates themselves that govern then), which run naked through the city, striking in sport them they meet in their way with leather thongs, hair and all on, to make them give place [draw back]. And many noblewomen and gentlewomen also go of purpose to stand in their way, and do put forth their hands to be stricken, as scholars hold them out to their schoolmaster to be stricken with the ferula: [punishing-bat] persuading themselves that, being with child, they shall have good delivery; and so, being barren, that it will make them to conceive with child . . . . Antonius, who was Consul at that time, was one of them that ran this holy course. North's *Plutarch.*

Cæsar had instituted the third order of the Luperci, called Juliani, and had made Antony chief-priest, and it was during the celebration of this feast that Cæsar was offered the crown of Rome by Antony:

> Antonius, being one among the rest that was to run, leaving the ancient ceremonies and old customs of that solemnity, he ran to the tribune where Cæsar was set, and carried a laurel crown in his hand, having a royal band or diadem wreathed about it, which in old time was the ancient mark and token of a king . . . But Cæsar, making as though he refused it, turned away his head. North's *Plutarch.*

The Lupercal cave was the cavern in which Luperca, the wife of Lupercus, the deified she-wolf, is fabled to have suckled Romulus and Remus.

Marullus. I. ii. 289.

See Flavius.

Messala. IV. iii. 140, 163, 166, 181, 183, 189, 230; V. i. 71, 72, 73; V. ii. 1, 7; V. iii. 59, 78, 91; V. v. 54, 62, 63.

Friend to Brutus and Cassius. He imparted to Brutus information concerning the death of his wife Portia.

At the battle of Philippi he was sent by Brutus with all haste to distribute written directions to the legions under Cassius, who were to attack at the same time as those under Brutus:

> Ride, ride, Messala, ride, and give these bills
> Unto the legions on the other side. [V. ii. 1-2.]

Messala had charge of one of the legions and seized the camp of Augustus:

> For first of all Messala's legion, and then the next unto them, went beyond the left wing of the enemies, and did nothing, but glancing by them overthrew some as they went; and so going on further, fell right upon Cæsar's camp, North's *Plutarch.*

Returning with Titinius he found the dead body to Cassius. He afterwards went to seek Pindarus, and on returning with Brutus, found the corpses of Cassius and Titinius lying together.

He returned with Brutus to the field of battle, but fortune went against them, and Brutus committed suicide.

Messala subsequently became reconciled to Augustus, who appointed him governor of Italy and of Rome, and he died A.D., 9 in the seventy-seventh year of his age:

> Messala, that had been Brutus' great friend, became afterwards Octavius Cæsar's friend: . . And because he [Augustus] was determined to make a voyage into Gaul, he established Messala governor of Italy and of Rome, for fear lest any trouble should happen in his absence.
> North's *Plutarch.*

Nervii. III. ii. 180.

> That day he overcame the Nervii. [III. ii. 180.]

This battle, which is described in Cæsar's *Gallic War, Book ii.* took place 57 B.C. It was fought on the banks of the Sambre, near Waterloo and Sedan, and was the most desperate fight in which Cæsar was ever engaged. The Nervii were a powerful and warlike people who lived in French Flanders and in Hainault, Belgium. They were defeated by Cæsar with great slaughter,—according to Plutarch "they were all in a manner slain in the field."

> whereupon he [Cæsar] led his army against the Nervians, the stoutest warriors of all the Belgæ, ... and being about the number of six score thousand fighting men and more, they came one day and set upon Cæsar, . . At the first charge, they brake [broke] the horsemen of the Romans, and compassing in the twelfth and seventh legion, they slew all the centurions and captains of the bands. . . . But taking example of Cæsar's valiantness, they fought desperately beyond their power, and yet could not make the Nervians fly, but they fought it out to the death, till they were all in a manner [as it were] slain in the field. It is written that of threescore thousand fighting men, there escaped only but five hundred: and of four hundred gentlemen and counsellors of the Romans, but three saved. North's *Plutarch.*

Antony, who was not present at this battle, is here appealing to the Romans' love of conquest and military fame. Cæsar was the Romans' greatest military hero, and his victory over the Nervii was his most noted military exploit.

Olympus. III i. 74; IV. iii. 91.

> Hence! Wilt thou lift up Olympus? [III. i. 74.]

A mountain of Thessaly—now called Lacha—one of the great chain of mountains which formed the northern boundary of ancient Greece. It was the mythical abode of the gods, its top, according to the ancients, touching the heavens. Cæsar here is using the name to indicate Zeus and thus comparing himself to the god.

Parthia. V. iii. 37.

> Come hither, sirrah.
> In Parthia did I take thee prisoner; [V. iii. 36-37.]

In ancient geography, an empire with which the Romans waged many wars. It is now part of Persia:

> After that, he got into a tent where nobody was, and took Pindarus with him, one of his bondsmen whom he reserved ever for such a pinch, since the cursed battle of the Parthians, where Crassus was slain, though he notwithstanding scaped from that overthrow: North's *Plutarch.*

It was in the disastrous campaign undertaken by Crassus in Parthia, 54-53 B.C., that Cassius—who served under Crassus—handled his troops so successfully in the retreat, that he made his name as a general.

Pella, Lucius. IV. iii. 2.

> That you have wrong'd me doth appear in this:
> You have condemn'd and noted Lucius Pella
> For taking bribes here of the Sardians;
> [IV. iii. 1-3.]

The opening of this quarrel scene was suggested by North's *Plutarch*:

> The next day after, Brutus, upon complaint of the Sardians, did condemn and note Lucius Pella for a defamed person, that had been a Prætor of the Romans, and whom Brutus had given charge unto: for that he was accused and convicted of robbery and pilfery in his office. This judgment much misliked [displeased] Cassius, because he himself had secretly (not many days before) warned two of his friends, attainted and convicted of the like offences, and openly had cleared them: but yet he did not therefore leave [cease] to employ them in any manner of service as he did before. And therefore he greatly reproyed Brutus, for that he would shew himself so straight [strict] and severe, in such a time as was meeter to bear a little than to take things at the worst. Brutus in contrary manner answered, that he should remember the Ides of March, at which time they

slew Julius Cæsar, who neither pilled [robbed] nor polled [spoiled] the country, but only was a favourer and suborner of all them that did rob and spoil, by his countenance and authority. And if there were any occasion whereby they might honestly set aside justice and equity, they should have had more reason to have suffered Cæsar's friends to have robbed and done what wrong and injury they had would [wished to do] than to bear with their own men. "For then," said he, "they could but have said we had been cowards, but now they may accuse us of injustice, beside the pains we take, and the danger we put ourselves into."

North's *Plutarch.*

According to Coleridge this dialogue [Act IV. iii. 1-122] between Cassius and Brutus in Brutus' tent, is one of the most wonderful things in all Shakespeare's writings.

Philippi. IV. iii. 169, 196, 203, 210, 224, 283, 284, 285; V. i. 5, 83.

A city of Macedonia, founded about 340 B.C., by Philip of Macedon, father of Alexander the Great, now called Philippopolis. Here the armies of Octavius Cæsar and Mark Antony met the forces of Brutus and Cassius. The right wing commanded by Octavius was beaten by the forces under Brutus, but Cassius, being defeated by Antony, and thinking all was lost, stabbed himself. In the second battle, twenty days later, Brutus was compelled by his troops to fight against his better judgment, and being defeated took his own life:

Furthermore, of all the chances that happen unto men upon the earth, that which came to Cassius above all other, is most to be wondered at: for he, being overcome in battle at the journey of Philippes, slew himself with the same sword with the which he strake [struck] Cæsar.

. . . . . .

Thereupon Brutus, knowing that he should die, did put himself to all hazard in battle, but yet fighting could not be slain. So seeing his men put to flight and overthrown, he ran unto a little rock not far off, and there setting his sword's point to his breast, fell upon it and slew himself; but yet, as it is reported, with the help of his friend that despatched him.

North's *Plutarch.*

Shakespeare represents the two battles as taking place on the same day.

Philippi fields. V. v. 19.

The ghost of Cæsar hath appear'd to me
Two several times by night; at Sardis once,
And, this last night, here in Philippi fields.
I know my hour is come. [V. v. 17-20.]

An instance of a noun used in an adjectival form. Cf. I. i. 63 "Tiber banks"; V. i. 33 "Hybla bees"; *Othello* I. i. 151 "Cyprus wars"; *Romeo and Juliet* III. iii. 17 "Verona walls"; *2 Henry VI.* iv. viii. 23 "London gates."

The second battle [of Philippi] being at hand, this spirit appeared again unto him, but spake never a word. Thereupon Brutus, knowing that he should die, did put himself to all hazard in battle, but yet fighting could not be slain.

North's *Plutarch.*

Pindarus. IV. ii. 4, 6, 47; V. iii. 20, 49, 56, 72, 79.

A servant to Cassius, who commanded him to ascend to a high point of a hill on the battle-ground to watch how Titinius fared; Titinius having been previously sent to ascertain whether certain troops in view, were friends or enemies:

Go, Pindarus, get higher on that hill;
My sight was ever thick; regard Titinius,
And tell me what thou not'st about the field.
[V. iii. 20-22.]

Pindarus reported erroneously that Titinius was captured, mistaking a body of Brutus' troops for enemies:

Titinius is enclosed round about
With horsemen, that make to him on the spur;
Yet he spurs on: now they are almost on him.
Now, Titinius! now some light: O! he lights too:
He's ta'en! [*Shout.*
And, hark! they shout for joy.
[V. iii. 28-32.]

Thinking all was lost Cassius gave Pindarus his sword, and called upon him to thrust it into his heart. Pindarus obeyed the command of Cassius saying:

So, I am free; yet would not so have been,
Durst I have done my will. O Cassius!
Far from this country Pindarus shall run,
Where never Roman shall take note of him.
[V. iii. 46-50.]

For Cassius, thinking indeed that Titinnius was taken of the enemies, he then spake these words: "Desiring too much to live, I have lived to see one of my best friends taken, for my sake, before my face." . . . but then, casting his cloak over his head, and holding out his bare neck unto Pindarus, he gave him his head to be stricken off. So the head was found severed from the body: but after that time Pindarus was never

seen more. . . . So Cassius, at his earnest request, was slain by a faithful servant of his own called Pindarus, whom he had enfranchised: because he knew not in time that Brutus had overcome Cæsar. North's *Plutarch.*

Plutus' mine. IV. iii. 101.

The gold stored in Plutus' treasure-house. In classical mythology Plutus was the god of wealth, and had all the world's gold in his keeping and at his disposal.

Poet, A.

Cassius entered the tent of Brutus in the camp near Sardis, and Lucilius and Titinius were commanded to guard the door, and let no man enter until the conference was concluded.

Cassius and Brutus quarrelled, and during the quarrel, a poet—Marcus Phaonius—tried to force his way past the guards, and enter the tent, saying:

Poet. [*Within.*] Let me go in to see the generals;
There is some grudge between 'em, 'tis not meet
They be alone.
Lucil. [*Within.*] You shall not come to them.
Poet. [*Within.*] Nothing but death shall stay me.
[IV. iii. 123-127.]

He entered, and was followed by Lucilius and Titinius. Cassius, addressing him:

How now! What's the matter?

to which the poet replied:

For shame, you generals! What do you mean?
Love, and be friends, as two such men should be;
For I have seen more years, I'm sure, than ye.
[IV. iii. 128-131.]

Cassius laughed at him, but Brutus thrust him out of the chamber, calling him "saucy fellow."

Cas. Ha, ha! how vilely doth this cynic rhyme!
Bru. Get you hence, sirrah; saucy fellow, hence!
Cas. Bear with him Brutus; 'tis his fashion.
Bru. I'll know his humour, when he knows his time:
What should the wars do with these jigging fools?
Companion, hence!
Cas. Away, away! be gone.
[IV. iii. 132-136.]

This Phaonius at that time, in despite of the door-keepers, came into the chamber, and with a certain scoffing and mocking gesture, which he counterfeited of purpose, [on purpose] he rehearsed the verses which old Nestor said in Homer:

"My lords, I pray you hearken both to me,
For I have seen mo [more] years than suchie [such] three."

Cassius fell a-laughing at him: but Brutus thrust him out of the chamber, and called him dog and counterfeit Cynic. North's *Plutarch.*

Pompey. I. i. 42, 47; II. i. 216.

A famous Roman general and rival of Cæsar, each wanting the supreme power. Born in 106 B.C., he fought along with his father when only seventeen, in the Social or Italian war, on the side of Sulla against the party of Marius and Cinna. Associated himself with the aristocracy, and in 83 B.C., gained the title of "Imperator" for his victory over the Marian armies. He followed up his successes by subduing the remnants of the Marian faction in Africa and Sicily, and on his triumphant return to Rome was honoured with the name of "The Great." From 76 to 71 B.C., he fought in Spain, and in 67-66 B.C., cleared the Mediterranean of the pirates in which sea they had reigned for many years. Conquered Mithridates, king of Pontus, Tigranes, king of Armenia, and Antoichus, king of Syria, and captured Jerusalem. On his return he disbanded his army, and entered Rome for a third time in triumph in 61 B.C. In the following year, with Cæsar and Crassus, formed the First Triumvirate, married Julia, daughter of Cæsar, and became ruler of the greater part of the Roman empire.

He was, however, disliked and distrusted by the aristocratic party, on account of his espousing the people's cause.

Crassus was slain in battle in Syria against the Parthians, and with the death of his wife, Julia, in 54 B.C., came strained relations between him and his father-in-law, with the result that the Triumvirate was broken up.

Pompey returned to the aristocratic party whose great desire was to check Cæsar's ambition, and in 50 B.C., the Senate, by a large majority, revoked the power conceded to Cæsar in Gaul.

Civil war broke out, and Cæsar crossed the Rubicon—a river which divided Gaul on this side the Alps from Italy—forced Pompey to flee, and in a short time the whole of Italy submitted to him. In 48 B.C., Pompey was

finally defeated at Pharsalia, and fled to Egypt, where he was murdered by one of his old centurions as he was landing from the boat. His head was cut off and presented to Cæsar on his arrival in Egypt. Pompey had just completed his fifty-eighth year.

Pompey. V. i. 75.

> Give me thy hand, Messala:
> Be thou my witness that against my will,
> As Pompey was, am I compell'd to set
> Upon one battle all our liberties.
> [V. i. 73-76.]

An allusion to the battle of Pharsalia, where Pompey was persuaded against his better judgment to give battle, with the result that he was defeated by Cæsar. Shakespeare here follows closely Cassius' words as they appear in North's *Plutarch*:

> Messala, I protest unto thee, and make thee my witness, that I am compelled against my mind and will (as Pompey the Great was) to jeopard [risk] the liberty of our country to the hazard of a battle.

Pompey's basis. III. i. 115.

> How many times shall Cæsar bleed in sport,
> That now on Pompey's basis lies along
> No worthier than the dust! [III. i. 114-116.]

The plinth or pedestal on which Pompey's statue stood. Cæsar fell at the pedestal of this statue, which dripped with blood that spurted from him. The statue was in Pompey's theatre, not in the Capitol, but Shakespeare, when he transferred the scene of the murder to the Capitol, transferred the statue also.

Pompey's blood. I. i. 56.

= the sons or offspring of Pompey. The reference is to Cæsar's fifth and last triumph, held in honour of his final victory over the sons of Pompey in the battle of Munda in Spain, fought on the 17th March 45 B.C. Cnæus and Sextus, the two sons of Pompey the Great were leaders in the battle and Cnæus perished. Cf. *1 Henry VI.* IV. v. 16-17 "The world will say, he is not Talbot's blood That basely fled when noble Talbot stood." Also *Richard II.* I. iii. 57-58; the King addressing his "Cousin of Hereford" says: "Farewell, my blood; which if to-day thou shed, Lament we may, but not revenge thee dead."

Pompey's porch. I. iii. 126, 147.

The meeting place of the conspirators. This porch was an annexe to Pompey's theatre, erected by him at Rome in 55 B.C., in imitation of the Greek theatre at Mitylene, which was capable of holding 40,000 people. "Pompey's porch" was a colonnade outside this theatre and was large enough for a meeting of the Roman Senate. According to Plutarch it was in this porch that Cæsar was assassinated. Shakespeare, however, makes the Capitol the scene of the murder, and Pompey's porch as a meeting-place for the conspirators:

> For these things, they may seem to come by chance; but the place where the murther [murder] was prepared, and where the Senate were assembled, and where also there stood up an image of Pompey dedicated by himself amongst other ornaments which he gave unto the theatre, all these were manifest proofs, that it was the ordinance of some god that made this treason to be executed, specially in that very place. North's *Plutarch.* (*Julius Cæsar.*)

> Furthermore they (the conspirators) thought also, that the appointment of the place where the council should be kept was chosen of [on] purpose by divine providence, and made all for them. For it was one of the porches about the theatre, in the which there was a certain place full of seats for men to sit in; where also was set up the image of Pompey, which the city had made and consecrated in honour of him, when he did beautify that part of the city with the theatre he built, with divers porches about it. In this place was the assembly of the Senate appointed to be, just on the fifteenth day of the month March, which the Romans call *Idus Martias*: so that it seemed some god of [on] purpose had brought Cæsar thither to be slain, for revenge of Pompey's death. North's *Plutarch.* (*Marcus Brutus.*)

Pompey's statue. III. ii. 195.

> And, in his mantle muffling up his face,
> Even at the base of Pompey's statue,
> Which all the while ran blood, great Cæsar fell.
> [III. ii. 194-196.]

According to Plutarch: "Cæsar did still defend himself against the rest, running every way with his body: but when he saw Brutus with his sword drawn in his hand, then he pulled his gown over his head, and made no more resistance, and was driven either

casually or purposedly, [purposely] by the counsel of the conspirators, against the base whereupon Pompey's image stood, which ran all of [with] a gore-blood till he was slain."

In the Spada Palace at Rome is a statue discovered in 1553, considered to be the very statue of Pompey at the base of which Cæsar was assassinated:

> And thou, dread statue! yet existent in
> The austerest form of naked majesty,
> Thou who beheldest, 'mid the assassins' din,
> At thy bathed base the bloody Cæsar lie,
> Folding his robe in dying dignity,
> An offering to thine altar from the queen
> Of gods and men, great Nemesis! did he die,
> And thou, too, perish, Pompey? have ye been
> Victors of countless kings, or puppets of a scene?
>
> Byron: *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage.* IV. lxxxvii.

Pompey's theatre. I. iii. 152.

This theatre, which was built by Pompey in B.C., 55, in imitation of the Greek theatre at Mitylene, was the first stone theatre in Rome. It was of great beauty and capacity, being capable of holding forty thousand spectators. In one of the porches—called Pompey's porch—was a statue erected by the city in honour of Pompey. According to Plutarch it was in this porch, and not in the Capitol, that Cæsar was assassinated.

Portia. II. i. 260, 278, 287, 304; IV. iii. 146, 147, 164, 189.

The wife of Marcus Brutus—married first to Bibulus—and daughter of Cato Uticensis, a woman of high moral and intellectual ability. In order to test her fortitude and her endurance of physical pain, she inflicted upon herself a voluntary wound, and bore the pain with great firmness, yet, when those about her were in peril she showed all a woman's weakness, which however she held in check by that self-discipline which she thought should become a woman:

> A woman well reputed, Cato's daughter.
> Think you I am no stronger than my sex,
> Being so father'd and so husbanded?
> [II. i. 295-297.]

> His wife Porcia (as we have told you before) was the daughter of Cato, whom Brutus married being his cousin, not a maiden, but a young widow after the death of her first husband Bibulus, . . who afterwards wrote a book of the acts and gests [doings] of Brutus, extant at this present day, ... she took a little razor, such as barbers occupy [use] to pare men's nails, ... and gave herself a great gash withal in her thigh, North's *Plutarch.*

Brutus, being astonished at her constancy, confided to her the conspiracy which he and others had formed against Cæsar. Portia wished them success, but on the day appointed for the assassination, she betrayed fear and fell into a swoon.

> O! I grow faint.
> Run, Lucius, and commend me to my lord;
> Say I am merry: come to me again,
> And bring me word what he doth say to thee.
> [II. iv. 43-46.]

> For Porcia, being very careful [anxious] and pensive for that which was to come, and being too weak to away with [endure] so great and inward grief of mind, she could hardly keep within, but was frighted with every little noise and cry she heard, as those that are taken and possessed with the fury of the Bacchantes; asking every man that came from the market-place what Brutus did, and still [constantly] sent messenger after messenger, to know what news. At length Cæsar's coming being prolonged (as you have heard), Porcia's weakness was not able to hold out any longer, and thereupon she suddenly swounded, [swooned] that she had no leisure to go to her chamber, but was taken in the midst of her house, where her speech and senses failed her. North's *Plutarch.*

When Brutus and Portia parted for the last time in the island of Nisida, Plutarch relates that she restrained all outward expressions of grief in order not to shake the fortitude of her husband, but in passing a picture of Hector and Andromaché she at length burst into a passion of tears:

> There Porcia, being ready to depart from her husband Brutus, and to return to Rome, did what she could to dissemble the grief and sorrow she felt at her heart: but a certain painted table [picture] bewrayed [betrayed] her in the end, although until that time she shewed always a constant and patient mind. The device of the table was taken out of the Greek stories, how Andromache accompanied her husband Hector when he went out of the city of Troy to go to the wars, and how Hector delivered her his little son, and how her eyes were never off him. Porcia seeing this picture, and likening herself to be in the same case, she fell a-weeping: and coming thither oftentimes in a day to see it, she wept still [continually]. Acilius, one of Brutus' friends, perceiving that, rehearsed the verses Andromache speaketh to this purpose in Homer:

Ides of March. I. ii. 17, 19, 23; III. i. 1; IV. iii. 18; V. i. 114.

The Roman month was divided into Calends, Nones and Ides. The Calends represented the first day of each month. The Nones signified the ninth day before the Ides, *i.e.* the seventh of March, May, July, and October, but the fifth of other months. The Ides fell on the thirteenth of the month, but the fifteenth in March, May, July, and October, hence:

"Thou Hector art my father, and my mother,
and my brother,
And husband eke, and all in all: I mind not
any other."

Her suppressed feelings of grief, terror and suspense caused temporary madness, and she put an end to herself by swallowing fire. Shakespeare represents it thus:

Bru. Impatient of my absence,
And grief that young Octavius with Mark
Antony
Have made themselves so strong; for with
her death
That tidings came; with this she fell distract,
And, her attendants absent, swallow'd fire.

[IV. iii. 151-155.]

And Plutarch:

And for Porcia, Brutus' wife, Nicolaus the Philosopher and Valerius Maximus do write, that she, determining to kill herself (her parents and friends carefully looking to her to keep her from it), took hot burning coals and cast them into her mouth, and kept her mouth so close that she choked herself.. There was a letter of Brutus found written to his friends, complaining of their negligence, that, his wife being sick, they would not help [heal] her, but suffered her to kill herself; choosing to die, rather than to languish in pain. Thus it appeareth that Nicolaus knew not well that time, sith [since] the letter (at the least if it were Brutus' letter) doth plainly declare the disease and love of this lady, and also the manner of her death.

Prætor's chair. I. iii. 143.

Good Cinna, take this paper,
And look you lay it in the prætor's chair,
Where Brutus may but find it;

[I. iii. 142-144.]

The tribunal or chair where the city magistrate sat to try cases. Brutus held this office of Prætor Urbanus or Chief Prætor:

But for [as regards] Brutus, his friends and countrymen, both by divers procurements and sundry rumours of the city, and by many bills [scrolls] also, did openly call and procure him to do that he did. For under the image of his ancestor Junius Brutus, (that drave the kings out of Rome) they wrote: "O, that it pleased the gods thou wert now alive, Brutus!" and again, "that thou wert here among us now!" His tribunal or chair, where he gave audience during the time he was Prætor, was full of such bills: [scrolls], "Brutus, thou art asleep, and art not Brutus indeed." North's *Plutarch.*

Publius. III. i. 53, 57, 72.

Publius Cimber, brother to Metellus Cimber, who, at a meeting of the conspirators at the Senate-house, appealed to Cæsar for the recall of his brother Publius from banishment:

and part of them also came towards him, [Cæsar] as though they made suit with Metellus Cimber, to call home his brother again from banishment: North's *Plutarch.*

Met. Most high, most mighty, and most puissant
Cæsar,
Metellus Cimber throws before thy seat
An humble heart,—

[III. i. 33-35.]

Cæsar rebuked his feigned humility, and spurned his petition:

Be not fond,
To think that Cæsar bears such rebel blood
That will be thaw'd from the true quality
With that which melteth fools, I mean sweet words,
Low-crooked curt'sies, and base spaniel fawning.
Thy brother by decree is banished:

[III. i. 39-44.]

Brutus appealed for Publius but all in vain, with the result that the signal for Cæsar's assassination was given by Casca, who stabbed him in the neck with his sword.

Publius. II. ii. 108, 109; III. i. 85, 89, 91, 92.

And look where Publius is come to fetch me.

[II. ii. 108.]

This was Publius Silicius, not one of the conspirators. Immediately following the assassination of Cæsar, Publius was requested by Cassius to leave

lest that the people,
Rushing on us, should do your age some mischief.

[III. i. 92-93.]

Silicius wept when Brutus and his companions were summoned by Octavius Cæsar to appear before the judges. He was shortly afterwards proscribed by the Triumvirs, and put to death:

Among them the tears fell from Publius Silicius' eyes: who, shortly after, was one of the proscripts or outlaws appointed to be slain.
North's *Plutarch.*

Publius. IV. i. 4.

Upon condition Publius shall not live,
Who is your sister's son, Mark Antony.

[IV. i. 4-5.]

This is a mistake for Lucius Cæsar, Antony's uncle on his mother's side. Plutarch in his *Life of Marcus Antonius* says:

> Antonius also forsook Lucius Cæsar, who was his uncle by his mother: and both of them together suffered Lepidus to kill his own brother Paulus.

Rome. I. i. 37, 47; I. ii. 58, 149, 152, 158, 171; I. iii. 108; II. i. 47, 51, 52, 53, 56, 321; II. ii. 87, 269, 276, III. i. 121, 170, 278, 286, 288; III. ii. 24, 52, 78, 96, 124, 237; V. i. 110, 112; V. iii. 63, 100.

The scene of the greater part of the Play.

Rome. I. ii. 324.

> Writings all tending to the great opinion
> That Rome holds of his name;
> [I. ii. 323-324.]

The citizens of Rome honoured Brutus on account of his having the same name as the ancient Brutus.

Rome indeed and room I. ii. 154; III. i. 289.

> Now is it Rome indeed and room enough,
> [I. ii. 154.]

This pun arises from the fact that *Room* was the old pronunciation of Rome. Cf. III. i. 289:

> No Rome of safety for Octavius yet;

King John III. i. 180:

> That I have room with Rome to curse awhile!

And Byron (*Deformed Transformed* II. i. 121-122):

> Rome be crush'd to one wide tomb,
> But be still the Roman's Rome!

The old pronunciation survives in Rum, or Roum, the Oriental name of Constantinople, so-called as being the capital of the Roman Empire.

Sardis. IV. ii. 28; V. i. 80; V. v. 18.

In ancient geography the capital of Lydia, Asia Minor, situated at the foot of Mount Tmolus. It was destroyed by an earthquake in the reign of Tiberius, who ordered it to be rebuilt. It was taken by Cyrus in 548 B C., and became part of the Persian empire. In 500 B.C., the Ionian cities revolted, and in the following year Sardis was taken and burned by a united force of Ionians and Athenians. Under the Roman empire it became a centre of commercial activity.

After the murder of Cæsar on the Ides of March, 44 B.C., Brutus and Cassius left Rome, the former for Macedonia, and the latter for Syria, where they raised armies to oppose Octavius Cæsar and Antony. They met with their armies at Sardis, where a quarrel took place in Brutus' tent:

> About that time Brutus sent to pray Cassius to come to the city of Sardis, and so he did. Brutus, understanding of his coming, went to meet him with all his friends. There both their armies being armed, they called them both *Emperors*. Now as it commonly happened in great affairs between two persons, both of them having many friends and so many captains under them, there ran tales and complaints betwixt them. Therefore, before they fell in hand with any other matter, they went into a little chamber together, and bade every man avoid, [retire] and did shut the doors to them. Then they began to pour out their complaints one to the other, and grew hot and loud, earnestly accusing one another, and at length fell both a-weeping. North's *Plutarch*.

The two friends were however soon reconciled, and prepared to pass over into Europe, to meet the armies of Octavius Cæsar and Antony. The same night Brutus saw Cæsar's ghost, who told him he would meet him at Philippi:

> So, being ready to go into Europe, one night very late (when all the camp took quiet rest) as he was in his tent with a little light, thinking of weighty matters, he thought he heard one come in to him, and casting his eye towards the door of his tent, that he saw a wonderful strange and monstrous shape of a body coming towards him, and said never a word. So Brutus boldly asked what he was, a god or a man, and what cause brought him thither? The spirit answered him, "I am thy evil spirit, Brutus: and thou shalt see me by the city of Philippes." Brutus being no otherwise afraid, replied again unto it: "Well, then I shall see thee again." North's *Plutarch*.

Sardis was one of the earliest Christian bishoprics, being one of the seven churches of Asia addressed by the writer of the Apocalypse. It has degenerated and decayed from the position of one of the most powerful cities of the world to a miserable village, known now by the name of Sart.

Senators.

Soothsayer, A.

Cæsar went at the head of a procession to celebrate the feast of the *Lupercalia*. As he passed by, a soothsayer called to him to beware of the Ides of March:

Cæs. What man is that?
Bru. A soothsayer bids you beware the ides of March.
Cæs. Set him before me; let me see his face.
Cas. Fellow, come from the throng; look upon Cæsar.
Cæs. What say'st thou to me now? Speak once again.
Sooth. Beware the ides of March.

to which Cæsar replied:

He is a dreamer; let us leave him: pass. [I. ii. 24.]

Knowing of the conspiracy against Cæsar, he determined to warn him while he was on his way to the Capitol, but when Cæsar saw him he remarked:

The ides of March are come.

to which the soothsayer replied:

Ay, Cæsar: but not gone. [III. i. 1-2.]

Furthermore there was a certain soothsayer that had given Cæsar warning long time afore, to take heed of the day of the Ides of March, (which is the fifteenth of the month), for on that day he should be in great danger. That day being come, Cæsar going unto the Senate-house, and speaking merrily unto the soothsayer, told him, "the Ides of March be come:" "so they be," softly answered the soothsayer, "but yet are they not past." North's *Plutarch*.

Spain. I. ii. 118.

He had a fever when he was in Spain. [I. ii 118.]

At different periods of his life Cæsar undertook several campaigns in Spain, but the text does not show which is referred to here. According to Plutarch, however, it was during his third campaign, which closed with the battle of Munda, March 17th, B.C., 45, that Cæsar was taken with the epilepsy.

Statilius. V. v. 2.

Statilius show'd the torch-light, but, my lord,
He came not back; he is or ta'en or slain.
[V. v. 2-3.]

Statilius volunteered to make his way through the enemy, and if he found matters right to hold a torch aloft. He fulfilled his task, but on returning, fell into the hands of the enemy and was slain:

Furthermore, Brutus thought that there was no great number of men slain in battle: and to know the truth of it, there was one called Statilius, that promised to go through his enemies, for otherwise it was impossible to go see their camp: and from thence, if all were well, that he would lift up a torch-light in the air, and then return again with speed to him. The torch-light was lift [lifted] up as he had promised, for Statilius went thither. Now Brutus seeing Statilius tarry long after that, and that he came not again, he said: "If Statilius be alive, he will come again." But his evil fortune was such that, as he came back, he lighted in his enemies' hands and was slain.

Strato. V. v. 32, 33, 44, 48, 50, 53, 64.

A servant to Brutus. At the request of Brutus he remained with him when Clitus, Dardanius, and Volumnius had fled. Brutus had promised them to follow immediately:

I prithee, Strato, stay thou by thy lord. [V. v. 44.]

He asked Strato to hold his sword while he committed suicide:

Hold then my sword, and turn away thy face,
While I do run upon it. [V. v. 47-48.]

Strato answered:

Give me your hand first: fare you well, my lord. [V. v. 49.]

Brutus bade farewell to Strato, ran on his sword, and died:

Farewell, good Strato. Cæsar, now be still:
I kill'd not thee with half so good a will.
[*He runs on his sword, and dies.* [V. v. 50-51.]

Having so said, he prayed every man to shift for himself, [themselves] and then he went a little aside with two or three only, among the which Strato was one, with whom he came first acquainted by the study of rhetoric. He came as near to him as he could, and taking his sword by the hilt with both his hands, and falling down upon the point of it, ran himself through. Others say that not be, but Strato (at his request) held the sword in his hand, and turned his head aside, and that Brutus fell down upon it, and so ran himself through, and died presently. [forthwith.] North's *Plutarch*.

Tarquin. II. i. 54.

My ancestors did from the streets of Rome
The Tarquin drive, when he was call'd a king.
[II. i. 53-54.]

An allusion to the expulsion of Tarquinius Superbus from Rome, in which Lucius Junius Brutus, an ancestor of Marcus Brutus, took a leading part.

Thassos. V. iii. 104.

> Come therefore, and to Thassos send his body:
> His funerals shall not be in our camp,
> Lest it discomfort us. [V. iii. 104-106.]

An island, now called Thaso, in the Ægean Sea, off the Thracian coast. This panegyric is based on the following passage from North's *Plutarch*:

> So when he was come thither, after he had lamented the death of Cassius, calling him the last of all the Romans, being unpossible [impossible] that Rome should ever breed again so noble and valiant a man as he, he caused his body to be buried, and sent it to the city of Thassos, fearing lest his funerals [burial] within his camp should cause great disorder.

Tiber. I. i. 50; I. ii. 113; III. ii. 256.

> That Tiber trembled underneath her banks,
> [I. i. 50.]

A river of Italy that flows through the city of Rome; celebrated in ancient Roman history. Shakespeare speaks of it here in the feminine gender, but the Romans made it masculine:

> "Oh, Tiber! father Tiber!
> To whom the Romans pray,
> A Roman's life, a Roman's arms,
> Take thou in charge this day!
> Macaulay: *Horatius* lix.

Cæsar's pleasure grounds and gardens were on the Janiculum Mount, on the farther side of the Tiber, not on the side on which the Forum stood, where Antony's speech was delivered. North's *Plutarch* misled Shakespeare. By his will Cæsar left these gardens to the citizens of Rome:

> *Ant.* Moreover, he hath left you all his walks,
> His private arbours, and new-planted orchards,
> On this side Tiber; he hath left them you,
> And to your heirs for ever; [III. ii. 254-258.]

> and that he [Cæsar] left his gardens and arbours unto the people, which he had on this side of the river Tiber, in the place where now the temple of Fortune is built:
> North's *Plutarch*.

Tiber. I. ii. 100.

> The troubled Tiber chafing with her shores,
> [I. ii. 100.]

i.e., lashing the banks with violence, as if angry with them for restraining it.

Tiber banks. I. i. 63.

> Draw them to Tiber banks, and weep your tears
> Into the channel, [I. i. 63-64.]

Tiber here is used as an adjective. Cf. V. v. 19 "Philippi fields"; *Othello* I. i. 151 "Cyprus wars"; *Romeo and Juliet* III iii. 17 "Verona walls"; and *Taming of the Shrew* II. i. 361 "Pisa walls."

Titinius. I. ii. 126; IV. ii. 52; IV. iii. 138, 162, 231; V. i. 22; V. iii. 1, 12, 14, 21, 28, 31, 51, 73, 90, 92, 93, 96; V. iv. 10.

Friend to Brutus and Cassius. During the wars following Cæsar's assassination, was a captain in the army of Cassius. He was sent by Cassius to find out whether certain troops in view were friends or foes:

> He saw also a great troupe [troop] of horsemen, whom Brutus sent to aid him, and thought that they were his enemies that followed him: but yet he sent Titinnius, one of them that was with him, to go and know what they were.
> North's *Plutarch*.

Pindarus, servant to Cassius, reported erroneously that Titinius was captured. Cassius on hearing the news called upon Pindarus to slay him, when almost immedlately Titinius returned, and finding the dead body of Cassius fell upon the sword by which Cassius had perished:

> For Cassius, thinking indeed that Titinnius was taken of the enemies, he then spake these words: "Desiring too much to live, I have lived to see one of my best friends taken, for my sake, before my face." . . . but then, casting his cloak over his head, and holding out his bare neck unto Pindarus, he gave him his head to be stricken off. So the head was found severed from the body, but after that time Pindarus was never seen more. . . . By and by they knew the horsemen that came towards them, and might see Titinnius crowned with a garland of triumph, who came before with great speed unto Cassius. But when he perceived, by the cries and tears of his friends which tormented themselves, the misfortune that had chanced to his captain Cassius by mistaking, he drew out his sword, cursing himself a thousand times that he had tarried so long, and so slew himself presently [at once] in the field. *North's Plutarch.*

It was Titinius who remarked on the death of Cassius:

> But Cassius is no more. O setting sun!
> As in thy red rays thou dost sink to night,
> So in his red blood Cassius' day is set;
> The sun of Rome is set. [V. iii. 60-63.]

Trebonius. I. iii. 148; II. i. 94; II. ii. 120; II. iii. 3; III. i. 4, 25, 189.

One of the conspirators against Julius Cæsar who was introduced to Brutus along with the other conspirators, by Cassius.

Cassius was afraid of Antony, because of the latter's love for Cæsar, and wished him to be put to death, but Trebonius assured him:

> There is no fear in him; let him not die;
> For he will live, and laugh at this hereafter.
> [II. i. 190-191.]

Along with the other conspirators he arrived at Cæsar's house. Cæsar expressed some surprise at seeing him, and at the same time told him that he had an hour's talk in store for him:

> what, Trebonius!
> I have an hour's talk in store for you;
> Remember that you call on me to-day:
> Be near me, that I may remember you.
>
> *Treb.* Cæsar, I will: [*aside*] and so near will I be,
> That your best friends shall wish I had been further. [II. ii. 120-125.]

Cæsar was warned by Artemidorus not to trust Trebonius:

> *Cæsar, beware of Brutus; take heed of Cassius; come not near Casca; have an eye to Cinna: trust not Trebonius; mark well Metellus Cimber;* [II. iii. 1-4.]

When Cæsar and the conspirators arrived at the Senate-house, Trebonius drew Antony from the room, while Metellus Cimber presented his petition to Cæsar:

> *Cas.* Trebonius knows his time; for, look you, Brutus,
> He draws Mark Antony out of the way.
> [III. i. 25-26.]

> Trebonius* on the other side drew Antonius aside, as he came into the house where the Senate sat, and held him with a long talk without.
> Plutarch: *Life of Marcus Brutus.*

> [*In the *Life of Julius Cæsar* it is said, it was Decius Brutus Albinus who kept Antonius with a talk without.]

Trebonius was killed at Smyrna by Dolabella.

Troy. I. ii. 112.

A city of Troas, celebrated as the scene of the legend immortalized by the *Iliad*. It was taken and sacked by the Greeks after a ten years' siege.

Varro. IV. iii. 288.

One of the servants of Brutus, who, when the armies of Brutus and Cassius were at Sardis, was, along with Claudius commanded by Brutus to sleep that night in his tent:

> I pray you, sire, lie in my tent and sleep:
> It may be I shall raise you by and by
> On business to my brother Cassius.
> [IV. iii. 245-247.]

The same night Brutus saw the ghost of Cæsar, and called loudly for Varro and Claudius to awake:

> Boy! Lucius! Varro! Claudius! Sirs, awake!
> [IV. iii. 288.]

Varro also cried out in his sleep, and Brutus, thinking that he too had seen the ghost of Cæsar questioned him in the matter, to which Varro replied:

> No, my lord, I saw nothing. [IV. iii. 302.]

> The spirit presently vanished away: and Brutus called his men unto him, who told him that they heard no noise, nor saw anything at all.
> North's *Plutarch.*

Volumnius. V. v. 15, 16, 21, 22, 25, 31.

Friend to Brutus and Cassius. Brutus, addressing him:

> Good Volumnius,
> Thou know'st that we two went to school together;
> [V. v. 25-26.]

In the second battle of Philippi Brutus was vanquished, and in despair called upon Volumnius to hold his sword while he ran upon it:

> Even for that our love of old, I prithee,
> Hold thou my sword-hilts, whilst I run on it.
> [V. v. 27-28.]

to which Volumnius replied:

> That 's not an office for a friend, my lord.
> [V. v. 29.]

> at length he came to Volumnius himself, and speaking to him in Greek, prayed him for the studies' sake which brought them acquainted to-

gether, that he would help him to put his hand to his sword, to thrust it in him to kill him. Volumnius denied his request, and so did many others: North's *Plutarch*.

Brutus told Volumnius that he had seen the ghost of Cæsar, and knew that his end drew nigh:

> Why, this, Volumnius:
> The ghost of Cæsar hath appear'd to me
> Two several times by night; at Sardis once,
> And, this last night, here in Philippi fields.
> I know my hour is come. [V. v. 16-19.]

> The image answered him: "I am thy ill angel, Brutus, and thou shalt see me by the city of Philippes." . . . Therewithal the spirit presently [at once] vanished from him. . . . The second battle being at hand, this spirit appeared again unto him, but spake never a word.
> North's *Plutarch* (*Julius Cæsar.*)

Volumnius wrote an account of the death and actions of Brutus from which Plutarch made selections, but does not make any mention of this spirit having appeared to Brutus, for in Plutarch's *Marcus Brutus* we read:

> Now Publius Volumnius, a grave and wise philosopher, that had been with Brutus from the beginning of this war, doth make no mention of this spirit; but saith that the greatest eagle and ensign was covered over with a swarm of bees; . . . . And that, before the battle was fought, there were two eagles fought between both armies, ... and that in the end, the eagle towards Brutus gave over and fled away. But this is certain, and a true tale, that when the gate of the camp was open, the first man the standard-bearer met that carried the eagle, was an Æthiopian, whom the soldiers, for ill luck, mangled with their swords.

Young Cato. V. iii. 107; V. iv. 9.

Son of Marcus Cato, and friend to Brutus and Cassius. He brought to Brutus news of the death of Titinius, whose body was found near that of Cassius:

> Brave Titinius!
> Look! whether he have not crown'd dead Cassius.
> [V. iii. 96-97.]

Brutus remarked:

> And come, young Cato; let us to the field.
> Labio and Flavius, set our battles on:
> 'Tis three a clock; and, Romans, yet ere night
> We shall try fortune in a second fight.
> [V. iii. 107-110.]

With Brutus, Lucilius and others he rode to the field of battle proclaiming:

> I am the son of Marcus Cato, ho!
> A foe to tyrants, and my country's friend;
> I am the son of Marcus Cato, ho!
> [V. iv. 4-6.]

In charging the enemy he was overpowered and fell. Lucilius in lamenting his death says:

> O young and noble Cato! art thou down?
> Why, now thou diest as bravely as Titinius,
> And may'st be honour'd, being Cato's son.
> [V. iv. 9-11.]

And Plutarch (*Marcus Brutus*):

> There was the son of Marcus Cato slain, valiantly fighting among the lusty youths. For notwithstanding that he was very weary and overharried, [much harassed] yet would he not therefore fly; but manfully fighting and laying about him, telling aloud his name, and also his father's name, at length he was beaten down amongst many other dead bodies of his enemies, which he had slain round about him.

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As You Like It.

Written. Between 1598 and 1600. This conclusion is arrived at by a quotation (III. v. 81.) "Who ever loved, that loved not at first sight?" from Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* which was published 1598, though Marlowe died 1593. Further it is not mentioned in the list of Shakespeare's Plays given by Francis Meres in his *Palladis Tamia or Wit's Treasury* published in 1598.

Published. Entered in the Registers of the Stationers' Company in 1600, but first printed in the folio collection in 1623.

Source of the Plot. Part is original. The plot and several of the incidents are taken from a novel written by the poet Thomas Lodge. The full title of the novel is *Rosalynde. Euphues golden Legacie, found after his death in his Cell at Silexedra. Bequeathed to Philautus Sonnes, nursed up with their father in England. Fetcht from the Canaries by T. L. Gent.* Lodge joined in an expedition to the Islands of Terceras and the Canaries against the Spaniards about 1588 and on his voyage wrote his romance which was published in 1590. Addressing his "Gentlemen Readers," he says:—"Gentlemen, looke not heere to finde anie sprigs of Pallas bay tree, nor to heare the humour of any amorous lawreat,[1] nor the pleasing vaine[2] of any eloquent orator: *Nolo altum sapere*,[3] they bee matters above my capacitie: the coblers checke shal never light on my heade, *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*:[4] I will go no further than the lachet, and then all is wel. Heere you may perhaps finde some leaves of Venus mirtle, but hewen down by a souldier with his curtlaxe,[5] not boght with the allurement of a filed[6] tongue. To bee briefe, gentlemen, roome for a souldier and a sailer, that gives you the fruits of his labors that he wrote in the ocean, when everie line was wet with a surge, and every humorous passion countercheckt with a storme. If you like it,[7] so; and yet I will bee yours in duetie, if you be mine in favour. But if Momus[8] or any squinteied asse, that hath mighty eares to conceive with Midas,[9] and yet little reason to judge, if he come abord our barke to find fault with the tackling, when hee knowes not the shrowds, Ile downe into the hold, and fetch out a rustie pollax,[10] that saw no sunne this seaven yeare, and either well bebast[11] him, or heave the cockescombe over boord to feed cods. But curteous gentlemen, that favour most, backbite none, and pardon what is overslipt, let such come and welcome; Ile into the stewards roome, and fetch them a kanne[12] of our best bevradge. Well, gentlemen, you have Euphues Legacie. I fetcht it as farre as the Ilands of Terceras, and therefore read it: censure with favour, and farewell. Yours, T.L." Lodge's pastoral idyll was founded partly on *The Cook's Tale of Gamelyn*, sometimes attributed to Chaucer, but in reality the work of a much earlier writer. The names of Jaques, Touchstone, and Audrey are Shakespeare's own creations; they have no counterpart in Lodge's *Rosalynde*.

1 laureate. 2 vein. 3 I do not wish to aspire to wisdom. 4 Let the shoemaker stick to his last. 5 cutlass. 6 smooth. 7 these words may probably have suggested to Shakespeare the title of the play. 8 the god of raillery and ridicule. 9 a legendary king of Phrygia, whose ears were changed into those of an ass, by Apollo. 10 poleaxe. 11 beat. 12 a drinking vessel.

Outline of the Play. Sir Rowland de Boys, an old knight dies, leaving three sons. By his will he leaves the two younger sons—Jaques and Orlando—under the guardianship of the eldest son, Oliver. In the case of Jaques, Oliver carries out the wishes of his father, but towards Orlando the youngest—who benefits most under his father's will—he conceives a bitter hatred. He treats him as a servant, and denies him the education due to one of his rank. Orlando reaches manhood, rebels against his brother's treatment, and demands the inheritance bequeathed him by his father, with the result that a violent quarrel ensues between the two brothers. Oliver promises amendment, and the brothers are reconciled. Cf. **Extract 1** from Lodge's *Rosalynde*.

Oliver, however, determines to get rid of Orlando by treachery, and secretly encourages him in his desire to take part in a wrestling match to be held at the court of Frederick, a duke who has usurped the title and possessions of his elder brother. [In the novel the rival dukes are not brothers.] During the interview between the two brothers, Charles—wrestler to Duke Frederick—enters, and makes known to Oliver, Orlando's intention of wrestling with him, with the result that Oliver incites the wrestler against his brother, hoping by this means to get rid of him. Cf. **Extract 2** from Lodge's *Rosalynde*.

The banished duke has an only daughter—Rosalind—whom the usurping duke still retains at his court as companion to his daughter Celia. These two ladies live together in the closest companionship, their devoted friendship to each other forming one of the most beautiful features of the play.

Rosalind and Celia agree to witness the wrestling. In vain do they endeavour to dissuade Orlando from entering the combat. The wrestling proceeds, and to the great surprise of all present Orlando throws Charles. His courage and skill are greatly admired by Duke Frederick, who desires to know his name and parentage. On being told he is the son of Sir Rowland de Boys, a friend of the banished duke, his admiration turns to dislike. [In the novel it says that the duke rose from his seat and embraced Orlando.] To Rosalind the fact gives further interest, and she rewards his bravery by the gift of a chain from her neck. [In the novel she sends the jewel to Orlando by a page.] Cf. **Extract 3** from Lodge's *Rosalynde*.

Duke Frederick now vents his wrath on Rosalind, whom he orders to follow her father into banishment on the pretence of her being a traitor. Celia pleads with her father to allow Rosalind to remain with her, but her pleading being in vain she decides to accompany her in her exile. [In the novel Celia is, along with Rosalind, banished by her father.] Gathering together their jewels and money, they persuade the court clown Touchstone—who is devoted to Celia—to accompany them, and make their escape during the night, intending to seek the banished duke in the Forest of Arden. Rosalind dresses as a young man, and is known as Ganymede, while Celia disguises herself as a country lass, being known as Aliena. Weary and worn they arrive at the Forest of Arden. Cf. **Extract 4** from Lodge's *Rosalynde*.

Rosalind and Celia meet two shepherds—Corin and Silvius—and inquire where they can find food and shelter. Corin, the elder shepherd, tells them that his master's house, fields, flocks, etc., are for sale. He is authorised to buy for

Rosalind and Celia and to act as their shepherd. Cf. **Extract 5** from Lodge's *Rosalynde*.

Under the pretext of having been privy to the flight of Rosalind and Celia, Orlando is exiled, and accompanied by Adam, an old servant, makes for the Forest of Arden. Wandering in the forest for several days without food, and finding no human habitation, they are in sore distress. Adam, unable to proceed any further, bids farewell to Orlando, and lies down to die. Going in search of food Orlando happens to arrive in that part of the forest where the exiled duke and his friends live. The duke inquires who he is, and on being told he is the son of Sir Rowland de Boys takes him under his protection, and Orlando and his servant live with the duke in the forest. Cf. **Extract 6** from Lodge's *Rosalynde*.

Hearing of Oliver's cruelty to his brother Orlando, the usurping duke sends for Oliver, and under the pretence of justice, but in reality because he wishes to possess Oliver's lands, puts him into prison. When at last the duke liberates him it is only to tell him that since he has been the means of exiling Orlando, he must produce his brother within a twelvemonth or be banished from the court. Oliver sets out in search of his brother, following the same route as Orlando and old Adam. During his absence his lands are seized by the usurping duke. While asleep in the forest he is saved by Orlando from the attack of a lion. Cf. **Extract 7** from Lodge's *Rosalynde*.

Oliver falls in love with Celia, whom he thinks a country maiden. He confesses to Orlando that it is his intention, if she will marry him, to live and die a shepherd, and make over all his possessions to him. Orlando, still thinking of Rosalind whom he had seen at court, enters the forest with a paper of verses addressed to her, and hangs it on a tree. Rosalind—still in disguise, and unrecognised by Orlando—sees the verses. Orlando tells Rosalind that the sight of his brother's happiness in his love for Celia makes his misery the more, and Rosalind replies that by some skill in magic she will bring the real Rosalind to him the next day. Cf. **Extract 8** from Lodge's *Rosalynde*.

Phebe, a shepherdess, lives in the forest. She is beloved by Silvius, a shepherd. She does not return his love, but treats him scornfully. Her manner is rebuked by Rosalind, who, being in disguise is mistaken by Phebe for a youth. Instead of being displeased with the supposed youth, Phebe immediately falls in love, and entrusts the despised Silvius with a love-letter to "him."

> Art thou god to shepherd turn'd
> That a maiden's heart hath burn'd?
> Can a woman rail thus?

Rosalind reads the letter, and reproaches Silvius for being such a cowardly lover, as to endure such scorn and disdain from Phebe. Cf. **Extract 9** from Lodge's *Rosalynde*.

Rosalind retires to throw off her disguise, and on the morrow appears in her own character. Hymen enters, leading Rosalind, and all the lovers are united beneath the greenwood trees. Phebe, discovering the delusion under which she has been, in taking Rosalind—Ganymede—for a young forester, is propitiated by Silvius's faithfulness.

The ceremony is scarcely concluded when Jaques de Boys, the second son of Sir Rowland de Boys, enters, and announces that the usurping duke—enraged at the flight of his daughter Celia—has entered the forest with a large army, intending to seize his brother, but meeting a hermit he sees the error of his ways and is converted. He agrees to surrender his dukedom to the banished duke, restore to Oliver the lands he has confiscated from him, and spend the rest of his life in religious seclusion. The rightful duke—accompanied by his daughter and niece and their respective husbands—returns, and resumes his former position. [In the novel the duke's army is put to flight and himself slain. The rightful duke creates Orlando heir apparent to the kingdom, restores Oliver to his father's lands, and makes Jaques his principal secretary.] Cf. **Extract 10** from Lodge's *Rosalynde*.

Scene. Oliver's house; Duke Frederick's court; and the Forest of Arden.

CHARACTERS, PLACE-NAMES, &c.

Adam. I. i. 1, 21, 27; II. iii. 29; II. vi. 4, 18.

A faithful retainer in the family of Sir Rowland de Boys. Orlando complains to him of his elder brother's treatment, and Adam relates to him Oliver's plots against his life, and urges him to flee. His loyalty and generosity to his young master are well marked, when at the age of fourscore years he voluntarily accompanies him into exile, [see **Extract 6** from Lodge's *Rosalynde*], and offers to give him his little savings for the journey:

> Here is the gold;
> All this I give you. Let me be your servant:
> Though I look old, yet I am strong and lusty,
> . . . . . .
> let me go with you;
> I'll do the service of a younger man
> In all your business and necessities.
> [II. iii. 45-47; 53-55.]

His loyalty and devotion are much appreciated by Orlando, who replies:

> O good old man, how well in thee appears
> The constant service of the antique world,
> When service sweat for duty, not for meed!
> [II. iii. 56-58.]

When Orlando reaches the Forest of Arden in safety, Adam's work is done. It is Adam who has given birth to the phrase "A faithful Adam."

After the second Act there is no further allusion to him. It is thought that the part of Adam was played by the poet himself, and as the profession was distasteful to him, the early disappearance of Adam may be attributed to this.

Adam. II. i. 5.

> Here feel we but the penalty of Adam,
> The season's difference, [II. i. 5-6.]

May refer to the obligation of labour which fell upon Adam when he was driven from Eden; or an adaptation of "the seasons' difference", there being an old belief that it was always spring in Paradise, and that the change of seasons was a result of the fall of man.

In *Paradise Lost*, IV. 267-268, Milton speaks of "the eternal spring" that Adam and Eve enjoyed in Eden: "Knit with the Graces and the Hours in dance, Led on the eternal Spring," and in X. 678-679, he speaks of the change of seasons as due to the fall of man: "Else had the spring Perpetual smiled on Earth with vernant

flowers." In *Spring*, 317-321, Thomson refers to the same idea: "The Seasons since have, with severer sway, Oppress'd a broken world: the Winter keen Shook forth his waste of snows; and Summer shot His pestilential heats. Great Spring, before, Green'd all the year."

Cf. Hudson [*Windsor Shakespeare*] "The curse or penalty denounced upon Adam was 'In the sweat of thy face shall thou eat bread.' This is what the Duke and his comrades do not feel! 'they fleet the time carelessly, as they did in the golden world.'"

Aliena. I. iii. 124; II. iv. 7; IV. i. 200; V. ii. 8, 15, 63.

Something that hath a reference to my state;
No longer Celia, but Aliena. [I. iii. 123-124.]

The name assumed by Celia during her exile with Rosalind. Aliena means "a stranger, an exile from home."

Cf. latter part of **Extract 4** from Lodge's *Rosalynde*.

Amiens. II. i. 29.

One of the lords along with Jaques attending upon the duke during his banishment in the Forest of Arden. While Jaques is of a gloomy disposition, seeing only the dark side of things, Amiens is cheerful in his new surroundings, and seems, from the songs he sings, to enjoy life in the forest:

Under the greenwood tree
Who loves to lie with me,
And turn his merry note
Unto the sweet bird's throat,
Come hither, come hither, come hither:
Here shall he see
No enemy
But winter and rough weather. [II. v. 1-8.]

The song being ended Jaques asks for more, but Amiens, knowing him to be of a fault-finding disposition, replies:

It will make you melancholy, Monsieur Jaques.
[II. v. 10.]

and

My voice is ragged: I know I cannot please you.
[II. v. 14.]

The above song and the following one seem to express the dominant note of the forest life, away from all enemies but "winter and rough weather."

Blow, blow, thou winter wind,
Thou art not so unkind
As man's ingratitude;
Thy tooth is not so keen,
Because thou art not seen,
Although thy breath be rude.
Heigh-ho! sing, heigh-ho! unto the green holly:
Most friendship is feigning, most loving mere folly:
Then, heigh-ho, the holly!
This life is most jolly.

Freeze, freeze, thou bitter sky,
That dost not bite so nigh
As benefits forgot:
Though thou the waters warp,
Thy sting is not so sharp
As friend remember'd not.
Heigh-ho! sing, etc.
[II. vii. 173-189.]

Atalanta's better part. III. ii. 144, 270.

Atalanta's better part,
Sad Lucretia's modesty. [III. ii. 144-145.]

In ancient story the daughter of Schœneus, king of Scyros. According to some she was the daughter of Jasus by Clymene; but others say that Menalion was her father. She was distinguished for her beauty and swiftness of foot.

Jaq. You have a nimble wit: I think 'twas made of Atalanta's heels. [III. ii. 269-270.]

She was warned by an oracle not to marry, and to rid herself of her suitors gave out that she would marry no one who could not outstrip her in running, but if any challenged her and lost the race, he was to lose his life. Hippomenes, however, overcame her by throwing on the ground three golden apples given to him by Aphrodite, which she stopped to pick up and thus lost the race. Hippomenes, however, forgot to give thanks to Aphrodite and the goddess in anger changed them into lions. The story is delightfully told in Morris' *Earthly Paradise*. Ovid in his *Metamorphoses* says that "one could not tell whether her beauty or swiftness of foot were the more deserving of renown."

Attendants.

Audrey. III. iii. 1, 2, 85; V. i. 1, 2, 5, 6, 13, 61; V. iii. 1, 39; V. iv. 67.

A country wench in love with William, a country fellow, whom she jilts for Touchstone, the court clown. She is represented as an awkward, ungainly, and illiterate person:

Aud. I am not a slut, though I thank the gods I am foul. [III. iii. 33.]

and if to be poetical is not to be honest, she thanks the gods that "she is not poetical."

Though she professes to be ignorant, she can be businesslike, and does not intend to allow a former trifling affair with William—a rough country fellow—to prevent her from making a more ambitious match with Touchstone.

The name "Audrey" is also said to occur in Warwickshire parish registers of Shakespeare's time as a Christian name; but it was not peculiar to that county. In fact, it was associated more with East Anglia, being the popular corruption of *Etheldreda* ("noble strength"), the name of the foundress of Ely Cathedral. We see it also in the word *tawdry*, originally *tawdry lace*, i.e. lace bought at *St. Awdry's* fair, held at Ely and elsewhere on *St. Awdry's* day, Oct. 17. *Skeat.*

Barbary cock-pigeon. IV. i. 137.

I will be more jealous of thee than a Barbary cock-pigeon over his hen. [IV. i. 136-138.]

There does not appear to be any evidence that this pigeon is more jealous than others of its kind. Like the Barbary horse it is said to have come from the Barbary States, an extensive region in North Africa, on the Mediterranean coast.

Bay of Portugal. IV. i. 193.

But it cannot be sounded: my affection hath an unknown bottom, like the bay of Portugal. [IV. i. 191-193.]

An allusion to that portion of the sea off the coast of Portugal from Oporto to the headland of Cintra. The water is excessively deep, attaining a depth of from 1000 to 1200 fathoms, within a distance of forty miles from the shore. In Shakespeare's time it would be practically unfathomable.

Cæsar's thrasonical brag. V. ii. 30.

and Cæsar's thrasonical brag of "I came, saw, and overcame." [V. ii. 30-31.]

Thrasonical is from Thraso, a bragging soldier in the *Eunuchus*, a comedy by Terence; and *I came, saw, and overcame* refers to the well-known boast made by Julius Cæsar in his dispatch to the Roman Senate after defeating Pharnaces, king of Pontus, at the battle of Zela in Pontus, B.C. 47. Cf. *Cymbeline* III. i. 22-24:

A kind of conquest
Cæsar made here; [*i.e.* in Britain] but made not here his brag
Of "Came, and saw, and overcame:"

2 Henry IV. IV. iii. 36-37: "that I may justly say, with the hook-nosed fellow of Rome, 'I came, saw, and overcame.'" and Plutarch (North's translation): "Thereupon Cæsar went thither straight with three legions, and fought a great battle with king Pharnaces by the city of Zela, where he slew his army, and drave [drove] him out of all the realm of Pont. And because he would advertise one of his friends of the suddenness of this victory, he only wrote three words unto Anitius at Rome: 'Veni, vidi, vici:' to wit, 'I came, I saw, I overcame.'"

Celia. I. ii. 2, I. iii. 63, 124.

[Alinda of the novel]. Daughter of Frederick, the usurping duke, and cousin of Rosalind, daughter of the banished duke. Between the two cousins exists a most devoted friendship. [In the novel they are friends and not cousins.] Celia is, however, thrown into the shade by the greater wit and animation of her cousin, and withdraws from all display and prominence, though she is not found to be lacking in the distinct characteristics of firmness, physical endurance, and decision of purpose. They live together at Duke Frederick's court as the most tender and devoted of companions:

But now I know her: if she be a traitor,
Why, so am I; we still have slept together,
Rose at an instant, learn'd, play'd, eat together,
And wheresoe'er we went, like Juno's swans,
Still we went coupled and inseparable. [I. iii.68-72.]

Rosalind's father is living in banishment. Celia is bound to her cousin by the ties of sympathy, and makes her cousin's troubles her own. In trying to comfort Rosalind, she assures her that she will do all in her power to restore the inheritance which her father, Duke Frederick, has usurped:

for what he hath taken away from thy
father perforce, I will render thee again in affection;
[I. ii. 18-19.]

When Rosalind is banished from her uncle's court, Celia determines to share her banishment. Though the sacrifice and risks are great, no risk is too great to cause her to desert her cousin in her hour of need. She determines to accompany her to the Forest of Arden, sacrificing everything and facing unknown perils in her undaunted love:

Her father's remark:

And thou wilt show more bright, and seem more
virtuous
When she is gone. [I. iii. 77-78.]

does not influence her in the least, or prevent her from accompanying Rosalind. [In the play Celia's exile is voluntary, though in the novel she is banished by her father.] Cf. **Extract 4** from Lodge's *Rosalynde*.

Shall we be sunder'd? shall we part, sweet girl?
No; let my father seek another heir.
Therefore devise with me how we may fly,
Whither to go, and what to bear with us;
And do not seek to take your charge upon you
To bear your griefs yourself, and leave me out;
For, by this heaven, now at our sorrows pale,
Say what thou canst, I'll go along with thee.
[I. iii. 94-101.]

Celia is successful in persuading the court clown, Touchstone, to go with them, and follow their fortunes, Celia saying of him "He'll go along o'er the wide world with me." They make their escape during the night under pretence of seeking out the banished duke. Cf. **Extract 4** from Lodge's *Rosalynde*.

On arriving at the forest Celia sees Orlando, and relates the news to Rosalind who is feverishly impatient to know all he said and did. Celia at first refuses to answer Rosalind's questions, and finds much delight in making sport of her eager enquiries.

Rosalind declares she will weep, but Celia playfully reminds her that "tears do not become a man."

While in the forest she meets Oliver, eldest son of Sir Rowland de Boys, falls in love with him and they are married. Rosalind marries Orlando, second son of Sir Rowland de Boys, at the same time. Cf. **Extract 10** from Lodge's *Rosalynde*.

Charles. I. i. 85, 93, 129, 133, 154; I. ii. 114, 115, 156, 205; II. ii. 14.

Duke Frederick's wrestler. At the wrestling match which is to take place at Duke Frederick's court, he engages to meet all comers, but, hearing of Orlando's intention to wrestle with him, he appears before Oliver and urges him to dissuade his brother from such a rash encounter. Instead of listening to the advice of Charles, Oliver incites him against his brother, hoping that in the wrestling match Orlando may be killed. Cf. **Extract 2** from Lodge's *Rosalynde*.

Charles is intent on the match, and confident of success:

Cha. Come, where is this young gallant, that is
so desirous to lie with his mother earth?
[I. ii. 187-188.]

Orlando wrestles, and to the astonishment of the spectators, Charles is thrown so heavily that he is carried away half dead, though according to Lodge's *Rosalynde* the Norman, *i.e.* Charles, was killed. Cf. **Extract 3** from Lodge's *Rosalynde*.

Cleopatra. III. ii. 143.

The last queen of Egypt, daughter of Ptolemy Auletes. From 51 to 49 B.C. was joint ruler with her brother Ptolemy, when she was expelled from the throne by Pothinus and Achillas, Ptolemy's guardians. Fleeing into Syria she raised troops, and was returning to make war on Ptolemy when Cæsar arrived in Egypt in pursuit of Pom-

pey. Fascinated by her charm and beauty, he espoused her cause, defeated and killed Ptolemy, and, in conjunction with her younger brother, reinstated her on the throne. She afterwards lived with Cæsar at Rome. As she is the principal female character in Shakespeare's last historical masterpiece *Antony and Cleopatra*, an extended descriptive note will appear under her name in that portion of the work.

Corin. II. iv. 20, 22.

[Coridon of the novel]. The elder of two shepherds in the Forest of Arden, the younger being Silvius. When Rosalind and Celia enter the forest they enquire of Corin where they can find food and shelter. Corin tells them that his master's house, cote, flocks, and fields are for sale. Rosalind says:

Ros. I pray thee, if it stand with honesty,
Buy thou the cottage, pasture and the flock,
And thou shalt have to pay for it of us.
[II. iv. 87-89.]

He becomes shepherd to Rosalind and Celia.

Cor. Assuredly the thing is to be sold:
Go with me: if you like upon report
The soil, the profit and this kind of life,
I will your very faithful feeder be
And buy it with your gold right suddenly.
[II. iv. 92-96.]

Cf. **Extract 5** from Lodge's *Rosalynde*.

Cupid. I. iii. 1.

Why, cousin! why, Rosalind! Cupid have mercy! not a word? [I. iii. 1-2.]

This banter illustrates the state of Rosalind's feelings. *Cupid* = the Roman god of love.

Cupid. IV. i. 43.

it may be said that Cupid hath clapp'd him o' the shoulder, but I'll warrant him heart-whole. [IV. i. 43-45.]

May mean "a sign of good-will or approbation", "he that hits me, let him be clapp'd on the shoulder" (*Much Ado about Nothing* I. i. 242-243); or an arrow from Cupid may have slightly wounded Orlando on the shoulder, but his heart is not pierced, "but I'll warrant him heart-whole." Wright suggests the action of a bailiff in arresting a man, as in *Cymbeline* V. iii. 77-78: "But yield me to the veriest hind that shall Once touch my shoulder."

de Boys, Sir Rowland. I. i. 53; I. ii. 208, 218, 221; I. iii. 26; II. iii. 4; II. vii. 190; V. ii. 11; V. iv. 150.

[Sir John of Burdeux of the novel]. An old knight and dear friend of the banished duke—father of Oliver, Jaques de Boys and Orlando. Cf. **Extract 1** from Lodge's *Rosalynde*. Rosalind says of Orlando to Celia: "The Duke my father loved his father dearly." [I. iii. 27].

French says: "It is very probable that Shakespeare took the name of his knight from an old but extinct family of great note in Leicestershire and Warwickshire, whose memory was long preserved in the latter county, Sir Ernald or Arnold de Boys, Arnold being easily transposed to Roland, and thence we have Orlando. The manor of *Weston-in-Arden* was held by Sir Ernald de Boys, *temp.* Edw. I., paying yearly to the Earl of Leicester "one hound called a Brache, and seven pence in money for all services."

Dennis. I. i. 83.

Servant to Oliver, eldest son of Sir Rowland de Boys. He announces to Oliver the coming of Charles, the duke's wrestler, to urge him to dissuade Orlando from wrestling with him on the morrow.

Destinies. I. ii. 96.

In classical mythology the three goddesses who presided over the destinies of man. See Parca's fatal web (*Henry V.*)

Diana. III. iv. 14.

He hath bought a pair of cast lips of Diana:
[III. iv. 14.]

The goddess of chastity. *Cast* may mean *cast-off* or a phonetic spelling for *chaste*.

Diana in the fountain. IV. i. 141.

I will weep for nothing,
like Diana in the fountain, and I will do that when
you are disposed to be merry; [IV. i. 140-142.]

Statues, particularly those of Diana, were anciently a frequent ornament of fountains, the water being conveyed through them to give them the appearance of weeping figures. It is considered the allusion here is to a special fountain set up in Cheapside in 1596, and in ruins several years later. Stowe in his *Survey* (1618), says: "In the yeer next following [1596] was then set up on the east side of the cross in West Cheap, a curiously wrought Tabernacle of gray marble, and in the same an Alabaster Image of Diana, and water convayed from the Thames, prilling from her naked brest for a time, but now decayed." Cf. Drayton: *Epistle of Rosamond to Henry II.* [*England's Heroicall Epistles.*]

Here in the garden, wrought by curious hands,
Naked Diana in the fountain stands.

Duke. I. i. 95, 100, 102, 108; I. ii. 259; I. iii. 27; II. v. 29, 59; II. vii. 194; III. iv. 30, 31; IV. i. 165; IV. ii. 3; IV. iii. 143; V. ii. 14, 42; V. iii. 5; V. iv. 19, 109.

Brother to the usurping Duke Frederick, and father of Rosalind. [In Lodge's *Rosalynde* the rival dukes are not brothers, the duke being the banished Gerismond, lawful King of France.] Being of a gentle and thoughtful disposition he seems better fitted to live a shepherd's life in the Forest of Arden than to undertake the more active duties necessary as ruler of a duchy. The loss of his dukedom and his subsequent banishment by the Duke Frederick seem to trouble him but little. He finds the woods "More free from peril than the envious court," and he accepts the inevitable with a calm and cheerful philosophy, finding good to come out of evil.

Sweet are the uses of adversity,
Which, like the toad, ugly and venomous,
Wears yet a precious jewel in his head;
And this our life exempt from public haunt
Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
Sermons in stones, and good in everything.
[II. i. 12-17.]

to which his attendant Amiens replies:

Happy is your grace
That can translate the stubbornness of fortune
Into so quiet and so sweet a style. [II. i. 18-20.]

Readiness to share in the troubles of others is characteristic of him. When Orlando leaves the court of Duke Frederick and wanders into the Forest of Arden in need of food and friendship, he is very kindly received by the duke who tells him he is welcome to sit down and eat with him and his party. Cf. **Extract 6** from Lodge's *Rosalynde.*

Duke S. Thou seest we are not all alone unhappy:
This wide and universal theatre
Presents more woeful pageants than the scene
Wherein we play in.
[II. vii. 135-138.]

The memory of the happy days spent in the Forest of Arden seems to come back to him when fortune favours him with the restoration of his dukedom, and he seems, when speaking to Jaques, to put aside with relief the thoughts of his new honours:

Meantime, forget this new-fallen dignity,
And fall into our rustic revelry.
Play, music! and you brides and bridegrooms all,
With measure heap'd in joy, to the measures fall.
[V. iv. 174-177.]

He rewards his true friends who remained with him during his banishment and shared his adverse fortunes. Cf. **Extract 10** from Lodge's *Rosalynde.*

Duke. I. i. 85, 96, 98, 114; I. ii. 9, 115, 169, 250, 252, 255, 263, 274; I. iii. 35, 90; V. iv. 179.

= Frederick (q.v.)

England. I. i. 111.

Ethiope words. IV. iii. 35.

Such Ethiope words, blacker in their effect
Than in their countenance. [IV. iii. 35-36.]

The Ethiopians are a dark-skinned race. Ethiope words = Blacker in their meaning than appears on the surface. Verity remarks: "Fully to realise the blackness of them you must 'read between the lines' a bit, as Rosalind proceeds to do, in the hope of disguising from Silvius that it is really a confession of Phebe's love for Ganymede.'

Words has reference to the contents of the letter received by Ganymede from Phebe. Cf. *Two Gentlemen of Verona II.* vi. 25-26.

> And Silvia—witness Heaven, that made her fair!—
> Shows Julia but a swarthy Ethiope.

First-born of Egypt. II. v. 58.

> I'll go sleep, if I can: if I cannot, I'll rail against all the first-born of Egypt. [II. v. 57-58.]

Commentators appear to be baffled by this allusion. According to Dr. Johnson "it is a proverbial expression for high-born persons." But the story in Exodus xi. 5, xii. 29 includes the first-born of every class "from the firstborn of Pharaoh that sitteth upon his throne, even unto the firstborn of the maidservant that is behind the mill; and all the firstborn of beasts." If the dramatist had not the Biblical story in mind then the phrase is a catch-phrase.

Verity remarks: "The point of Jaques' remark lies in 'first-born', and it is to me clear that he alludes to the Duke as the "first-born" of the two brothers, and is hinting, with a touch of bitterness, that the elder brother should not have allowed himself to be ousted from his dukedom by the younger. Thus interpreted, the remark carries on the idea of regret at his "voluntary exile" implied by 47-50. Jaques would not care to put his thoughts too plainly into words; so uses the phrase "the first-born of Egypt" as a sort of humorous synonym for "elder brothers.' "

Wordsworth says that "Jaques is referring to the old Duke, who was an eldest son. His fortune was not favourable and Jaques had shared banishment with him, thus forfeiting his property."

Foresters.

In *Act II. Scene i.* the reference is to the exiled duke of Amiens, and noblemen attending upon him, who enter the Forest of Arden disguised in the dress of foresters.

In *Act IV. Scene ii.* the reference is to Jaques, one of the noblemen attending upon the exiled duke, who, with other lordly attendants enter a part of the Forest of Arden in the disguise of foresters bearing with them a dead deer which Jaques suggests shall be presented to the duke.

Forest of Arden. I. i. 109; I. iii. 103; II. iv. 12, 13.

> They say he is already in the Forest of Arden, and a many merry men with him; and there they live like the old Robin Hood of England; [I. i. 109-111.]

There is a difference of opinion as to the location of this forest. According to Furness the reference to Robin Hood seems to show that the Forest of Arden was in England, and a woody region of that name is said to have existed in Warwickshire. But the scene of Lodge's *Rosalynde* is laid in France, and in I. i. 134, Orlando is referred to by Oliver as the "stubbornest young fellow in France," hence it is considered that the Ardennes, the hilly region extending from the north of France through the south-east of Belgium to Luxembourg, is the forest referred to. Hunter describes it as "the woody country about Namur, Liège, and Luxembourg, watered by the Meuse. . . . The Forest of Arden was a favourite spot for the lovers of field-sports. In those days there was an air of religion thrown over everything. In the midst of the Forest was a little chapel.* dedicated to Saint Hubert, the patron saint of hunters, with a shrine to which people went on pilgrimage. . . . Shakespeare did not himself select the Forest of Arden for the scene of his story from amongst other forests of Europe. It is the scene of the incidents in the novel from which he wrought, but he would not value the name the less because it was that of the mother [Mary Arden] from whom he sprang, and of the forest country of Warwickshire, in and around which his family had been seated for many generations." Cf. Spenser: *Astrophel* 45-48:

> Into the forest wide and waste he came,
> Where store he heard to be of salvage pray.
> So wide a forest and so waste as this,
> Nor famous Ardeyn, nor fowl Arlo, is.

A greater part of the play is enacted in the Forest of Arden.

* We are reminded of the allusions to a "chapel" in the Forest (III. iii. 38), and to its "religious" recluses (III. ii. 310; V. iv. 158).

Fortune. I. ii. 30, 39, 40, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49.

In Roman mythology Fortune was the goddess of good luck, success and prosperity. In acknowledgment for favours received, Servius Tullius erected several temples in Rome. In Achaia her statue held the horn of plenty in one hand, with a winged Cupid at its feet. In art she is represented as blind, standing poised on a wheel to express her inconstancy. Cf. Fluellen's speech in *Henry V.* III. vi. 30-35: "Fortune is painted blind, with a muffler afore her eyes, to signify to you that Fortune is blind: and she is painted also with a wheel. to signify to you, which is the moral of it, that she is turning, and inconstant, and mutability, and variation."

and *Antony and Cleopatra* IV. xv. 42-44:

> and let me rail so high,
> That the false huswife Fortune break her wheel,
> Provoked by my offence.

France. I. i. 134.

Frederick. I. ii. 76, 220; V. iv. 152.

Brother to the exiled Duke, and usurper of his dominions; father of Celia and uncle of Rosalind; a man of a harsh, jealous, and envious disposition, and altogther of a very uncertain and wayward character. [In Lodge's *Rosalynde* the rival dukes are not brothers; Frederick—the Torismond of the novel—having by force banished Gerismond—the duke—the lawful king of France.]

His admiration of Orlando's skill in overcoming Charles, his own wrestler, is soon turned to displeasure when he finds that he is the son of Sir Rowland de Boys, a dear friend of the banished duke. [Lodge relates that "the duke rose from his seat and embraced Orlando."] Cf. **Extract 3** from Lodge's *Rosalynde*.

He finds vent for his wrath on Rosalind, of whose popularity he has for some time been jealous, thinking that his daughter Celia is overshadowed by her, and in one of his customary fits of anger orders her to leave the court. Cf. **Extract 4** from Lodge's *Rosalynde*. He distrusts her because she is her father's daughter in the same manner as he was displeased with Orlando for being his father's son.

To his daughter Celia he remarks:

> Thou art a fool: she robs thee of thy name,
> And thou wilt show more bright, and seem more virtuous
> When she is gone. Then open not thy lips:
> Firm and irrevocable is my doom
> Which I have passed upon her; she is banish'd.
> [I. iii. 76-80.]

Under the pretext of having been privy to the flight of Rosalind and Celia, Orlando is exiled. Finding Orlando gone, the duke seeks out Oliver, Orlando's brother, on whom to wreak his vengeance. Charging him with being responsible for Orlando's exile, he puts him in prison, and afterwards tells him he must within twelve months find his brother or be banished. In the meantime he seizes Oliver's lands. Cf. **Extracts 6** and **7** from Lodge's *Rosalynde*.

He is about to make war on his banished brother, when he is encountered in the Forest of Arden by a hermit, and converted. He surrenders the dukedom to his brother, restores Oliver's lands, and retires from the world into a religious house, ending his days in acts of devotion. [In the novel his army is put to flight, and himself slain.] Cf. **Extract 10** from Lodge's *Rosalynde*.

His sudden conversion and surrender of the dukedom to its rightful owner is in many respects in harmony with his altogether uncertain and wayward character.

Portions of the play are enacted at the court of Duke Frederick.

Ganymede. I. iii. 121; III. ii. 84; IV. iii. 158, 160; V. ii. 85, 90, 99.

The name assumed by Rosalind when disguised as a young countryman in the Forest of Arden. Cf. latter part of **Extract 4** from Lodge's *Rosalynde*.

> I'll have no worse a name than Jove's own page;
> And therefore look you call me Ganymede.
> [I. iii. 120-121.]

In Greek mythology, son of Tros, king of Dardania and Callirrhoë. While playing on

Mount Ida he was carried off by Jove, disguised as an eagle, and made cup-bearer to the gods.

> Or else flush'd Ganymede, his rosy thigh
> Half-buried in the Eagle's down,
> Sole as a flying star shot thro' the sky
> Above the pillar'd town.
>
> Tennyson: *Palace of Art.*

Ganymede is represented as sitting on an eagle, or attended by that bird.

Gargantua's mouth. III. ii. 220.

> You must borrow me Gargantua's mouth first: 'tis a word too great for any mouth of this age's size. [III. ii. 220-221.]

Gargantua is a giant with an enormous appetite, and the hero of Rabelais' satirical prose romance *The Life of Gargantua and Pantagruel.* Rabelais borrowed this character from an old Celtic giant story.

There are many wonderful stories connected with his name. "Gargantua is the name of a most gigantic giant in Rabelais, who forks five pilgrims, staves and all, into his mouth in a salad, and afterwards picks them out from between his teeth; not swallows them." Hudson [*Windsor Shakespeare.*] His name has become proverbial for an insatiable eater.

Probably Shakespeare's allusion is to the skit on the allowance accorded to princes for their maintenance, which was familiar in fable before the time of Rabelais.

The Clown's jest in *Twelfth Night* II. iii. 22-25: "In sooth, thou wast in very gracious fooling last night, when thou spokest of Pigrogromitus, of the Vapians passing the equinoctial of Queubes; 'twas very good, i' faith," is considered an example of Rabelaisian inventiveness.

Goths. III. iii. 6.

See Ovid.

Helen's cheek. III. ii. 142.

> Nature presently distill'd
> Helen's cheek, but not her heart. [III. ii. 141-142.]

Her face, but "not her heart," because she deserted her husband. According to classical legend, Helen was the wife of Menelaus, and the most beautiful woman in the world. She was given to Paris, son of Priam, by the goddess Venus, who had promised him the most beautiful woman in the world for his wife in return for awarding her the golden apple, the prize of beauty. Her abduction from Sparta by Paris led to the Trojan war. Helen's name passed into a proverb for her exquisite beauty, "A daughter of the gods, divinely tall, and most divinely fair," a quality which is here conceded to Rosalind.

Hellespont. IV. i. 95.

> for, good youth, he went but forth to wash him in the Hellespont, and being taken with the cramp was drown'd. [IV. i. 94-96.]

The sea of Helle, daughter of Athamas, king of Thebes, who was drowned in it. It is celebrated for the love and death of Leander, who swam across nightly to visit Hero; and for the bridge of boats which Xerxes built over it when he invaded Greece. Lord Byron and Lieut. Ekenhead repeated the feat of swimming across, accomplishing it in seventy minutes. The distance allowing for drifting, would be about four miles.

> He could, perhaps, have pass'd the Hellespont,
> As once (a feat on which ourselves we prided)
> Leander, Mr. Ekenhead, and I did.
>
> Byron: *Don Juan.* II. cv.

It is now known as the Dardanelles.

Hercules. I. ii. 197.

> Now Hercules be thy speed, young man! [I. ii. 197.]

Hercules: one of the heroes of classic mythology and the possessor of marvellous strength. *Be thy speed*: Good fortune; give you success. Cf. *Two Gentlemen of Verona* III. i. 297: "'There; and Saint Nicholas be thy speed!"

Hero. IV. i. 92.

> Leander, he
> would have lived many a fair year though Hero had turn'd nun. [IV. i. 91-93.]

A priestess of Aphrodite in love with Leander (q.v.), a youth of Abydos, who

swam nightly across the Hellespont to visit her, his course being guided by the light in the tower in which Hero lived.

Hero of Sestos. IV. i. 97.

> and the foolish chroniclers of that age found it was "Hero of Sestos." [IV. i. 96-97.]

See Hero. *Found* = brought in a verdict of drowned himself for love of Hero.

Hisperia. II. ii. 10.

> Hisperia, the princess' gentlewoman,
> Confesses that she secretly o'erheard
> Your daughter and her cousin much commend
> The parts and graces of the wrestler
> That did but lately foil the sinewy Charles;
> [II. ii. 10-14.]

Lady attendant to Celia, who gives information to one of Duke Frederick's lords concerning the sudden disappearance from the palace of Celia, Rosalind, and the court clown (Touchstone).

Hood, Robin. I. i. 111.

> and there they live
> like the old Robin Hood of England; [I. i. 111.]

A reference to the famous outlaw, who with his companions, inhabited the forest of Sherwood, in Nottinghamshire. Wordsworth aptly styles him "the English ballad-singer's joy," and in Percy's *Reliques* is an old ballad entitled *Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne*, the first stanza of which is:

> When shaws beene sheene, and shradds full fayre,
> And leaves both large and longe,
> Itt is merrye walking in the fayre forrèst
> To heare the small birdes songe.

An excellent sketch of him is given by Drayton in his *Polyolbion*, and Sir Walter Scott introduces him in *Ivanhoe* and *The Talisman*.

Hymen, A Person representing. V. iv. 110, 127, 141, 144.

Hymen = the god of marriage; the personification of the bridal song; usually represented, according to old stage directions, in a saffron coloured robe, and crowned with roses and marjoram, with a torch in his right hand. Son of Apollo, and one of the Muses, represented as a boy with wings.

"Rosalind is imagined by the rest of the company to be brought by enchantments, and is therefore introduced [V. iv. 104.] by a supposed aerial being in the character of Hymen." Hudson [*Windsor Shakespeare.*]

Cf. Milton: *L'Allegro* 125-128:

> There let Hymen oft appear
> In saffron robe, with taper clear,
> And pomp, and feast, and revelry,
> With mask and antique pageantry;

and Campbell: *Pleasures of Hope*, Part I.:

> Till Hymen brought his love-delighted hour,
> There dwelt no joy in Eden's rosy bow'r!
> . . . . . .
> The world was sad!—the garden was a wild!
> And man, the hermit, sigh'd—till Woman smil'd!

Ind. III. ii. 86.

> From the east to western Ind. [III. ii. 86.]

= from the East Indies to the West. *Ind* is the old pronunciation of the word, and a common poetic form, rhyming with *blind*, bind, etc. Cf. *Love's Labour's Lost* IV. iii. 219-221:

> That, like a rude and savage man of Inde,
> At the first opening of the gorgeous east,
> Bows not his vassal head, and strooken blind.

The Tempest II. ii. 63-64: "Do you put tricks upon 's with salvages and men of Ind, ha!"

and Spenser: *Faerie Queene* I. v. iv.:

> They bring them wines of Greece and Araby,
> And daintie spices fetch from furthest Ynd,
> To kindle heat of corage privily;
> And in the wine a solemne oth they bynd
> T'observe the sacred lawes of armes that are assynd.

Irish rat. III. ii. 173.

> I was never so berimed since Pythagoras' time, that I was an Irish rat, which I can hardly remember. [III. ii. 172-164.]

Old writers have frequently referred to the old superstition that rats in Ireland were got rid of by metrical charms. Cf. Ben Jonson: *Poetaster* "Rhime them to death, as they do Irish rats In drumming tunes." and Sidney: *Defence of Poesie* "to be rimed to death, as is said to be done in Ireland." *Rats Rhymed to Death* formed the title to

a collection of ballads published in 1660 in ridicule of the Rump Parliament.

Irish wolves. V. ii. 109.

Ros. Pray you, no more of this; 'tis like the howling of Irish wolves against the moon.
[V. ii. 108-109.]

Considered to be borrowed from Lodge's Novel "I tell thee, Montanus, in courting Phœbe, thou barkest with the wolves of Syria against the moone." Cf. *Midsummer Night's Dream* V. i. 368-369:

Puck. Now the hungry lion roars,
And the wolf behowls the moon;

and Spenser: *Present State of Ireland* "Also the Scythians sayd, that they were once every yeare turned into wolves, and soe it is written of the Irish."

Jaques. I. i. 5.

[Fernandine of the novel.] Jaques de Boys, second son of Sir Rowland de Boys, brother to Oliver and Orlando.

Shakespeare makes Jaques to be the person who relates the news that Duke Frederick has advanced into the Forest of Arden with an army to seize the duke senior, but having met a hermit he has relented of his evil ways, and

put on a religious life
And thrown into neglect the pompous court?
[V. iv. 179-180.]

Lodge in his *Rosalynde* relates that the exiled duke on his restoration makes Fernandine his principal secretary. See **Extract 10.**

Jaques. II. i. 26, 41, 43, 54; II. v. 10, 18; V. iv. 192.

One of the lords attendant upon the banished duke in the Forest of Arden. A melancholy philosopher in the midst of the bright and happy surroundings of the forest. Unlike Amiens, who sees the best in everything, Jaques sees only the dark and gloomy side of things, and can "suck melancholy out of a cheerful song." At times he is apt to be sullen and even cynical, and is given to moralising. While the duke discourses on the pleasures of life in the forest, Jaques moralises over a wounded deer, and is even found

weeping and commenting
Upon the sobbing deer. [II. i. 65-66.]

and remarks that its fate reminds him of the cruelty of man. Everything about Jaques portrays a spirit of weariness and discontent:

then, being there alone,
Left and abandoned of his velvet friend,
'Tis right,' quoth he; 'thus misery doth part
The flux of company': [II. i. 49-52.]

He seems to be keenly interested in the wit of Touchstone, the court clown, whom he meets in the forest. He describes the meeting to the duke,

O that I were a fool!
I am ambitious for a motley coat.

. . . . . .

Invest me in my motley; give me leave
To speak my mind, and I will through and through
Cleanse the foul body of th' infected world,
If they will patiently receive my medicine.
[II. viii. 42-43; 58-61.]

The duke reminds him that this is folly, himself once being a libertine.

The famous speech of Jaques on the Seven Ages commencing "All the world's a stage" illustrates the cynical trait in his character, the speech being that of a man who has had little to complain of in his career through life. He takes occasion to sneer at the representatives of the human race, and in his derision represents all ages in absurd or sordid lights. He ridicules the lover's devotion, and imputes the paltriest motive to the soldier; no period of life is treated graciously. His representation of old age forms a striking contrast to that illustrated by old Adam. [See II. iii. 47-55.]

The speech is considered one of the six most quoted in Shakespeare. It is equal to:

Portia's "The quality of mercy," *Merchant of Venice* IV. i. 183 seq.

Hamlet's "To be, or not to be:" *Hamlet* III. i. 56 seq.

Antony's oration over Cæsar's body: "Friends, Romans, countrymen," *Julius Cæsar* III. ii. 81 seq.

Orlando and Rosalind have no patience with the melancholy of Jaques, who resents Orlando's passion for Rosalind.

When the banished duke is restored to his dukedom, and all is joy and mirth, Jaques leaves the duke, and joins Duke Frederick in his new religious life.

Jove. II. iv. 56.

Jove in a thatched house. III. iii. 7.

O knowledge ill-inhabited, worse than Jove in a thatch'd house! [III. iii. 7-8.]

Has reference to the entertainment of two gods, Jove and Mercury, by an aged couple Philemon and Baucis, in their humble thatched cottage, when overtaken by night in Phrygia. On account of their hospitality the poor cottage of the peasants was transformed into a temple, while the rest of the populace, on account of their inhospitality, perished in an inundation with which the country was visited by the gods. The story is told by Ovid in his *Metamorphoses* viii., and Goethe wrote a poem on the subject. Cf. *Much Ado About Nothing* II. i. 99-101:

D. Pedro. My visor is Philemon's roof: within the house is Jove.
Hero. Why, then, your visor should be thatched.
D. Pedro. Speak low, if you speak love.

Jove's own page. I. iii. 120.

I'll have no worse a name than Jove's own page. [I. iii. 120.]

Jove = Jupiter. Page = Ganymede (q.v.)

Jove's tree. III. ii. 281.

= the oak, which was dedicated to Jove. Cf. *The Tempest* V. i. 45-46: "and rifted Jove's stout oak With his own bolt;"

Judas. III. iv. 7.

Something browner than Judas's: [III. iv. 7.]

It was a common belief of the time that certain characteristics were indicated by certain colours of the hair. Judas, like other traitors, is represented with hair and beard of a red and brownish colour. Cf. Beaumont and Fletcher: *Bonduca* II. iii.:

That hungry fellow [Judas]
with the red beard there, give it him, and this, to see it well deliver'd.

and Middleton: *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*:

First Puritan. Sure that was Judas then with the red hair.
Second Puritan. Red hair,
The brethren like it not, it consumes them much: 'Tis not the sisters' colour.

while Swift [Gulliver] observes

that the Red-haired of both Sexes are more libidinous and mischievous than the rest.

Judas. III. iv. 8.

marry, his kisses
are Judas's own children. [III. iv. 7-8.]

= as false as the kiss of Judas.

Juno's crown. V. iv. 139.

Wedding is great Juno's crown:
O blessed bond of board and bed! [V. iv. 139-140.]

Juno was believed especially to preside over marriage. "She was the queen of the heavens; she protected cleanliness, and presided over marriage and child-birth, and particularly patronized the most faithful and virtuous of the sex, and severely punished incontinence and lewdness in matrons." *Classical Dictionary.* In *The Tempest* IV. i. 106-109 she appears and pronounces her blessing on the lovers:

Honour, riches, marriage-blessing,
Long continuance, and increasing,
Hourly joys be still upon you!
Juno sings her blessings on you.

Juno's swans. I. iii. 71.

And wheresoe'er we went, like Juno's swans,
Still we went coupled and inseparable. [I. iii. 71-72.]

An allusion to the close companionship of Rosalind and Celia. Cf. *Midsummer-Night's Dream* III. ii. 203-210:

We, Hermia, like two artificial gods,
Have with our neelds created both one flower,
Both on one sampler, sitting on one cushion,
Both warbling of one song, both in one key;
As in our hand, our sides, voices, and minds,
Had been incorporate. So we grew together,
Like to a double cherry, seeming parted,
But yet a union in partition.

According to classical mythology it was Venus, not Juno, whose car was drawn by swans. Juno's sacred bird was the peacock. Cf. *The Tempest* IV. i. 74.

Jupiter. II. iv. 1.

Jupiter. III. ii. 152.

O most gentle Jupiter! what tedious homily of love have you wearied your parishioners withal, and never cried "Have patience, good people!" [III. ii. 152-154.]

Some editors give "pulpiter" *i.e.* preacher.

The emendation was made by Spedding, and has been generally adopted. Cf. Rosalind's exclamation in II. iv. 57-58:

Jove, Jove! this shepherd's passion
Is much upon my fashion.

Lady Fortune. II. vii. 16.

And rail'd on Lady Fortune in good terms.
[II. vii. 16.]

An allusion to the old proverb *Fortuna favet fatuis.* Fortune favours fools.

Leander. IV. i. 91.

Leander, he
would have lived many a fair year though Hero had turn'd nun. [IV. i. 91-93.]

In Greek legend, a youth of Abydos and the lover of Hero a priestess of Aphrodite at Sestos, who nightly swam the Hellespont to visit her in her tower. One stormy night the light in the tower, by which his course was guided was extinguished, and he perished. On his body being washed ashore it was discovered by Hero, who in grief threw herself in the Hellespont, and was drowned. The story is told by Musæus in his poem entitled *Hero and Leander.* Marlow and Chapman wrote a poem in six sestrads (1596-98) based on the poem of Musæus. Thomas Hood wrote a poem on the same subject (1827), Stapleton wrote a tragedy in 1669, Jackman an opera burletta (eighteenth century), and Marston a romance (1867).

Le Beau. I. ii. 85, 90, 151.

One of the courtiers attendant upon Duke Frederick. His name serves to indicate his character and also his nationality. He relates to Celia and Rosalind the skill of Charles, Duke Frederick's wrestler, in overthrowing the three sons of an old man, one after another. "The eldest of the three wrestled with Charles, the Duke's wrestler; which Charles in a moment threw him and broke three of his ribs, that there is little hope of life in him; so he served the second, and so the third."* He also tells Celia and Rosalind of Orlando's intention to wrestle with Charles in answer to his challenge.

It is he who informs Orlando of Duke Frederick's displeasure towards him, when he learns that he is the son of Sir Rowland de Boys, and he also who advises him for his own safety, to depart from the court.

Le Beau. Good sir, I do in friendship counsel you
To leave this place. Albeit you have deserved
High commendation, true applause, and love,
Yet such is now the Duke's condition
That he misconsters all that you have done.
[I. ii. 247-251.]

This latter act proves that he is kind at heart, as he need not have troubled about Orlando. He at times assumes courtier-like airs, particularly in the presence of princesses, but when these he discards he can talk simply.

Lords.

Noblemen attending upon Duke Frederick.

Lucretia's modesty. III. ii. 145.

A Roman matron, the wife of Tarquinius Collatinus. She was dishonoured by Sextus Tarquinius, and rather than bear the burden of such disgrace stabbed herself to death. Her name has become proverbial for modest purity.

Lucretia being the heroine of Shakespeare's poem *Lucrece*, an extended descriptive note will appear under her name in that portion of the work.

Martext, Sir Oliver. III. iii. 37, 58, 87, 88, 89; V. i. 5.

A country vicar. Touchstone tells Audrey:

I have been with
Sir Oliver Martext, the vicar of the next village, who hath promis'd to meet me in this place of the forest and to couple us. [III. iii. 36-39.]

but Jaques persuades Touchstone to get a more suitable priest to marry them:

Get you to
church, and have a good priest that can tell you what marriage is; this fellow will but join you together as they join wainscot, then one of you will prove a shrunk panel, and like green timber, warp, warp.
[III. iii. 75-69.]

* In Lodge's *Rosalynde* mention is made of two sons only. *See* Extract 3.

Sir is a translation of *dominus*, the academical title of a Bachelor of Arts, given to priests who had taken no degree at a University, and common as a clerical title in Shakespeare's time.

Monsieur Melancholy. III. ii. 286.

I am glad of your departure: adieu, good Monsieur Melancholy. [III. ii. 286-287.]

= Monsieur Jaques. The allusion is by Orlando on account of being addressed by Jaques as *Signior Love*. Cf. II. i. 26: "The melancholy Jaques grieves at that."

Monsieur Traveller. IV. i. 30.

Ros. Farewell, Monsieur Traveller: look you lisp and wear
strange suits; disable all the benefits of your own country; [IV. i. 30-32.]

An allusion to Italian fashions and morals. Cf. *Merchant of Venice* I. ii. 78-81: "I think he bought his doublet in Italy, his round hose in France, his bonnet in Germany, and his behaviour every where." and *Much Ado about Nothing* III. ii. 31-35: "unless it be a fancy that he hath to strange disguises; as, to be a Dutchman to-day, a Frenchman to-morrow, or in the shape of two countries at once, as a German from the waist downwards, all slops; and a Spaniard from the hip upward, no doublet."

In Shakespeare's time, Venice was the common resort of travellers, as much as Paris is now.

Motley's the only wear. II. vii. 34.

O noble fool!
A worthy fool! Motley's the only wear. [II. vii. 33-34.]

The only dress in fashion is the fool's parti-coloured dress; in other words, the fool is the wise man. Cf. *All's Well That Ends Well* I. i. 161-164: "Virginity, like an old courtier, wears her cap out of fashion; richly suited, but unsuitable: just like the brooch and the toothpick, which wear not now."

Oliver.

[Saladyne of the novel.] The eldest son of Sir Rowland de Boys, left in charge of his younger brother Orlando, and charged to give him a good education; but hates him, and indirectly tries to murder him. Learning that Orlando intends to wrestle with Charles, Duke Frederick's wrestler, he incites Charles against him in the hope that he may be got rid of. Orlando, finding it impossible to live in his brother's house, flees to the Forest of Arden, joining the society of the exiled duke. Cf. **Extracts 1, 2,** and **3** from Lodge's *Rosalynde*.

Oliver is questioned by Duke Frederick as to the whereabouts of Orlando his brother, and is told by the duke to

bring him dead or living
Within this twelvemonth, or turn thou no more
To seek a living in our territory. [III. i. 6-8.]

During Oliver's absence Duke Frederick seizes his lands.

Orlando returns good for evil, undergoing great danger in order to save the life of his brother while asleep in the forest, from a lion which was threatening him. His conversion, though sudden, forms a good illustration of the exiled duke's words "Sweet are the uses of adversity." From this time Oliver's disposition towards his brother undergoes a complete change, and his love for him is now greater than his former hatred. In the forest he meets Celia, daughter of the usurping duke, and marries her.

Parts of the play are enacted in his orchard and before his house.

Orlando. I. i. 117; I. ii. 208, 245; I. iii. 31; III. ii. 9, 207, 212, 213; III. iv. 35; IV. i. 35, 114, 118, 119, 126, 133, 201; IV. iii. 2, 91, 99, 112, 120, 126; V. ii. 19; V. iv. 1, 7, 20.

[Rosader of the novel.] Younger son of Sir Rowland de Boys. At his father's death he is left to the care of his elder brother, Oliver, who is charged to treat him well; but Oliver hates him, neglects his education, brings him up as a peasant, and indirectly tries to kill him. Orlando feels his position keenly, and complains to Adam, of his brother's treatment towards him. Cf. **Extract 1** from Lodge's *Rosalynde*.

His characteristics of self-confidence and modesty are well brought out in his determination to wrestle with Charles, Duke Frederick's champion. He wins the match, but considers it a trifle and never refers to it again, hence his modesty.

In overcoming Charles he receives Duke Frederick's congratulations, but when he learns that he is a son of Sir Rowland de Boys, his possible path to honour is lost, and he falls into disfavour. Le Beau urges him to leave the court. [Lodge says "the duke rose from his seat and embraced him."] Cf. **Extract 3** from Lodge's *Rosalynde*.

He learns from Adam of Oliver's plots against his life. Adam advises him to flee, and begs to be allowed to accompany him as a servant. Orlando is deeply touched by Adam's devotion to him:

Orl. O good old man, how well in thee appears
The constant service of the antique world,
When service sweat for duty, not for meed!
[II. iii. 56-58.]

and decides to face the world bravely, and live in some humble way of life. They flee to the Forest of Arden, where Orlando meets Rosalind and Celia in disguise. Oliver follows Orlando to the forest. Orlando finds him asleep under a tree, and the nobility of his character is shown when he saves him from a lion which was threatening him. He resists the temptation to take revenge, and leave Oliver to his fate, being too manly to nurse his wrath. Cf. **Extracts 6** and **7** from Lodge's *Rosalynde*.

Oli. Twice did he turn his back, and purposed so;
But kindness, nobler ever than revenge,
And nature, stronger than his just occasion,
Made him give battle to the lioness,
Who quickly fell before him, [IV. iii. 128-132.]

His acquaintance with Rosalind is renewed in the forest, and not many days afterwards they are married. Cf. **Extract 10** from Lodge's *Rosalynde*.

Ovid. III. iii. 6.

I am here with thee and thy goats, as the most capricious poet, honest Ovid, was amongst the Goths. [III. iii. 5-6.]

The Roman poet who was banished by the emperor Augustus for some reason unknown, to Tomi on the Euxine Sea in Scythia Minor, where he remained until his death. Here he wrote the *Tristia*, *Ex Ponto*, etc. His residence there is spoken of as being "amongst the Goths" hence the pun on Goats and Goths, the latter word being pronounced without the "h."

In a *History of Italy* printed in 1561 the word Goths appears in the form Gotes. Ovid wrote the poetical fables called *Metamorphoses*, but is far more often identified as the model of elegaic poetry.

Pages.

Two boys employed as personal attendants upon Duke Frederick. In a part of the Forest of Arden they meet with Touchstone the court clown who invites them to "Come, sit, sit, and a song." [V. iii. 7.] They sing the well-known song:

It was a lover and his lass,
With a hey, and a ho, and a hey nonino,
That o'er the green cornfield did pass
In the spring time, the only pretty ring time,
When birds do sing, hey ding a ding, ding:
Sweet lovers love the spring. [V. iii. 14-19 seq.]

At the conclusion of the song Touchstone remarks [V. iii. 32-34]: "Truly, young gentlemen, though there was no great matter in the ditty, yet the note was very untuneable."

Peascod. II. iv. 48.

and I
remember the wooing of a peascod instead of her, from whom I took two cods and, giving them her again, said with weeping tears, 'Wear these for my sake.' [II. iv. 47-51.]

Properly the pod that holds the peas but here the plant itself. There were various superstitious beliefs with reference to it. It was supposed to be a means of divination in love affairs. Touchstone here woos the peascod as an image of Jane Smile. It is explained in Brand's *Popular Antiquities* thus: "Our ancestors were frequently accustomed in their love affairs to employ the divination of a peascod, by selecting one growing on the stem snatching it away quickly, and if the good omen of the peas remaining in the husk were preserved, then presenting it to the lady of their choice." Cf. also Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals*:

The peascod greene, oft with no little toyle,
He'd seek for in the fattest fertil'st soile,
And rend it from the stalke to bring it to her,
And in her bosom for acceptance wooe her.

Phebe. II. iv. 40; III. v. 1, 27, 82, 83, 134; IV. iii. 7, 22, 38; V. ii. 84, 89, 98, 118; V. iv. 16, 21.

A shepherdess living in the Forest of Arden, and beloved by the shepherd Silvius to whom at times she is scornful. Rosalind rebukes Phebe for her pride and scorn, but Phebe instead of being angry falls in love with Rosalind (owing to her disguise), makes a proposal of marriage, and Rosalind tells her:

I will marry you, if ever I marry woman. [V. ii. 112.]

Phebe writes a love letter to Rosalind, and sends it by Silvius. Rosalind in displeasure reads it aloud, telling Silvius "that love has made him a tame snake." Cf. **Extract 9** from Lodge's *Rosalynde*.

When Rosalind appears in her true character, her disguise being thrown off, she gives her hand to Orlando. Phebe now values the faithfulness of her old lover, Silvius, and they are married. Cf. **Extract 10** from Lodge's *Rosalynde*.

Phebes. IV. iii. 39.

Ros. She Phebes me: mark how the tyrant writes. [IV. iii. 39.]

"She writes to me with all the fierceness of her nature." *Deighton.* "She plays the cruel Phebe to me too." *Boyd.* Cf. *Merry Wives of Windsor* IV. ii. 191-3: "*Mrs. Page.* Come, Mother Prat; come, give me your hand. *Ford.* I'll prat her."

Phœnix. IV. iii. 17.

She calls me proud, and that she could not love me
Were man as rare as phœnix. [IV. iii. 16-17.]

In ancient Oriental mythology a bird of great beauty that after living 500—according to other accounts 1,000—years, in the Arabian wilderness, built for itself a funeral pile, lighted it with the fanning of its wings, and consumed itself. From its own ashes it revived in the freshness of youth; hence the emblem of immortality.

"Phœnix is a bird, and there is but one of that kind in all the wide world; therefore lewd men wonder thereof. Phœnix is a bird without make [mate], and liveth three hundred or five hundred years; when the which years be passed, she feeleth her own default and feebleness, and maketh a nest of right smelling sticks, that be full dry, and in summer when the western wind bloweth, the sticks and the nest be set on fire with burning heat of the sun, and burneth strongly. Then this bird Phœnix cometh wilfully into the burning nest, and is there burnt to ashes, among these burning sticks. And within three days, a little worm is gendered of the ashes, and waxeth little and little, and taketh feathers, and is shaped and turned to a bird." *Bartholomew* (*Berthelet*).

Cf. *The Tempest* III. iii. 22-24: "that in Arabia There is one tree, the phœnix' throne; one phœnix At this reigning there," and *Cymbeline* I. vi. 16-18: "If she be furnish'd with a mind so rare, She is alone, the Arabian bird, and I Have lost the wager." Pliny [Holland's trans.] describes it thus:

"By report he is as big as an eagle, in colour yellow, and bright as gold, namely all about the neck, the rest of the bodie a deepe red purple; the taile azure blue, intermingled with feathers among of rose carnation colour: and the head bravely adorned with a crest and pennache finely wrought, having a tuft and plume thereupon right faire and goodly to be seene. . . . . Never was man known to see him feeding. In Arabia he is held a sacred bird, dedicated unto the sun; he liveth 660 years. And the first thing that the new young Phœnix doth is to perform the obsequies of the former Phœnix, late deceased; to translate and carry away his whole nest into the city of the Sun, near Panchaea, and to bestow it full devoutly there upon the altar."

And Wheeler in his *Geography of Herodotus* says: "The Phœnix was another sacred bird, which Herodotus had never seen excepting in a picture. It seldom appeared in Aegypt, and, according to the inhabitants of Heliopolis, it only came on the death of its sire, once in five hundred years." In Milton: *Samson Agonistes* 1699-1701 we have:

Like that self-forgotten bird
In the Arabian woods embost,
That no second knows nor third,

and Moore: *Paradise and the Peri* (*Lalla Rookh*):

Th' enchanted pile of that holy bird,
Who sings at the last his own death lay,
And in music and perfume dies away!

Pythagoras. III. ii. 172.

I was never so berimed since Pythagoras' time, that I was an Irish rat, which I can hardly remember. [III. ii. 172-174.]

Pythagoras was a Greek philosopher, born in Samos about 582 B.C. He taught the doctrine of metempsychosis, or the transmigration of souls from one animal to another. Cf. *Merchant of Venice* IV. i. 130-138:

Thou almost mak'st me waver in my faith
To hold opinion with Pythagoras,
That souls of animals infuse themselves
Into the trunks of men: thy currish spirit
Govern'd a wolf, who, hang'd for human slaughter,
Even from the gallows did his fell soul fleet,
And, whilst thou lay'st in thy unhallow'd dam,
Infus'd itself in thee; for thy desires
Are wolvish, bloody, starv'd, and ravenous.

and *Twelfth Night* IV. ii. 52-53: "What is the opinion of Pythagoras concerning wild fowl?

Retort Courteous. V. iv. 70, 90.
Quip Modest. V. iv. 73, 91.
Reply Churlish. V. iv. 75, 91.
Reproof Valiant. V. iv. 77, 92.
Countercheck Quarrelsome. V. iv. 79, 93.
Lie Circumstantial. V. iv. 79, 83.
Lie with Circumstance. V. iv. 93.
Lie Direct. V. iv. 80, 84, 94, 95.

The book alluded to [V. iv. 88-89] is entitled *Of Honour and Honourable Quarrels*, by Vincentio Saviolo, 1594. The first part of which is "A Discourse most necessary for all Gentlemen that have in regard their Honours, touching the giving and receiving the Lie, whereupon the *Duello* and the Combat in divers Forms doth ensue; and many other inconveniences for lack only of true knowledge of Honour, and the right *Understanding of Words* which here is set down." The eight following chapters are on the Lie and its various circumstances, much in the order of Touchstone's enumeration; and in the chapter of Conditional Lies, speaking of the particle *if*, he says, "Conditional lies be such as are given conditionally, as if a man should say or write these words: '*if* thou hast said that I have offered my lord abuse, thou liest; or *if* thou sayest so hereafter, thou shalt lie.'" Hudson [*Windsor Shakespeare.*]

Roman Conqueror. IV. ii. 3.

Let's present him to the Duke, like a Roman conqueror; and it would do well to set the deer's horns upon his head for a branch of victory. [IV. ii. 3-5.]

Among the Romans it was customary for a victorious general on returning to Rome, to enter the city wearing a chaplet of oak leaves, the symbol of victory for a Roman hero. He was met outside the gates of the city by the populace, who escorted him in triumph to the Capitol where he was presented to the Senate and people.

Perhaps the following extract from the "Memorial Theatre Edition" of Shakespeare may be of interest: "On the occasion of the first representation of *As You Like It* in the Memorial Theatre, 30th April, 1879, there was carried on the stage by the foresters a fallow deer which had been that morning shot by H. S. Lucy, Esq., of Charlecote Park, out of the herd descended from that upon which Shakespeare is credited with having made a raid in his youth. The deer is now stuffed, and carried on whenever the play is acted at Stratford." And Elyot: *The Governour*, 1531: "To them which in this huntynge do show moste prowess and actyvyty, a garlande or some other lyke token to be given in sign of victory."

Rosalind. I. i. 100; I. ii. 1, 275; I. iii. 1, 86, 93; III. ii. 5, 87, 89, 91, 93, 100, 102, 104, 106, 108, 110, 146, 257, 346, 348, 375, 377, 405, 413; IV. i. 28, 38, 46, 58, 60, 61, 65, 81, 100, 103, 105, 119, 123, 124, 144, 163, 172, 178, 183; IV. iii. 92, 150, 157, 179. V. ii. 16, 49,

62, 73, 86, 91, 100, 117; V. iv. 6, 117.

The heroine of the play, to whom Shakespeare gives a much greater prominence than Lodge in his novel. Daughter of the banished duke who lives in the Forest of Arden. Though her father is banished, the usurping duke still retains her at his court as companion to his daughter Celia. Her father's banishment casts a cloud upon her former good fortune, and when Celia requests her to be merry, her words are full of sadness:

Ros. Dear Celia, I show more mirth than I am mistress of; and would you yet I were merrier? Unless you could teach me to forget a banished father, you must not learn me how to remember any extraordinary pleasure. [I. ii. 2-6.]

but in order to please her cousin Celia, she tries to forget her sadness. [Shakespeare makes Rosalind cousin to Celia, while in the novel they are friends.]

Ros. Well, I will forget the condition of my estate, to rejoice in yours. [I. ii. 14-15.]

At the wrestling match she shows great interest in Orlando, who incurs the displeasure of Duke Frederick when he learns that he is the son of Sir Rowland de Boys. Rosalind pities Orlando, and goes with Celia to thank and encourage him, at the same time giving him a chain from her neck. [In the novel Rosalind sends the jewel by a page.] Cf. **Extract 6** from Lodge's *Rosalynde*.

Ros. Gentleman,
[*Giving him a chain from her neck.*
Wear this for me, one out of suits with fortune
That could give more, but that her hand lacks means.
[I. ii. 231-233.]

The usurper's wrath with Orlando breaks out on Rosalind. He cannot endure her beauty or popularity, or Orlando's success, so he banishes her. Celia resolves to be her companion, and for greater security in facing the perils of the journey, Rosalind dresses as a boy and assumes the name of Ganymede, while Celia adopts the disguise of a peasant girl, and is known as Aliena. Cf. **Extract 4** from Lodge's *Rosalynde*.

Ros. I'll have no worse a name than Jove's own page; And therefore look you call me Ganymede. But what will you be call'd?

Cel. Something that hath a reference to my state; No longer Celia, but Aliena. [I. iii. 120-124.]

During the journey to the Forest of Arden Rosalind bears the fatigues of the journey with great courage in order to comfort Celia.

but I must comfort
the weaker vessel, as doublet and hose ought to show itself courageous to petticoat: therefore courage, good Aliena! [II. iv. 4-8.]

With Celia she lodges for a time in a hut in the forest. On one occasion her courage fails her. She sees a handkerchief stained with Orlando's blood, and, realising his recent imminent peril, grows faint at the sight of it, but tries bravely to maintain her disguise. She says to Oliver his brother, "I pray you, tell your brother how well I counterfeited." Hearing that Orlando is in the forest her womanly nature again asserts itself, thinking her disguise will be recognised by him:

Ros. But does he know that I am in this forest and in man's apparel? Looks he as freshly as he did the day he wrestled? [III. ii. 224-226.]

She renews her acquaintance with Orlando, casts aside her disguise, leaves behind the free and happy forest life, and with the sanction of the duke, marries Orlando. Cf. **Extract 10** from Lodge's *Rosalynde*.

Ros. [*To the Duke*] To you I give myself, for I am yours.
[*To Orl.*] To you I give myself, for I am yours.
Duke S. If there be truth in sight, you are my daughter.
Orl. If there be truth in sight, you are my Rosalind. [V. iv. 114-117.]

Thus Hymen's prophecy is fulfilled:

Then is there mirth in heaven
When earthly things made even
Atone together.
Good Duke, receive thy daughter:
Hymen from heaven brought her,
Yea, brought her hither,
That thou mightest join her hand with his
Whose heart within his bosom is. [V. iv. 106-113.]

Rosalinda. III. ii. 134.

= Rosalind. (q.v.).

Rose. I. ii. 21, 22.

= Rosalind. (q.v.)

Sestos. IV. i. 97.

and the foolish chroniclers of
that age found it was "Hero of Sestos."
[IV. i. 96-97.]

In ancient geography a town situated on the Hellespont [Dardanelles] opposite Abydos. It was noted as the residence of Hero, a priestess of Aphrodite, and as the place of debarkation of the army of Xerxes in his invasion of Europe.

Signior Love. III. ii. 284.

I'll tarry no longer with you: farewell, good Signior Love. [III. ii. 284-285.]

Orlando. The allusion of the melancholy Jaques to Orlando who is in love with Rosalind. He tells Orlando:

The worst fault you have is to be in love.
[III. ii. 275.]

and in taking leave of him says:

farewell, good Signior Love. [III. ii. 284.]

to which Orlando replies:

adieu, good Monsieur Melancholy. [III. ii. 286.]

Silvius. III. v. 82, 84, 91, 123, 133, 138; V. iv. 23.

[Montanus of the novel.] One of two shepherds, the other being Corin, living in the Forest of Arden. He is a devoted though spiritless lover of Phebe, who, however, is disdainful towards him, and pours scorn upon him.

Sil. So holy and so perfect is my love,
And I in such a poverty of grace,
That I shall think it a most plenteous crop
To glean the broken ears after the man
That the main harvest reaps:
[III. v. 98-102.]

He is the bearer of Phebe's love-letter to the disguised Rosalind.

Rosalind thinks him rather cowardly to endure the scorn of Phebe. She says:

Well, go your way to her, for I see love
hath made thee a tame snake, [IV. iii. 69-70.]

Cf. **Extract 9** from Lodge's *Rosalynde*.

Smile, Jane. II. iv. 45.

I remember, when I was in love,
I broke my sword upon a stone and bid him take
that for coming a-night to Jane Smile;
[II. iv. 43-45.]

In love with Touchstone, the court clown. The *him* referred to being the imaginary rival for whose visits to Jane the stone was held vicariously responsible.

South-sea. III. ii. 192.

One inch of delay more is a South-
sea of discovery; [III. ii. 192-193.]

In her eagerness the least delay in answering seems to Rosalind like an undiscovered ocean. *South-sea* probably refers to the Pacific Ocean which had been but little explored at the time of Shakespeare. "Celia, in her inch of delay in answering the first question is cast upon a South Sea—a vast and unexplored ocean—of discovery. The more Celia delays her revelation as to who the man is, the more she will have to reveal about him, because Rosalind fills up the delay with fresh interrogations, whereby Celia becomes lost in a South Sea of questions." Hudson [*Windsor edition.*]

Probably Rosalind means that if Celia delays an instant more she will start on a voyage of discovery through the Forest to find Orlando.

Touchstone. II. iv. 16; III. ii. 12, 44.

The fool at the court of Duke Frederick, but in reality as much a philosopher as Jaques. He accompanies Celia and Rosalind when thy leave the court for the Forest of Arden. Celia is confident of his faithfulness to her, and he proves himself worthy of the trust. He is as faithful to Celia as Adam is to Orlando. Jaques says of him:

One that hath been a courtier,
And says, if ladies be but young and fair,
They have the gift to know it: and in his brain,
Which is as dry as the remainder biscuit
After a voyage, he hath strange places cramm'd
With observation, the which he vents
In mangled forms. [II. vii. 36-42.]

His wit is keen, and his moralisings on time and the advantages and disadvantages of a shepherd's life form a striking contrast to the graver moralisings of Jaques. He writes a parody on Orlando's verses to Rosalind:

Touch. For a taste:
If a hart do lack a hind,
Let him seek out Rosalind.
If a cat will after kind,
So be sure will Rosalind.
Winter garments must be lined,
So must slender Rosalind.
They that reap must sheaf and bind;
Then to cart with Rosalind.
Sweetest nut hath sourest rind,
Such a nut is Rosalind.
He that sweetest rose will find,
Must find love's prick and Rosalind.
[III. ii. 99-110.]

He woos Audrey, a country girl, and as they enter the forest, William, a country fellow and a former lover of Audrey's, comes in, and Touchstone derives much amusement from him. He says, "It is meat and drink to me to see a clown." He tells William

The fool doth think he is wise, but the wise man knows himself to be a fool. [V. i. 30-31.]

His keen wit is to be observed in his definition of a courtier to Jaques:

I have trod a measure; I have flatter'd a lady; I have been politic with my friend, smooth with mine enemy; I have undone three tailors; I have had four quarrels, and like to have fought one. [V. iv. 44-47.]

His office is very suitably summed up by the exiled duke:

Duke S. He uses his folly like a stalking-horse and under the presentation of that he shoots his wit. [V. iv. 104-105.]

Thus it is seen that the fool's office is of a double character. His jests are not only mere folly, but also embody a satire on the follies of others.

The original of this character was Tarlton, the favourite court jester of Queen Elizabeth.

Troilus. IV. i. 89.

Troilus had his brains dash'd out by a Grecian club; [IV. i. 89-90.]

Son of Priam, king of Troy, who was slain by the Greek hero Achilles. *Grecian club* = the spear of Achilles with which he killed Troilus.

Troilus being the hero of Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*, an extended descriptive note will appear under his name in that portion of the work.

Venus. IV. i. 196.

No, that same wicked bastard of Venus, that was begot of thought, conceived of spleen, and born of madness, that blind rascally boy that abuses every one's eyes because his own are out. [IV. i. 196-199.]

Venus = the Roman goddess of love. *that wicked bastard* = Cupid, fabled to be the son of Mercury and Venus. He is represented as blind. Cf. *Midsummer-Night's Dream* I. i. 234-235:

Love looks not with the eyes, but with the mind;
And therefore is winged Cupid painted blind:

William. V. i. 14, 20, 21, 58.

A country fellow in love with Audrey, who is now wooed by Touchstone. Touchstone says:

But, Audrey, there is a youth here in the forest lays claim to you. [V. i. 6-7.]

to which Audrey replies:

Ay, I know who 'tis: he hath no interest in me in the world: here comes the man you mean. [V. i. 8-9.]

The appearance of William in the forest is the cause of much amusement to Touchstone, who remarks "It is meat and drink to me to see a clown."

At the request of Touchstone he gives up the company of Audrey and leaves the forest.

EXTRACTS FROM LODGE'S *ROSALYNDE*.[1]

Sir John of Burdeux = Sir Rowland de Boys. Saladyne = Oliver. Fernandine = Jaques de Boys. Rosader = Orlando. Torismond = Duke Frederick. Gerismond = the banished duke. Alinda = Celia. Aliena = Alinda. Ganimede = Rosalynd. Coridon = Corin. Montanus = Silvius.

1. There dwelled adjoyning to the cittie of Bordeaux a knight of most honourable parentage, whome Fortune had graced with many favors, and Nature honoured with sundry exquisite qualities, . . . This hardy knight thus enricht with vertue and honour, surnamed Sir John of Burdeux, having passed the prime of his youth in sundry battailes against the Turkes, at last (as the date of time hath his course) grewe aged. His haires were silver hued, and the map of his age was figured on his forhead: honour sate in the furrowes of his face, and many yeares were pourtrayed in his wrinckled lineaments, that all men might perceive his glasse was runne, and that nature of necessitie chalenged her due. Sir John (that with the phenix[2] knewe the tearme of his life was now expired, and could, with the swan, discover his end by her songs) having three sonnes by his wife Lynida, the very pride of all his forepassed yeares, thought now (seeing death by constraint would compel him to leave them) to bestow upon them such a legacie as might bewray[3] his love, and increase their insuing amitie. Calling therefore these yong gentlemen before him, in the presence of his fellow knights of Malta, he resolved to leave them a memorial of all his fatherly care in setting downe a methode of their brotherly dueties. . . . First, therefore, unto thee Saladyne, the eldest, and therefore the chiefest piller of my house, wherein should bee ingraved as wel the excellency of thy fathers qualities, as the essentiall forme of his proportion, to thee I give foureteene ploughlands, with all my mannor houses and richest plate. Next, unto Fernandine I bequeath twelve ploughlands. But, unto Rosader, the youngest, I give my horse, my armour, and my launce with sixteene ploughlands; for if the inwarde thoughts be discovered by outward shadows, Rosader wil exceed you all in bountie and honour. Thus (my sonnes) have I parted in your portions the substance of my wealth, wherein if you be as prodigall to spend as I have beene carefull to get, your friendes wil greeve to see you more wastfull then[4] I was bountifull, and your foes smile that my fal did begin in your excesse. . . .

So fares it with Saladine, for after a months mourning was past, he fel to consideration of his fathers testament; how hee had bequeathed more to his yoonger brothers than himselfe, that Rosader was his fathers darling, but now under his tuition, that as yet they were not come to yeares, and he being their gardian, might (if not defraud them of their due) yet make such havocke of theyr legacies and lands, as they should be a great deal the lighter: wherupon he began thus to meditate with himselfe . . .

Thy brother is yoong, keepe him now in awe; make him not checke mate[5] with thy selfe, for

Nimia familiaritas contemptum parit.[6]

Let him know litle, so shall he not be able to execute much: suppresse his wittes with a base estate, and though hee be a gentleman by nature, yet forme him anew, and make him a peasant by nourture. So shalt thou keepe him as a slave, and raigne thy selfe sole Lord over all thy fathers possessions. As for Fernandyne, thy middle brother, he is a scholler and hath no minde but on Aristotle:[7] let him reade on Galen[8] while thou riflest with golde, and pore on his booke til thou doest purchase landes: witte is great wealth; if he have learning it is enough, and so let all rest.

In this humour was Saladyne, making his brother Rosader his foote boy[9] for the space of two or three yeares, keeping him in such servile subjection, as if he had been the sonne of any country vassal. The young gentleman bare all with patience, til on a day, walking in the garden by himselfe, he began to consider how he was the sonne of John of Bourdeaux, a knight renownied for many victories, and a gentleman famozed[10] for his vertues; how, contrarie to the testament of his father, hee was not only kept from his land and intreated as a servant, but smothered in such secret slaverie, as hee might not attaine to any honourable actions. As, quoth hee to himselfe (nature woorking these

1 These extracts are merely illustrative, and do not cover all the ground common to the play and the novel. 2 see Phœnix, page 51. 3 betray. 4 than. 5 equal. 6 too great familiarity breeds contempt. 7 a famous Greek philosopher. 8 a celebrated Greek physician. 9 menial. 10 famous.

effectuall passions) why should I that am a gentleman borne, passe my time in such unnatural drudgery? were it not better either in Paris to become a scholler, or in the court a courtier, or in the field a souldier, nature hath lent me wit to conceive, but my brother denied mee art to contemplate: I have strength to performe any honorable exployt, but no libertie to accomplish my vertuous indevours: those good partes that God hath bestowed upon mee, the envy of my brother doth smother in obscuritie; the harder is my fortune, and the more his forwardnes. With that casting up his hand he felt haire on his face, and perceiving his beard to bud for choler[1] hee began to blush, and swore to himselfe he would be no more subject to such slaverie. As thus he was ruminating of his melancholie passions in came Saladyne with his men, and seeing his brother in a browne study,[2] and to forget his wonted reverence,[3] thought to shake him out of his dumps thus. Sirha (quoth he) what is your heart on your halfepeny, or are you saying a dirge for your fathers soule? what, is my dinner readie? At this question Rosader, turning his head ascance, and bending his browes as if anger there had ploughed the furrowes of her wrath, with his eyes full of fire, hee made this replie. Doest thou aske mee (Saladyne) for thy cates?[4] aske some of thy churles[5] who are fit for suche an office: I am thine equal by nature, though not by birth, and though thou hast more cardes in the bunch, I have as many trumpes in my handes as thy selfe. Let me question with thee, why thou hast feld my woods, spoyled my manner[6] houses, and made havocke of suche utensalles as my father bequeathed unto mee? I tell thee, Saladyne, either answere mee as a brother, or I wil trouble thee as an enemie.

At this replie of Rosaders Saladyne smiled, as laughing at his presumption, and frowned as checking his folly: he therfore tooke him up thus shortly: What, sirha, wel I see early pricks the tree that wil proove a thorne: hath my familiar conversing with you made you coy, or my good lookes drawne you to be thus contemptuous? I can quickly remedie such a fault, and I wil bend the tree while it is a wand. In faith (sir boy) I have a snaffle for such a headstrong colt. You, sirs, lay holde on him and binde him, and then I wil give him a cooling carde for his choller.[7] This made Rosader halfe mad, that stepping to a great rake that stood in the garden, hee laide such loade uppon his brothers men that hee hurt some of them, and made the rest of them run away. Saladyne seeing Rosader so resolute, and with his resolution so valiant, thought his heeles his best safetie, and tooke him to a loaft adjoyning to the garden, whether Rosader pursued him hotlie. Saladine, afraide of his brothers furie, cried out to him thus: Rosader, be not so rash: I am thy brother and thine elder, and if I have done thee wrong ile make thee amendes: revenge not anger in blood, for so shalt thou staine the vertue of old Sir John Bourdeaux: say wherein thou art discontent and thou shalt bee satisfied. Brothers frownes ought not to be periodes of wrath: what, man, looke not so sowerly;[8] I know we shalbe friendes, and better friends then we have been. For, *Amantium ira amoris redinte gratio est.*[9]

These wordes appeased the choller of Rosader (for he was of a milde and curteous nature) so that hee layde downe his weapons, and upon the faith of a gentleman assured his brother hee would offer him no prejudice: wherupon Saladyne came down, and after a little parley they imbraced eache other and became friends; and Saladyne promising Rosader the restitution of all his lands, and what favour els (quoth he) any waies my ability or the nature of a brother may performe upon these sugred[10] reconciliations they went into the house arme in arme togither, to the great content of all the old servants of Sir John of Bourdeaux.

2. Thus continued the pad hidden in the strawe, til it chaunced that Torismond, king of France, had appointed for his pleasure a day of wrastling and of tournament to busie his commons[11] heades, least, being idle, their thoughts should runne uppon more serious matters, and call to remembrance their old banished king. A champion there was to stand against all commers, a Norman, a man of tall stature and of great strength; so valiant that in many such conflicts he alwaies bare away the victorie, not onely overthrowing them which hee incountred, but often with the weight of his bodie killing them outright. Saladyne hearing of this thinking now not to let the ball fal to the ground, but to take opportunity by the forehead, first by secret meanes convented[12] with the Norman, and procured him with rich rewards to sweare, that if Rosader came within his clawes hee would never more returne to quarrel with Saladyne for his possessions. The Norman, desirous of pelfe,[13] as (*quis nisi mentis inops oblatum respuit aurum*)[14] taking great gifts

1 from anger. 2 a state of mental abstraction. 3 bow. 4 viands. 5 peasants. 6 manor. 7 anger. 8 sourly. 9 the quarrelling of lovers is a renewal of love. 10 sugared. 11 people's. 12 made an agreement. 13 money. 14 who but a madman refuses gold when it is offered him?

for litle gods, tooke the crownes of Saladyne to performe the stratagem. Having thus the champion tied to his vilanous determination by oath, hee prosecuted the intent of his purpose thus:—He went to yoong Rosader (who in all his thoughts reacht at honour, and gazed no lower then verture commanded him), and began to tel him of this tournament and wrastling, how the king should bee there, and all the chiefe peeres of France, with all the beautiful damosels of the countrey. Now, brother (quoth hee) for the honor of Sir John of Bourdeaux, our renowned father, to famous[1] that house that never hath bin found without men approoved in chivalrie, shewe thy resolution to be peremptorie. For myselfe thou knowest, though I am eldest by birth, yet never having attempted any deedes of armes, I am yongest to performe any martial exploytes, knowing better how to survey my lands then to charge my launce: my brother Fernandyne hee is at Paris poring on a fewe papers, having more insight into sophistrie and principles of philosophie, then anie warlyke indeveurs; but thou, Rosader, the youngest in yeares but the eldest in valour, art a man of strength, and darest doo what honour allowes thee. Take thou my fathers launce, his sword, and his horse, and hye thee to the tournament, and either there valiantly cracke a speare, or trie with the Norman for the palm of activitie. The words of Saladyne were but spurres to a free horse, for hee had scarce uttered them, ere Rosader tooke him in his armes, taking his proffer so kindly, that hee promised in what hee might to requite his curtesie. The next morrow was the day of the tournament, and Rosader was so desirous to shew his herocyal thoughts that he past the night with litle sleep; but assoone as Phœbus[2] had vailed[3] the curteine of the night, and made Aurora[4] blush with giving her the *bezoles labres*[5] in her silver couch, he gat him up, and taking his leave of his brother, mounted himselfe towardes the place appoynted, thinking every mile ten leagues til he came there.

3. But leaving him so desirous of the journey, to Torismond, the king of France, who having by force banished Gerismond, their lawful king that lived as an outlaw in the forest of Arden, sought now by all meanes to keep the French busied with all sports that might breed their content. Amongst the rest he had appointed this solemne turnament, wherunto hee in most solemne maner resorted, accompanied with the twelve peers of France who, rather for fear then love, graced him with the shew of their dutiful favours. To feede their eyes, and to make the beholders pleased with the sight of most rare and glistring[6] objects, he had appoynted his owne daughter Alinda to be there, and the fair Rosalynd, daughter unto Gerismond, with al the beautifull dammoselles that were famous for their features in all France.

Thus in that place did love and war triumph in a simpathy; for such as were martial might use their launce to be renowned for the excellency of their chevalrie, and suche as were amorous might glut themselves with gazing on the beauties of most heavenly creatures. As every mans eye had his several survey, and fancie was partial in their lookes, yet all in general applauded the admirable riches that nature bestowed on the face of Rosalynde; for uppon her cheekes there seemed a battaile betweene the graces, who should bestow most favours to make her excellent. The blush that gloried Luna,[7] when she kist[8] the shepheard on the hilles of Latmos,[9] was not tainted with such a pleasant dye, as the vermilion flourisht on the silver hue of Rosalyndes countenance: . . . This Rosalynd sat, I say, with Alinda as a beholder of these sportes, and made the cavaliers cracke their lances with more courage: many deedes of knighthood that day were performed, and many prizes were given according to their several desertes. At last when the tournament ceased, the wrastling beganne, and the Norman presented himselfe as a chalenger against all commers, but hee looked lyke Hercules when he advaunst[10] himselfe agaynst Acheloüs [11] so that the furie of his countenaunce amazed all that durst attempte to incounter with him in any deed of activitie: til at last a lustie Francklin[12] of the country came with two tall men, that were his sonnes. of good lyniaments and comely personage: the eldest of these dooing his obeysance to the king entered the lyst,[13] and presented himselfe to the Norman, who straight coapt[14] with him, and as a man that would triumph in the glorie of his strength, roused himselfe with such furie, that not onely hee gave him the fall, but killed him with the weight of his corpulent personage; which the yoonger brother seeing, lepte[15] presently into the place, and thirstie after the revenge, assayled the Norman with such valour, that at the first incounter hee brought him to his knees:

1 to bring fame to. 2 the sun. 3 lowered. 4 goddess of dawn. 5 kiss on the lips. 6 glittering. 7 Diana. 8 kissed. 9 a mountain of Caria, the residence of Endymion. 10 advanced. 11 eldest of the 3000 sons of Oceanus and Tethys and god of the river of the same name in Epirus. 12 farmer. 13 the ground enclosed for the contest. 14 struggled. 15 leaped.

which repulst so the Norman, that recovering himselfe, feare of disgrace doubling his strength, hee stept so stearnely to the yoong Francklin, that taking him up in his armes hee threw him against the grounde so violently, that hee broake his necke, and so ended his dayes with his brother. At this unlookt for massacre the people murmured, and were all in a deepe passion of pittie; but the Francklin, father unto these, never chaunged his countenance, but as a man of couragious resolution tooke up the bodies of his sonnes without shewe of outward discontent.

All this while stood Rosader and sawe this tragedie; who, noting the undoubted verture[1] of the Francklins minde, alighted of from his horse, and presently sat downe on the grasse, and commanded his boy to pul off his bootes, making him ready to try the strength of this champion. . . . . With that Rosader vailed bonnet[2] to the king, and lightly leapt within the lists, where noting more the companie then the combatant, he cast his eye upon the troupe[3] of ladies that glistered there lyke the starres of heaven; but at last Love willing to make him as amourous as hee was valiant, presented him with the sight of Rosalynd, whose admirable beautie so inveagled the eye of Rosader, that forgetting himselfe, hee stood and fedde his lookes on the favour of Rosalyndes face; which shee perceiving, blusht, which was such a doubling of her beauteous excellence, that the bashful redde of Aurora at the sight of unacquainted Phaeton,[4] was not halfe so glorious.

The Normane seeing this young gentleman fettered in the lookes of the ladyes drave him out of his memento with a shake by the shoulder. Rosader looking backe with an angrie frowne, as if hee had been wakened from some pleasaunt dreame, discovered to all by the furye of his countenance that hee was a man of some high thoughts: but when they all noted his youth, and the sweetnesse of his visage, with a general applause of favours, they grieved that so goodly a yoong man should venture in so base an action; but seeing it were to his dishonour to hinder him from his enterprise, they wisht him to bee graced with the palme of victorie. After Rosader was thus called out of his memento by the Norman, he roughly clapt[5] to him with so fierce an incounter, that they both fel to the ground, and with the violence of the fal were forced to breathe:[6] in which space the Norman called to minde by all tokens, that this was hee whome Saladyne had appoynted him to kil; which conjecture made him stretch every limbe, and try every sinew, that working his death hee might recover[7] the golde which so bountifuly was promised him. On the contrary part, Rosader while he breathed was not idle, but stil cast his eye upon Rosalynde, who to incourage him with a favour, lent him such an amorous looke, as might have made the most coward desperate: which glance of Rosalynd so fiered[8] the passionate desires of Rosader, that turning to the Norman hee ranne upon him and braved[9] him with a strong encounter. The Norman received him as valiantly, that[10] there was a sore combat, hard to judge on whose side fortune would be prodigal.[11] At last Rosader, calling to minde the beautie of his new mistresse, the fame of his fathers honours, and the disgrace that should fal to his house by his misfortune, rowsed himselfe and threw the Norman against the ground, falling uppon his chest with so willing a weight, that the Norman yelded[12] nature her due, and Rosader the victorie.

The death of this champion, as it highly contented the Francklin, as a man satisfied with revenge, so it drue the king and all the peeres into a great admiration, that so yoong yeares and so beautiful a personage should contain such martiall excellence; but when they knew him to bee the yoongest sonne of Sir John of Bourdeaux, the king rose from his seat and imbraced him, and the peeres intreated[13] him with all favourable curtesie, commending both his valour and his vertues, wishing him to go forward in such haughtie deeds, that hee might attaine to the glory of his fathers honourable fortunes.

As the king and lordes graced him with embracyng, so the ladyes favoured him with theyr lookes, especially Rosalynd, whome the beautie and valour of Rosader had already touched: but she accounted love a toye,[14] and fancie[15] a momentary passion, that as it was taken in with a gaze, might be shaken off with a winke, and therefore feared not to dally in the flame; and to make Rosader know she affected[16] him, tooke from her necke a jewel, and sent it by a page to the yong gentleman. The prize that Venus[17] gave to Paris[18] was not halfe so pleasing to the Trojan as this jemme was to Rosader; for if fortune had sworne to make himself sole monarke of the world, he would rather have refused such dignitie, then have lost the jewel sent him by Rosalynd. To return hir with the like he was unfurnished, and yet that he might more than in his lookes discover his affections, hee stept into a tent, and taking pen and paper writ this fancie:—[19]

1 valour. 2 cap. 3 troop. 4 son of Phœbus. 5 threw himself on the Norman. 6 to take breathing time. 7 win. 8 fired. 9 challenged. 10 so that. 11 would award the victory. 12 yielded. 13 treated. 14 trifle. 15 liking. 16 liked. 17 goddess of love, who promised Paris the handsomest woman in the world for his wife in return for the golden apple, the prize of beauty. 18 son of Priam, king of Troy. 19 love-poem.

Two sunnes at once from one faire heaven there shinde,
Ten braunches from two boughes tipt, all with roses,
Pure lockes more golden than is golde refinde,
Two pearled rowes that natures pride incloses;
Two mounts faire marble white, downe-soft and dainty,
A snow died orbe, where love increast by pleasure
Full wofull makes my heart, and body faintie:
Hir faire (my woe) exceeds all thought and measure.
In lines confusde my lucklesse harme appeareth,
Whom sorrow clowdes, whom pleasant smiling cleareth.

This sonnet he sent to Rosalynd, which when she read shee blusht, but with a sweet content in that she perceived love had alotted her so amorous a servant.

4. Scarce had Rosalynde ended her madrigale, before Torismond came in with his daughter Alinda and many of the peers of France, who were enamoured of her beauty; which Torismond perceiving, fearing least[1] her perfection might be the beginning of his prejudice,[2] and the hope of his fruit ende in the beginning of her blossomes, he thought to banish her from the court: for, quoth he to himselfe, her face is so ful of favour, that it pleads[3] pittie in the eye of every man: her beauty is so heavenly and devine, that she wil prove to me as Helen[4] did to Priam,[5] some one of the peeres wil ayme at her love, end the marriage, and then in his wives right attempt the kingdome. To prevent therefore had I wist[6] in all these actions, shee tarryes not about the court, but shall (as an exile) eyther wander to her father, or else seeke other fortunes. In this humour, with a sterne countenance ful of wrath, he breathed out this censure unto her before the peers, that charged her that that night shee were not seene about the court: for (quoth he) I have heard of thy aspiring speeches, and intended treasons. This doome[7] was strange unto Rosalynd, and presently covred with the shield of her innocence, she boldly brake out in reverent[8] tearms to have cleared herself; but Torismond would admit of no reason, nor durst his lords plead for Rosalynd, although her beauty had made some of them passionate, seeing the figure of wrath pourtrayed in his brow. Standing thus all mute, and Rosalynd amazed, Alinda, who loved her more than herself, with grief in her hart[9] and teares in her eyes, falling down on her knees, began to intreat her father thus.

ALINDAS ORATION TO HER FATHER IN DEFENCE OF ROSALYNDE.

If (mighty Torismond) I offend in pleading for my friend, let the law of amitie crave pardon for my boldnesse; for where there is depth of affection, there friendship alloweth a priviledge. Rosalynd and I have beene fostered up from our infancies, and noursed under the harbour of our conversing togeather with such private familiarities, that custome had wrought an unyon of our nature, and the sympathie of our affections such a secret love, that we have two bodies and one soule. Then marvell not (great Torismond) if, seeing my friend distrest, I finde myselfe perplexed with a thousand sorrowes; for her vertuous and honourable thoughts (which are the glories that maketh women excellent) they be such as may challenge love, and race out suspition.[10] Her obedience to your majestie I referre to the censure of your owne eye, that since her fathers exile hath smothered al griefs with patience, and in the absence of nature, hath honored you with all dutie, as her owne father by nouriture[11] not in word uttering any discontent, nor in thought as (far as conjecture may reach) hammering on revenge; only in all her actions seeking to please you, and to win my favor. Her wisdome, silence, chastitie, and other such rich qualities, I need not decypher; onely it rests for me to conclude in one word, that she is innocent. If then, fortune who tryumphs in variety of miseries, hath presented some envious person (as minister of her intended stratagem) to tainte Rosalynde with any surmise of treason, let him be brought to her face, and confirme his accusation by witnesses; which proved, let her die, and Alinda wil execute the massacre. If none can avouch any confirmed relation of her intent, use justice, my lord, it is the glory of a king, and let her live in your wonted favour; for if you banish her, myselfe, as copartner of her harde fortunes, will participate in exile some part of her extremities.

Torismond (at this speech of Alinda) covered his face with such a frown, as tyranny seemed to sit triumphant in his forhead and checkt her up with such taunts, as made the lords (that only were hearers) to tremble. Proud girle (quoth he) hath my looks made thee so light of toong,[12] or my favours incouraged thee to bee so forward, that thou darest persume to preach after thy father? hath not my yeares more experience than thy youth,

1 lest. 2 harm. 3 excites. 4 wife of Menelaus, king of Sparta, whose abduction by Paris, son of Priam, led to the Trojan war. 5 king of Troy, who perished at the capture of that city. 6 known. 7 sentence. 8 respectful. 9 heart. 10 suspicion. 11 nurture. 12 tongue.

and the winter of mine age deeper insight into civil policie, than the prime of thy florishing days? . . . Thou fond[1] girle, measurest all by present affection, and as thy heart loves, thy thoughts censure; but if thou knowest that in liking Rosalynd thou hatchest up a bird to pecke out thine owne eyes, thou wouldst intreat as much for hir absence as now thou delightest in her presence. But why doe I alleadge policie to thee? sit you downe, huswife, and fall to your needle: if idlenes make you so wanton, or libertie so malipert,[2] I can quickly tye you to a sharper taske. And you (mayd)[3] this night be packing, eyther into Arden to your father, or whither best it shall content your humour, but in the court you shall not abide. This rigorous replie of Torismond nothing amazed[4] Alinda, for stil she prosecuted her plea in the defence of Rosalynd, wishing her father 'if his censure[5] might not be reverst) that he would appoynt her partner of her exile; which if he refused, eyther she would by some secret meanes steale out and followe her, or else ende her dayes with some desperate kind of death. When Torismond heard his daughter so resolute, his heart was so hardened against her, that he set down a definitive and peremptory sentence, that they should both be banished, which presently was done, the tyrant rather choosing to hazard the losse of his onely child than any wayes to put in question[6] the state of his kingdome; so suspitious and fearfull is the conscience of an usurper. Wel, although his lords perswaded him to retaine his owne daughter, yet his resolution might[7] not be reverst, but both of them must away from the court without eyther more company or delay. In hee went with great melancholy, and left these two ladyes alone. Rosalynd waxed very sad, and sate downe and wept. Alinda she smiled, and sitting by her friend began thus to comfort her . . . .

Cheerly, woman: as wee have been bed-fellowes in royaltie, we wil be felow mates in povertie: I wil ever be thy Alinda, and thou shalt ever rest[8] to me Rosalynd; so shall the world canonize our friendship, and speake of Rosalynd and Alinda, as they did of Pilades[9] and Orestes.[10] And if ever fortune smile, and we returne to our former honour, then folding our selves in the sweete of our friendship, we shal merily say (calling to mind our forepassed miseries)

Olim hæc meminisse juvabit.[11]

At this Rosalynd began to comfort her, and after shee had wept a fewe kinde teares in the bosome of her Alinda, shee gave her heartie thankes, and then they sat them downe to consult how they should travel. Alinda grieved at nothing but that they might have no man in their company, saying, it would bee their greatest prejudice in that two women went wandring without either guide or attendant. Tush (quoth Rosalynd) art thou a woman, and hast not a sodeine[12] shift to prevent a misfortune? I (thou seest) am of a tall stature, and would very wel become the person and apparel of a page: thou shalt bee my mistresse, and I wil play the man so properly, that (trust me) in what company so ever I come I wil not be discovered. I will buy me a suite, and have my rapier very handsomely at my side, and if any knave offer wrong, your page wil shew him the poynt of his weapon. At this Alinda smiled, and upon this they agreed, and presently gathered up al their jewels, which they trussed[13] up in a casket, and Rosalynd in all hast[14] provided her of robes; and Alinda being called Aliena, and Rosalynd Ganimede, they traveiled along the vineyardes, and by many by-waies, at last got to the forrest side, where they traveiled by the space of two or three dayes without seeing anye creature, being often in danger of wilde beasts, and payned with many passionate sorrowes.

5. The shepheards having thus ended their Eglogue, Aliena stept with Ganimede from behind the thicket; at whose sodayne[15] sight the shepheards arose, and Aliena saluted them thus: Shepheards, all haile (for such wee deeme you by your flockes) and lovers, good lucke, (for such you seeme by your passions) our eyes being witnesse of the one and our eares of the other. Although not by love, yet by fortune, I am a distressed gentlewoman, as sorrowfull as you are passionate, and as full of woes as you of perplexed thoughts. Wandring this way in a forrest unknown, onely I and my page, wearied with travel, would faine have some place of rest. May you appoint us any place of quiet harbour[16] (bee it never so meane) I shall bee thankfull to you, contented in my selfe, and gratefull to whosoever shall be mine host. Coridon, hearing the gentlewoman speake so courteously, returned her mildly and reverently this answere.

Faire mistresse, wee returne you as hearty a welcome as you gave us a courteous salute. A shepheard I am, and this a lover, as watchful to please his wench as to feed his sheep: ful of fancies, and therefore, say I full of follyes. Exhort him I may, but per-

1 foolish. 2 impertinent. 3 maid. 4 daunted. 5 decision. 6 to risk. 7 could. 8 continue to be. 9 and 10 two model friends whose names have become proverbial for friendship. 11 it will be pleasant to remember these things in after days. 12 sudden. 13 packed. 14 haste. 15 sudden. 16 shelter.

swade him I cannot; for love admits neither of counsaile nor reason. But leaving him to his passions, if you be distrest, I am sorrowfull such a faire creature is crost with calamitie: pray for you I may, but releeve you I cannot. Marry, if you want lodging, if you vouch[1] to shrowd[2] your selves in a shepheards cottage, my house for this night shall be your harbour. Aliena thankt Coridon greatly, and presently sate her downe and Ganimede by hir, Coridon looking earnestly upon her, and with a curious survey viewing all her perfections applauded (in his thought) her excellence, and pitying her distresse was desirous to heare the cause of her misfortunes began to question her thus.

If I should not (faire Damosell) occasionate offence, or renew your griefs by rubbing the scar, I would faine crave so much favour as to know the cause of your misfortunes, and why, and whither you wander with your page in so dangerous forest? Aliena (that was as courteous as she was fayre) made this replie. Shepheard, a friendly demaund ought never to be offensive, and questions of curtesie carry privileged pardons in their forheads. Know, therefore, to discover[3] my fortunes were to renew my sorrowes, and I should, by discoursing my mishaps, but rake fire out of the cynders. Therefore let this suffice, gentle shepheard: my distress is as great as my travaile is dangerous, and I wander in this forrest to light on some cotage where I and my page may dwell: for I meane to buy some farme, and a flocke of sheepe, and so become a shepheardesse, meaning to live low, and content mee with a country life; for I have heard the swaines saye, that they drunke[4] without suspition, and slept without care. Marry, mistress, quoth Coridon, if you meane so you came in good time, for my landlord intends to sell both the farme I tyll, and the flocke I keepe, and cheape you may have them for ready money: and for a shepheards life (oh mistres) did you but live a while in their content, you would say the court were rather a place of sorrow then of solace. Here, mistresse, shal not fortune thwart you, but[5] in mean misfortunes, as the losse of a few sheepe, which, as it breedes no beggary, so it can bee no extreame prejudice:[6] and next yeare may mend all with a fresh increase. Envy stirres not us, we covet not to climbe, our desires mount not above our degrees, nor our thoughts above our fortunes. Care cannot harbour[7] in our cottages, nor doe our homely couches know broken slumbers: as wee exceed not in dyet,[8] so we have inough to satisfie: and, mistresse, I have so much Latin, *satis est quod sufficit.*[9]

By my trueth,[10] shepheard, (quoth Aliena) thou makest mee in love with your countrey life, and therfore send for thy landlord, and I will buy thy farme and thy flocks, and thou shalt still under me bee overseer of them both: onely for pleasure sake I and my page will serve you, lead the flocks to the field and folde[11] them. Thus will I live quiet, unknowne, and contented.

6. These words cheered up so the heart of yong Rosader, that he thought himselfe sufficient for them al, and therefore prepared weapons for him and Adam Spencer, and were readie to entertaine the sheriffe; for no sooner came Saladyne and he to the gates, but Rosader, unlookt for, leapt out and assailed them, wounded many of them, and caused the rest to give backe, so that Adam and he broke through the prease[12] in despite of them all, and tooke their way towards the forrest of Arden. This repulse so set the sheriffs hart[13] on fire to revenge, that he straight raised all the country, and made hue and crie after them. But Rosader and Adam, knowing full well the secret waies that led through the vineyards, stole away privily through the province of Bourdeaux, and escaped safe to the forrest of Arden. Being come thether,[14] they were glad they had so good a harbor:[15] but fortune (who is like the camelion) variable with every object, and constant in nothing but inconstancie, thought to make them myrrours of her mutabilitie, and therefore still crost them thus contrarily. Thinking still to passe on by the bywaies to get to Lions,[16] they chanced on a path that led into the thicke of the forrest, where they wandred five or sixe dayes without meate, that they were almost famished, finding neither shepheard nor cottage to relieve them; and hunger growing on so extreame. Adam Spencer, (being olde) began to faint, and sitting him downe on a hill, and looking about him espied where Rosader laye as feeble and as ill perplexed: which sight made him shedde teares, and to fall into these bitter tearmes. . . . I am old, and overworne with age, you are yoong, and are the hope of many honours: let me then dye, I will presently cut my veynes, and, maister, with the warme blood relieve your fainting spirites: sucke on that till I ende, and you be comforted. With that Adam Spencer was ready to pull out his knife, when Rosader full of courage (though verie faint) rose up, and wisht A.

1 deign. 2 shelter. 3 disclose. 4 drank. 5 except. 6 harm. 7 dwell. 8 diet. 9 enough is as good as a feast. 10 truth or troth. 11 to pen the sheep. 12 crowd. 13 heart. 14 thither. 15 shelter. 16 Lyons.

Spencer to sit there til his returne; for my mind gives[1] me, quoth he, I shall bring thee meate. With that, like a mad man, he rose up, and raunged up and downe the woods, seeking to encounter some wilde beast with his rapier, that either he might carry his friend Adam food, or els pledge his life in pawn for his loyaltie. It chaunced that day, that Gerismond, the lawfull king of France banished by Torismond, who with a lustie crue[2] of outlawes, lived in that forest, that day in honour of his birth made a feast to all his bolde yeomen, and frolickt it with store of wine and venison, sitting all at a long table under the shadow of lymon[3] trees. To that place by chance fortune conducted Rosader, who seeing such a crue of brave men, having store of that for want of which hee and Adam perished, hee stept boldly to the boords[4] end, . . Gerismond, looking him earnestly in the face, and seeing so proper[5] a gentleman in so bitter a passion, was mooved with so great pitie, that rising from the table, he tooke him by the hand and badde him welcome, willing[6] him to sit downe in his place, and in his roome not onely to eat his fill, but to be the lord of the feast. Gramercy,[7] sir (quoth Rosader) but I have a feeble friend that lyes hereby famished almost for food, aged and therefore lesse able to abide the extremitie of hunger then my selfe, and dishonour it were for me to taste one crumme[8] before I made him partner of my fortunes: therefore I will runne and fetch him, and then I wil gratefully accept of your proffer. Away hies Rosader to Adam Spencer, and tels him the newes, who was glad of so happie fortune, but so feeble he was that he could not go; wherupon Rosader got him up on his backe, and brought him to the place. . . Rosader (desirous any way to satisfie the curtesie of his favourable host, first beginning his *exordium* with a volley of sighes, and a fewe luke warme teares) prosecuted his discourse, and told him from point to point all his fortunes: how he was the yongest sonne of Sir John of Bourdeaux, his name Rosader, how his brother sundry times had wronged him, and lastly, how for beating the sheriffe, and hurting his men, hee fled. And this old man (quoth he) whom I so much love and honour, is surnamed Adam Spencer, an old servant of my fathers, and one (that for his love) never fayled me in all my misfortunes.

When Gerismond heard this, he fell on the neck of Rosader, and next discoursing unto him, how he was Gerismond their lawfull king, exiled by Torismond, what familiaritie had ever been betwixt his father, Sir John of Bourdeaux, and him, how faithfull a subject hee lived, and how honourably he dyed; promising (for his sake) to give both him and his friend such curteous entertainment as his present estate could minister; and upon this made him one of his forresters.

7. The flight of Rosader came to the eares of Torismond, who hearing that Saladyne was sole heire of the landes of Sir John of Bourdeaux, desirous to possesse such faire revenewes, found just occasion to quarrell with Saladyne about the wrongs he proffered to his brother; and therefore, dispatching a herehault,[9] he sent for Saladyne in all poast haste. Who marveiling what the matter should be, began to examine his owne conscience, wherein hee had offended his highnesse; but imboldened with his innocence, he boldly went with the herehault unto the court; where, assoone as hee came, hee was not admitted into the presence of the king, but presently sent to prison. This greatly amazed Saladyne, chiefly in that the jayler had a straight charge over him, to see that he should be close prisoner. Many passionate thoughts came in his head, till at last he began to fall into consideration of his former follies, and to meditate with himselfe. . . .

In the depth of his passion, hee was sent for to the king, who with a looke that threatened death entertained him, and demaunded of him where his brother was? Saladyne made answer, that upon some ryot made against the sheriffe of the shire, he was fled from Bourdeaux, but he knew not whither. Nay, villaine (quoth he) I have heard of the wronges thou hast proffered thy brother, since the death of thy father, and by thy means have I lost a most brave and resolute chevalier. Therefore, in justice to punish thee, I spare thy life for thy fathers sake, but banish thee for ever from the court and countrey of France; and see thy departure be within tenne dayes, els trust me thou shalt loose thy head. And with that the king flew away in a rage, and left poore Saladyne greatly perplexed; who grieving at his exile, yet determined to bear it with patience, and in penaunce[10] of his former folies to travaile abroade in every coast till he had found out his brother Rosader . . .

All this while did poore Saladyne (banished from Bourdeux and the court of France by Torismond) wander up and downe in the forrest of Arden, thinking to get to Lyons, and so travail through Germany into Italie: but the forrest beeing full of by pathes, and

1 makes me believe. 2 large body. 3 lemon. 4 table's. 5 handsome. 6 bidding. 7 many thanks. 8 crumb. 9 herald. 10 penance.

he unskilfull[1] of the country coast,[2] slipt out of the way, and chaunced up into the desart, not farre from the place where Gerismond was, and his brother Rosader. Saladyne, wearie with wandring up and downe, and hungry with long fasting, finding a little cave by the side of a thicket, eating such fruite as the forest did affoord, and contenting himselfe with such drinke as nature had provided and thirst made delicate, after his repast he fell in a dead sleepe. As thus he lay, a hungry lyon came hunting downe the edge of the grove for pray,[3] and espying Saladyne began to ceaze[4] upon him: but seeing he lay still without any motion, he left[5] to touch him, for that lyons hate to pray on dead carkasses; and yet desirous to have some foode, the lyon lay downe and watcht to see if he would stirre. While thus Saladyne slept secure,[6] fortune that was careful of her champion began to smile, and brought it so to passe, that Rosader (having stricken a deere that but slightly hurt fled through the thicket) came pacing downe by the grove with a boare speare in his hande in great haste. He spyed where a man lay a sleepe, and a lyon fast by him: amazed at this sight, as he stoode gazing, his nose on the sodaine[7] bledde, which made him conjecture it was some friend of his. Whereuppon drawing more nigh, he might easily discerne his visage, perceived by his phisnomie[8] that it was his brother Saladyne, which drave Rosader into a deepe passion,[9] as a man perplexed at the sight of so unexpected a chance, marvelling what should drive his brother to traverse those secrete desarts, without any companie in such distresse and forlorne sorte. But the present time craved no such doubting ambages,[10] for he must eyther resolve to hazard his life for his reliefe, or else steale away, and leave him to the crueltie of the lyon. In which doubt hee thus briefly debated with himselfe. . . .

Ah, Rosader, wert thou the sonne of Sir John of Bourdeux, whose vertues exceeded his valour, and the most hardiest knight in all Europe? Should the honour of the father shine in the actions of the sonne? and wilt thou dishonour thy parentage, in forgetting the nature of a gentleman? Did not thy father at his last gaspe breath put out this golden principle? Brothers amitie is like the drops of Balsamum, that salveth the most dangerous sores. Did he make a large exhort unto concord, and wilt thou shew thy selfe carelesse? Oh Rosader, what though Saladyne hath wronged thee, and made thee live an exile in the forrest, shall thy nature bee so cruell, or thy nurture so crooked, or thy thoughts so savage, as to suffer so dismall a revenge? What, to let him be devoured by wilde beastes? *Non sapit, qui non sibi sapit*[11] is fondly spoken in such bitter extreames. Loose not his life Rosader, to win a worlde of treasure; for in having him thou hast a brother, and by hazarding for his life, thou gettest a friend, and reconcilest an enemie: and more honour shalt thou purchase by pleasuring a foe, than revenging a thousand injuries.

With that his brother began to stirre, and the lyon to rowse himselfe, whereupon Rosader sodainly[12] charged him with the boare speare, and wounded the lion very sore at the first stroke. The beast feeling himselfe to have a mortall hurt, leapt at Rosader, and with his pawes gave him a sore pinch on the brest, that he had almost faln; yet as a man most valiant, in whom the sparks of Sir John Bourdeaux remained, he recovered himselfe, and in short combat slew the lion, who at his death roared so lowd that Saladyne awaked, and starting up, was amazed at the sudden sight of so monstrous a beast lying slaine by him, and so sweet a gentleman wounded.

8. Saladyne, hearing this shepheardesse speake so wisely, began more narrowly to pry into her perfection, and to survey all her liniaments with a curious insight; so long dallying in the flame of her beautie, that to his cost he found her to be most excellent. For love that lurked in all these broyles to have a blow or two, seeing the parties at the gaze, encountered them both with such a veny,[13] that the stroke pierst to the heart so deep as it could never after be raced[14] out. . . . Saladyne (that now saw opportunitie pleasant) thought to strike while the yron was hotte, and therefore taking Aliena by the hand, sate downe by her; and Ganimede, to give them leave to their loves, found her selfe busie about the foldes[15] whilest Saladyne fell into this prattle with Aliena.

Fair mistresse, if I be blunt in discovering my affections, and use little eloquence in levelling out my loves. I appeale for pardon to your owne principles, that say, shepheards use few ceremonies, for that they acquaint themselves with few subtilties. To frame my selfe therefore to your country fashion with much faith and little flattery, know, bewtifull[16] shepheardesse, that whylest I lived in the court I knew not loves comber,[17] but I

1 ignorant. 2 district. 3 prey. 4 seize. 5 ceased. 6 carelessly. 7 sudden. 8 physiognomy. 9 feeling. 10 thoughts. 11 He's not a wise man who's not wise in his own affairs. 12 suddenly. 13 thrust. 14 erased. 15 sheep pens. 16 beautiful. 17 embarrassment.

helde affection as a toy, not as a malady; using fancy as the Hiperborei[1] doo their flowers, which they weare in their bosome all day, and cast them in the fire for fuell at night. I lyked all, because I loved none, and who was most faire, on her I fed mine eye; but as charily as the bee, that assoone as shee hath suckt honny from the rose, flies straight to the next marigold. Living thus at mine owne list,[2] I wondred at such as were in love, and when I read their passions, I tooke them onely for poemes that flowed from the quicknesse of the wyt, not the sorrowes of the heart. But now (faire nymph) since I became a forrester, Love hath taught me such a lesson that I must confesse his deitie and dignitie, and saie as there is nothing so pretious as beuty, so there is nothing more piercing than fancy. For since first I arrived at this place, and mine eye tooke a curious survey of your excellence, I have been so fettered with your beautie and vertue, as (sweet Aliena) Saladyne without further circumstance loves Aliena. I could paynt out my desires with long ambages;[3] but seeing in many words lyes mistrust, and that truth is ever naked, let this suffice for a country wooing, Saladyne loves Aliena, and none but Aliena.

9. The newes of her sicknesse was bruted[4] abroad through all the forrest, which no sooner came to Montanus eare, but hee, like a mad man, came to visit Phœbe. Where sitting by her bed side he began his exordium with so many teares and sighes, that she, perceiving the extremitie of his sorrows, began now as a lover to pittie them, although Ganimede helde her from redressing them. Montanus craved to know the cause of her sicknesse, tempred with secret plaints, but she answered him (as the rest) with silence, having still the forme of Ganimede in her mind, and conjecturing how she might reveale her loves. To utter it in wordes she found her selfe too bashfull; to discourse by any friend shee would not trust any in her amours; to remain thus perplexed still, and conceale all, it was a double death. Whereupon, for her last refuge,[5] she resolved to write unto Ganimede, and therfore desired Montanus to absent himselfe a while, but not to depart, for she would see if she could steale a nappe. Hee was no sooner gone out of the chamber, but reaching to her standish, shee tooke penne and paper, and wrote a letter to this effect.

PHŒBE TO GANIMEDE, WISHETH WHAT SHE WANTS HER SELFE.

Faire shepheard (and therefore is Phœbe infortunate, because thou art so faire), although hitherto mine eyes were adamants to resist love, yet I no sooner saw thy face, but they became amorous to intertaine love; more devoted to fancie, than before they were repugnant to affection, addicted to the one by nature, and drawn to the other by beauty: which being rare, and made the more excellent by many vertues, hath so snared the freedome of Phœbe, as shee restes at thy mercie, either to bee made the most fortunate of all maydens, or the most miserable of all women. Measure not, Ganimede, my loves by my wealth, nor my desires by my degrees; but thinke my thoughts as full of faith, as thy face of amiable favors. Then, as thou knowest thy selfe most beautifull, suppose me most constant. If thou deemest mee hard harted because I hated Montanus, think I was forst[6] to it by fate: if thou saist I am kind hearted, because so lightly I loved thee at the first looke, think I was driven to it by desteny, whose influence, as it is mighty, so is it not to be resisted. If my fortunes were any thing but infortunate love, I would strive with fortune: but he that wrests against the will of Venus, seekes to quench fire with oyle, and to thrust out one thorn by putting in another. If then, Ganimede, love enters at the eye, harbours in the heart, and wil neither be driven out with phisicke nor reason, pittie mee, as one whose malady hath no salve but from thy sweet self, whose griefe hath no ease but through thy grant; and think I am a virgin who is deeply wrongd when I am forst to woo, and conjecture love to be strong, that is more forecable then nature. Thus distressed unless by thee eased, I expect either to lyve fortunate by thy favour, or die miserable by thy denyall. Living in hope. Farewell.

She that must be thine,
or not be at all,
PHŒBE.

This letter . . . . . she could find no fit messenger to send it by, and therefore she called in Montanus, and intreated him to carry it to Ganimede. Although poore Montanus saw day at a little hole, and did perceive what passion pinched her, yet (that he might seeme dutifull to his mistresse in all service) he dissembled[7] the matter, and became a willing messenger of his owne martydome. And so (taking the latter) went the next morne very earlie to the plaines where Aliena fedde hir flocks, and there he found

1 a people who lived beyond the north wind. 2 inclination. 3 phrases. 4 reported. 5 recourse. 6 forced. 7 concealed.

Ganimede, sitting under a pomegranade tree, sorrowing for the hard fortunes of her Rosader. Montanus saluted him, and according to his charge delivered Ganimede the letters, which (he said) came from Phœbe. At this the wanton blusht, as being abasht to thinke what news should come from an unknowne shepheardesse; but taking the letters, unript the seales, and read over the discourse of Phœbes fancies. When she had read and over-read them Ganimede beganne to smile, and looking on Montanus, fell into a great laughter, and with that called Aliena, to whome shee showed the writinges. . . . Ganimede, turning to Montanus, began to glaunce at him thus.

I pray thee, tell me, shepheard, by those sweet thoughts and pleasing sighes that grow from my mistresse favours, art thou in love with Phœbe? Oh, my youth, quoth Montanus, were Phœbe so farre in love with me, my flocks would be more fatte, and their maister more quiet; for through the sorrows of my discontent growes the leannesse of my sheepe. . . Nothing can make me forget Phœbe, while Montanus forget himselfe; for those characters which true love hath stamped, neither the envie of time nor fortune can wipe away. Why but, Montanus, quoth Ganimede, enter with a deep insight into the despaire of thy fancies, and thou shalt see the depth of thine owne follies; for (poore man) thy progresse in love is a regresse to losse, swimming again the streame with the crab, and flying with Apis Indica[1] against wind and weather. Thou seekest with Phœbus to win Daphne,[2] and shee flies faster than thou canst follow: thy desires soare with the hobbie, but her disdain reacheth higher than thou canst make wing. I tell thee, Montanus, in courting Phœbe, thou barkest with the wolves of Syria against the moone, and roavest at such a marke with thy thoughts, as is beyond the pitch of thy bow, praying to love, when love is pittilesse, and thy malady remedilesse. For proofe, Montanus, read these letters, wherein thou shalt see thy great follyes and little hope.

10. In went Ganimede and drest her self in womans attire, having on a gowne of greene, with kirtle[3] of rich sandall, so quaint, that she seemed Diana[4] triumphing in the forrest: upon her head she wore a chaplet of roses, which gave her such a grace that she looked like Flora[5] pearkt[6] in the pride of all her floures[7]. Thus attired came Rosalind in, and presented hir self at hir fathers feete, with her eyes full of teares, craving his blessing, and discoursing unto him all her fortunes, how shee was banished by Torismond, and how ever since she lived in that country disguised.

Gerismond, seeing his daughter, rose from his seat and fel upon her necke, uttering the passions of his joy in watry plaints, driven into such an extasie[8] of content, that he could not utter one word. At this sight, if Rosader was both amazed and joyfull, I refer my selfe to the judgement of such as have experience in love, seeing his Rosalynd before his face whom so long and deeply he had affected.[9] At last Gerismond recovered his spirites, and in most fatherly tearmes entertained his daughter Rosalynd, after many questions demanding of her what had past betweene her and Rosader? So much, sir, (quoth she) as there wants nothing but your grace to make up the mariage. Why, then (quoth Gerismond) Rosader take her: shee is thine, and let this day solemnize both thy brothers and thy nuptials. Rosader beyond measure content, humbly thankt the king, and imbraced his Rosalynde, who turning to Phœbe, demanded if she had shewen sufficient reason to suppresse the force of her loves. Yea, quoth Phœbe, and so great a perswasive, that if it please your Madame and Aliena to give us leave, Montanus and I will make this day the thirde couple in marriage. She had no sooner spake this word, but Montanus threw away his garland of willow, his bottle, where was painted dispaire, and cast his sonnets in the fire, shewing himselfe as frolicke[10] as Paris when he hanseled[11] his love with Helena.[12] At this Gerismond and the rest smiled, and concluded that Montanus and Phœbe should keepe their wedding with the two brethren. Aliena seeing Saladyne stand in a dumpe, to wake him from his dreame began thus. Why how now, my Saladyne, all a mort? what melancholy, man, at the day of marriage? perchaunce thou art sorrowfull to thinke on thy brothers high fortunes, and thyne owne base desires to chuse so meane a shepheardize. Cheare up thy hart, man; for this day thou shalt bee married to the daughter of a king; for know, Saladyne, I am not Aliena, but Alinda, the daughter of thy mortal enemie Torismond. At this all the company were amazed, especially Gerismond, who rising up, tooke Alinda in his armes, and said to Rosalynd. Is this that faire Alinda famous for so many vertues, that forsake her fathers court to live with thee exilde in the country? The same, q.[13] Rosalynde. Then, quoth Gerismond, turning to Saladyne, jolly forrester be frolick, for thy fortunes are great, and thy desires excellent: thou hast got a princesse as famous for her perfection, as exceeding

1 an Indian honey-bee. 2 a nymph, daughter of the river-god Peneius. 3 dress. 4 goddess of hunting, chastity and marriage. 5 goddess of flowers. 6 decked. 7 flowers. 8 ecstasy. 9 loved. 10 merry. 11 first gave. 12 Helen of Troy. 13 quoth.

in proportion. . . While every one was amazed with these comicall eventes, Coridon came skipping in, and told them that the priest was at church, and tarried for their comming. With that Gerismond led the way, and the rest followed; where to the admiration of all the countrey swains in Arden their mariages were solemnly solemnized. As soone as the priest had finished, home they went with Alinda, where Coridon had made all things in readines. Dinner was provided, and the tables being spread, and the brides set downe by Gerismond, Rosader, Saladyne, and Montanus that day were servitors: homely cheare they had, such as their country could affoord; but to mend[1] their fare they had mickle[2] good chat, and many discourses of their loves and fortunes. About mid dinner, to make them mery, Coridon came in with an old crowd, and plaid[3] them a fit of mirth, to which he sung this pleasant song.

CORIDONS SONG.

A blyth and bonny country lasse,
Heigh ho, the bonny lasse!
Sate sighing on the tender grasse
And weeping said, Will none come woo me?
A smicker[4] boy, a lyther[5] swaine,
Heigh ho, a smicker swaine!
That in his love was wanton faine,
With smiling looks straight came unto her.

When, as the wanton wench espied,
Heigh ho, when she espied,
The meanes to make her selfe a bride,
She simpred smooth like bonny bell:
The swaine, that saw her squint eied[6] kind,
Heigh ho, squint eyed kind!
His armes about her body twind,
And, faire lasse, how fare ye, well?

The country kit said, Well, forsooth,
Heigh ho, well forsooth!
But that I have a longing tooth,
A longing tooth that makes me crie:
Alas! said he, what garres[7] thy grief?
Heigh ho, what garres thy grief?
A wound, quoth she, without reliefe,—
I fear a maid that I shall die.

If that be all, the shepheard said,
Heigh ho, the shepheard said!
He make thee wive[8] it gentle mayd,[9]
And so recure thy maladie.
Hereon they kist[10] with many a oath,
Heigh ho, with many a oath!
And fore God Pan did plight their troath,
And to the church they hied[11] them fast.

And God send every pretie peate,
Heigh ho, the pretie peate!
That feares to die of this conceate,
So kind a friend to helpe at last.

Coridon having thus made them merry, as they were in the midst of their jollitie, word was brought in to Saladyne and Rosader that a brother of theirs, one Fernandine, was arived, and desired to speake with them. . . . Although (right mighty prince) this day of my brothers marriage be a daye of mirth, yet time craves another course; and therefore from dantie cates[12] rise to sharpe weapons. And you, the sonnes of Sir John of Bourdeaux, leave off your amors and fal to arms: change your loves into lances, and now this day shew your selves valiant, as hitherto you have been passionate. For know, Gerismond, that harde by at the edge of this forrest the twelve peeres of France are up in arms to recover thy right; and Torismond, troupt[13] with a crue of desperate

1 better, improve. 2 much. 3 played. 4 amorous, gay. 5 soft, flexible. 6 eyed. 7 makes. 8 marry, 9 maid. 10 kissed. 11 hastened. 12 viands. 13 trooped.

runnagates, is ready to bid them battaile. . . At this alarum, given him by Fernandine, Gerismond leapt from the boord, and Saladyne and Rosader betooke themselves to their weapons. . . . Thus they leave the brides full of sorrow, and especially Alinda, who desired Gerismond to be good to her father: hee, not returning a word because his hast was great, hied him home to his lodge, wher he delivered Saladyne and Rosader horse and armour, and himselfe armed royally led the way, not having ridden two leagues before they discovered where in a valley both the battailes were joyned. Gerismond seeing the wing wherein the peeres fought, thrust in there, and cryed S. Denis![1] laying on such load upon his enemies, that he shewed how highly he did estimate of a crowne. When the peeres perceived that their lawful king was there, they grew more eager; and Saladyne and Rosader so behaved themselves, that none durst stand in their way, nor abide the furie of their weapons. To be short, the peeres were conquerors, Torismonds army put to flight, and himself slain in battaile. The peers then gathered themselves together, and saluted their king, conducted him royally into Paris, where he was received with great joy of all the cittizens. Assoone as all was quiet, and he had received againe the crowne, he sent for Alinda and Rosalynd to the court, Alinda being very passionat[2] for the death of her father, yet brooking[3] it with the more patience, in that she was contented with the welfare of her Saladyne. Wel, assoone as they were come to Paris, Gerismond made a royal feast for the peeres and lords of his land, which continued thirtie dayes, in which time summoning a parliament, by the consent of his nobles, he created Rosader heire apparant to the kingdome: hee restored Saladyne to all his fathers land, and gave him the dukedome of Nameurs: he made Fernandine principall secretarie to himselfe; and that fortune might every way seeme frolicke, he made Montanus lord over all the Forrest of Arden, Adam Spencer Captaine of the Kings Gard, and Coridon maister of Alindas flocks.

[1] patron saint of France. [2] much grieved. [3] enduring.

GB17
v. 3

The Tragedy of Macbeth.

Written. Between 1603-1610. Much internal evidence of the play indicates very clearly that the year of the accession of James I. (1603) saw its composition. Several passages in the play clearly refer to James, particularly to his accession, and the union of the crowns of England and Scotland:

> and some I see,
> That two-fold balls and treble sceptres carry,

It is considered that the "two-fold balls" symbolises the double coronation of James I. at Scone and at Westminster, while "treble-sceptres" refers to the three kingdoms, England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland. It is also probable that "two-fold balls" may mean "two-fold islands"—Great Britain and Ireland; the whole being intended as a compliment to James I. who united the two islands, and the three kingdoms.[1]

A celebrated Elizabethan physician, Dr. Simon Forman, in his Diary, entitled *The Booke of Plaies and Notes therof*,[2] states that he was present at a performance of *Macbeth* at the Globe on the 20th April, 1610, this evidence fixing the date of composition not later than 1610.

Evidence is also in favour of 1606 as being the year of its composition. The porter's remarks concerning the equivocator:

> Who's there, i' the other devil's name? - 'Faith, here's an equivocator, that could swear in both the scales against either scale; who committed treason enough for God's sake, yet could not equivocate to heaven: O! come in, equivocator.

probably refer to the trial of a Jesuit, Henry Garnet, (Provincial of the Jesuits in England) in March, 1606, for complicity in the Gunpowder Plot, the doctrine of equivocation being brought into prominence at the trial.[3]

Published. 1623.

Source of the Plot. Shakespeare found the materials for his play in Holinshed's *Chronicles*, (second edition, 1586-87),[4] [Holinshed is however, on many points at variance with the real facts of history. Cf. Extracts from *The Secret History of Macbeth*, Chalmers' *Caledonia*, and Wyntoun's *Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland*]. He connects the portion concerning Duncan and Macbeth with the account given by Holinshed of the murder of King Duffe by Donwald, lieutenant of the castle of Fores. The apparition Scene in Act IV., and the sleep-walking of Lady Macbeth in Act V. are original.

Outline of the Play. The play opens with the appearance of three witches in a desert place in the midst of thunder and lightning. They arrange to meet Macbeth and Banquo, two generals in the army of Duncan, King of Scotland, upon a heath.

[1]See Appendix I. [2]See Appendix II. [3]Gardiner's *History of England*, 1603-1607, Vol. 1, and Sydney's *History of the Gunpowder Plot*. [4]Holinshed's narrative of Macbeth was taken from the twelfth book of the *Scotorum Historiae* of Hector Boece (1526), the first Principal of Aberdeen University.

A rebellion breaks out among certain highland clans, headed by Macdonwald (Holinshed's Makdowald) of the Western Isles. Macbeth and Banquo are sent by Duncan against the rebels, who are defeated with great slaughter. Duncan and his sons await the news of the battle in a camp near Fores. Suddenly a bleeding sergeant—faint with loss of blood—staggers in the camp with tidings that the insurrection has been crushed, and relates with pride the glorious deeds of the brave Macbeth. No sooner has this rebellion been crushed than news arrives that Sweno, king of Norway, with a large army has landed in Fife. Macbeth and Banquo are sent against the invaders, and, in a great battle in Fifeshire defeat the Danes and drive them back to their ships. Cf. **Extract 1** from Holinshed.

Rosse and Angus, two Scottish noblemen, enter, and relate to Duncan the news of the treachery of the Thane of Cawdor. Duncan orders Cawdor to be put to death, and his title conferred on Macbeth:

> What he hath lost, noble Macbeth hath won.

Cf. **Extract 2** from Holinshed.

As Macbeth and Banquo are returning from the field of victory, their way leads over the "blasted heath", and in the glare of a lightning flash, three strange figures are seen. Stepping back in alarm Banquo addressing Macbeth said:

> What are these,
> So wither'd and so wild in their attire,
> That look not like th' inhabitants o' the earth.

Pushing himself in front of his comrade, Macbeth demands of the three apparitions:

> Speak, if you can:—what are you?

and as the thunder reverberates the three weird sisters greet him as "Thane of Glamis, Thane of Cawdor, and a future King of Scotland:

> *First Witch.* All hail, Macbeth! hail to thee, thane of Glamis!
> *Second Witch.* All hail, Macbeth! hail to thee, thane of Cawdor!
> *Third Witch.* All hail, Macbeth! that shalt be king hereafter.

To Banquo, the third witch announces:

> Thou shalt get kings, though thou be none:

[The allusion is to the tradition of the time that the house of Stuart was descended from Banquo—this line being one of several in the play complimentary to King James.] Cf. **Extract 3** from Holinshed.

Scarcely have the witches disappeared when Macbeth is hailed by the king's messengers—Rosse and Angus—as Thane of Cawdor, Duncan having already named him as Cawdor's successor. He is already Thane of Glamis having entered into that dignity and office by the death of his father Sinel, thus the second statement of the witches is confirmed. Macbeth believes in the truth of the whole prophecy, and wishes to test Banquo's interpretation of it. He has no doubt but that the third statement will prove true. His thoughts at once travel as to the way in which it may be fulfilled, and murder strikes him as being the only way by which he can mount the throne. At first this idea is to him horrible, and it occurs to him that he may probably leave the matter to chance:

If chance will have me king, why, chance
may crown me,
Without my stir.

Cf. **Extract 4** from Holinshed.

Malcolm, the king's son, brings the news that the execution of the Thane of Cawdor has been carried out. [The words put into the mouth of Malcolm:

Nothing in his life
Became him like the leaving it:

now form one of the numerous phrases in *Macbeth* most commonly quoted.]

Macbeth and Banquo enter the king's palace, and are personally thanked by Duncan for their services. Duncan proclaims Malcolm, his eldest son, Prince of Cumberland—the title carrying with it the succession. The announcement causes the greatest disappointment to Macbeth. At the same time the king announces his intention of visiting Macbeth at his castle at Inverness. Macbeth leaves the king's palace under the pretence of preparing Lady Macbeth for their royal visitor.

Cf. **Extract 5** from Holinshed.

Lady Macbeth receives a letter from her husband telling her of his interview with the weird sisters, and the partial fulfilment of their prophecy. The letter ran thus:

> They met me in the day of success; and I have learnt by the perfectest report, they have more in them than mortal knowledge. When I burned in desire to question them further, they made themselves air, into which they vanished. Whiles I stood rapt in the wonder of it, came missives from the king, who all-hailed me, 'Thane of Cawdor'; by which title, before, these weird sisters saluted me, and referred me to the coming on of time, with 'Hail, king that shalt be!' This have I thought good to deliver thee, my dearest partner of greatness, that thou mightest not lose the dues of rejoicing, by being ignorant of what greatness is promised thee. Lay it to thy heart, and farewell.

Knowing her husband's "weaker" character she determines that the whole of the prophecy shall be fulfilled:

Glamis thou art, and Cawdor; and shalt be
What thou art promis'd. —

As she is pacing the battlements with these words on her lips, a messenger arrives with the news that Duncan will be at the castle that very night. Her quick mind at once sees the opportunity which the visit of the king places within her reach, and she determines that he shall never leave the castle alive:

What is your tidings?
Messenger. The king comes here to-night.
Lady Macbeth. Thou 'rt mad to say it.
Is not thy master with him? who, were 't so,
Would have inform'd for preparation.
Messenger. So please you, it is true: our thane is coming;
. . . . . .
Lady Macbeth. Give him tending:
He brings great news. [*Exit Messenger.*] The raven
himself is hoarse,
That croaks the fatal entrance of Duncan
Under my battlements.

. . . . . Come, thick night,
And pall thee in the dunnest smoke of hell,
That my keen knife see not the wound it makes,
Nor heaven peep through the blanket of the dark,
To cry "Hold, hold!"—

Macbeth quickly follows the messenger. Lady Macbeth welcomes her husband with practically the same words as the witches:

Great Glamis! worthy Cawdor!
Greater than both, by the all-hail hereafter!
Thy letters have transported me beyond
This ignorant present, and I feel now
The future in the instant.

His greeting to his wife, and her answers prove that the same thought has occurred to them both—the murder of Duncan,—in order to give them "solely sovereign sway and masterdom.":

Macbeth. My dearest love,
Duncan comes here to-night.
Lady Macbeth. And when goes hence?
Macbeth. To-morrow, as he proposes.

Looking up into her husband's face, the ambitious woman, stern in her resolution, replies:

O! never
Shall sun that morrow see!
Your face, my thane, is as a book, where men
May read strange matters. To beguile the time,
Look like the time; bear welcome in your eye,
Your hand, your tongue: look like the innocent flower,
But be the serpent under 't. He that 's coming
Must be provided for; and you shall put
This night's great business into my dispatch;
Which shall to all our nights and days to come
Give solely sovereign sway and masterdom.
Macbeth. We will speak further.
Lady Macbeth. Only look up clear;
To alter favour ever is to fear.
Leave all the rest to me.

Cf. **Extract 6** from Holinshed.

Duncan and his two sons—Malcolm and Donalbain—visit Macbeth's castle at Inverness as an honour to him for his success in the recent rebellion. They are welcomed by Lady Macbeth. Macbeth contemplates on the murder of Duncan, and its probable results. Being no longer in the same frame of mind as when he wrote the letter, he hesitates about committing the suggested crime. Lady Macbeth enters, taunts him with cowardice, produces a scheme by which the murder can be accomplished, and is successful in luring him onward to commit the terrible deed. Cf. **Extract 7** from Holinshed.

[At this point, the dramatist deserts the history of Macbeth and Duncan for the story of an earlier murder, that of King Duffe by Donwald, a lieutenant of the castle of Fores.]

The plot for the murder of Duncan is simple. His two chamberlains are to be given so generous a banquet that "their heads were no sooner got to the pillow, but asleepe they were so fast, that a man might haue remooued the chamber ouer

them, sooner than to haue awaked them out of their droonken sleepe"; and when the murder has been committed, the daggers are to be left with them and their faces smeared with blood, in order that suspicion shall fall upon them.

Lady Macbeth enters the king's chamber, and finding the king and his chamberlains asleep, lays the daggers in readiness. Leaving the room she rings a bell as a signal to her husband that all preparations have been made:

> I go, and it is done: the bell invites me,
> Hear it not, Duncan; for it is a knell
> That summons thee to heaven, or to hell.

Thus while the king sleeps he is stabbed to death by Macbeth. The deed accomplished, one of the grooms laughs in his sleep, and the other cries "Murder." This wakes them both, but each uttering a short prayer falls into sleep again:

> There 's one did laugh in 's sleep, and one cried,
> "Murder!"
> That they did wake each other: I stood and heard
> them;
> But they did say their prayers, and address'd them
> Again to sleep.

One cries "God bless us!" to which the other answers "Amen." Macbeth who stands listening to them, endeavours to say "Amen" in answer to "God bless us" but the words stick in his throat:

> Listening their fear, I could not say, "Amen."
> When they did say, "God bless us".
> . . . . . .
> But wherefore could not I pronounce "Amen"?
> I had most need of blessing, and "Amen"
> Stuck in my throat.

He thinks he hears a voice crying:

> Sleep no more!
> Macbeth does murder sleep, "—the innocent sleep;

and still it cries:

> "Sleep no more!" to all the house:
> Glamis hath murder'd sleep, and therefore Cawdor
> Shall sleep no more, Macbeth shall sleep no more!"

With these imaginations ringing in his ears, Macbeth, completely unnerved, his hands smeared with blood, returns to his wife's chamber. In his terror he has forgotten to leave the daggers with the sleeping grooms,and to smear their hands with blood. He refuses to return to the death-chamber to complete his task:

> I'll go no more:
> I am afraid to think what I have done;
> Look on 't again I dare not.

Lady Macbeth however snatches the daggers from his hands, enters the chamber of death, and carries out the mission herself. On her return a knocking is heard at the castle gate, and she insists upon Macbeth retiring to his room under the pretence of sleep. Cf. **Extract 8** from Holinshed.

Meanwhile Macduff and Lenox—the king's attendants—arrive at the castle, and by their loud incessant knocking arouse the sleepy porter. Macduff has been ordered to wait upon the king at an early hour. He enters the bedchamber,

discovers the murder, and returning in horror, relates his tragic discovery to Macbeth and Lenox. Macbeth, in a pretended fit of passion slays the grooms. Malcolm and Donalbain,—Duncan's sons—astounded, and not knowing who is to blame, or which is the better course to take, decide upon leaving the country, one for England, and the other for Ireland. Macduff mounts his horse and rides post-haste to his castle in Fife. The body of Duncan is taken to Colme-kill for burial. Macbeth, the nearest relation of the dead monarch left in Scotland, is proclaimed king, and thus the prophecy so far as he is concerned, is fulfilled. The climax of his good fortune is reached. Rosse leaves for Scone to attend the coronation.

Cf. **Extract 9** from Holinshed.

Rosse and an old man enter into conversation concerning the events which have just happened. Each of them has noticed prodigies on the night of the king's murder:

Old Man. Threescore and ten I can remember well;
Within the volume of which time I have seen
Hours dreadful, and things strange, but this sore night
Hath trifled former knowings.
Rosse. Ah! good father,
Thou seest, the heavens, as troubled with man's act,
Threaten his bloody stage: by the clock 't is day,
And yet dark night strangles the travelling lamp,
Is 't night's predominance, or the day's shame,
That darkness does the face of earth entomb,
When living light should kiss it?
Old Man. 'T is unnatural,
Even like the deed that 's done. On Tuesday last,
A falcon, towering in her pride of place,
Was by a mousing owl hawk'd at, and kill'd.
Rosse. And Duncan's horses (a thing most strange and certain)
Beauteous and swift, the minions of their race,
Turn'd wild in nature, broke their stalls, flung out,
Contending 'gainst obedience, as they would make
War with mankind.
Old Man. 'T is said, they eat each other.
Rosse. They did so; to th' amazement of mine eyes,
That look'd upon 't.

Cf. **Extract 10** from Holinshed.

[Shakespeare here reverts to the proper story as found in Holinshed.]

Macduff enters and informs Rosse that suspicion of the murder falls on Malcolm and Donalbain—Duncan's sons—on account of their flight.

A banquet is arranged at the palace at Fores to which Banquo and his son Fleance are invited. Although Macbeth has been crowned king, the prophecy of the witches concerning Banquo:

Thou shalt get kings, though thou be none:

still weighs heavily upon his mind, and he contemplates further murder—that of Banquo and his son Fleance. He is anxious to keep well acquainted with their movements:

Macbeth. Ride you this afternoon?
Banquo. Ay, my good lord.

Macbeth. We should have else desir'd your good advice
(Which still hath been both grave and prosperous)
In this day's council: but we'll take to-morrow.
Is 't far you ride?
Banquo. As far, my lord, as will fill up the time
'Twixt this and supper: go not my horse the better,
I must become a borrower of the night,
For a dark hour, or twain.
Macbeth. Fail not our feast.
Banquo. My lord, I will not.
Macbeth . . . . . .
Hie you to horse: adieu,
Till you return at night. Goes Fleance with you?
Banquo. Ay, my good lord: our time does call upon 's.
Macbeth. I wish your horses swift, and sure of foot;
And so I do commend you to their backs.
Farewell. —

Immediately they are gone, two assassins—who are subsequently joined by a third, believed to be the confidential attendant of Macbeth—are hired to waylay them as they return from their evening ride on their way to the banquet. Banquo is attacked and slain in the park near Macbeth's palace, but his son Fleance escapes. [According to Holinshed Banquo was assassinated as he returned from a supper at the palace.] Cf. **Extract 11** from Holinshed.

The guests arrive for the banquet and are heartily welcomed by Macbeth and his wife. During the banquet, one of the murderers appears, and Macbeth leaves the table, and holds a short conversation with him. The announcement that Fleance has escaped causes the keenest disappointment to Macbeth. On his return he finds his chair occupied by the ghost of Banquo, and is full of excitement and terror on seeing the apparition. To the assembled guests Banquo's ghost is invisible, and the reason for his unseemly behaviour is accepted by them on the grounds of illness. The ghost disappears, and Macbeth is himself again, but on its reappearance Lady Macbeth offers an apology for her husband's strange actions, and the banquet is broken up. The visitation from the spiritual world makes him more superstitious, and in despair he determines to seek out the witches, and consult them as to his future. See III. iv. 40-73; 93-107.

To make a magic charm by which to read Macbeth's future the witches drop into the cauldron the "eye of newt, and toe of frog, Wool of bat, and tongue of dog, Adder's fork, and blind-worm's sting, Lizard's leg, and howlet's wing, Nose of Turk, and Tartar's lips;". Macbeth enters their cavern and demands from them knowledge of his future, and in accordance with Hecate's plot they lead him by means of visions and misleading statements into a false security, for, according to Hecate "you all know, security Is mortals' chiefest enemy." He is shown three apparitions; the first an "armed head", the second a "bloody child", and the third a "child crowned, with a tree in his hand".

Macbeth demands still further information, and is shown a procession of eight kings—the last with a glass in his hand—who show (only too plainly by their features) themselves as descendants of Banquo. The apparitions vanish, the witches dance, and finally with Hecate, disappear. See IV. i. 69-132.

Macduff is requested by Macbeth to personally superintend the building of Dunsinane castle. Macduff refuses to carry out Macbeth's wishes. Angered by the Thane of Fife's refusal Macbeth contemplates revenge on Macduff, who has in the meantime fled to England to obtain aid for the overthrow of the tyrant. Learning from Lenox of Macduff's flight, his fury falls on the latter's wife and children, and in his rage he causes them to be put to death. Cf. **Extract 12** from Holinshed.

Macduff arrives at the English court, but is at first received by Malcolm with suspicion. This is however soon cleared away, and Malcolm relates to Macduff his plans for the invasion of Scotland. Meanwhile Rosse enters and tells Macduff of the death of his wife and children at the hands of Macbeth, whereupon Macduff vows revenge. Cf. **Extract 13** from Holinshed.

During this time the king and queen (Macbeth and Lady Macbeth) are living in Dunsinane castle. The queen is in indifferent health, is given to sleep-walking, and during her sleep talks of the horrors of the past, and ever tries to wash from her hands the blood her eyes see on them. A servant brings news to Macbeth that Malcolm, Macduff and Earl Siward at the head of ten thousand English soldiers are marching into Scotland. The Scots are in arms against Macbeth and join the English forces at Birnam wood. Macbeth still believes in the statements of the witches, and determines to hold Dunsinane at all costs, and defy all his enemies. Arriving at Birnam wood Malcolm gives instructions to his soldiers:

> Let every soldier hew him down a bough,
> And bear 't before him: thereby shall we shadow
> The numbers of our host, and make discovery
> Err in report of us.

Cf. **Extract 14** from Holinshed.

Macbeth receives the news of the death of his wife, and also that "Birnam wood is approaching Dunsinane":

> As I did stand my watch upon the hill,
> I look'd toward Birnam, and anon, methought,
> The wood began to move.

He is very uneasy, and begins to doubt the statement of the third apparition:

> Be lion-mettled, proud, and take no care
> Who chafes, who frets, or where conspirers are:
> Macbeth shall never vanquish'd be, until
> Great Birnam wood to high Dunsinane hill
> Shall come against him.

The army of Malcolm reaches the plain before the castle of Dunsinane, the soldiers throw down the boughs from Birnam wood, and give battle. Young Siward, son of the Earl of Northumberland is slain by Macbeth. The castle surrenders, and Macduff enters in search of Macbeth. They engage in single combat, with the result that Macbeth is slain. Macduff approaches the battlefield bearing the head of Macbeth in his hand, and young Malcolm is proclaimed king. Cf. **Extract 15** from Holinshed.

The events of the play extend over a period of fourteen years. It opens in 1040 when Duncan was slain and ends with the defeat and death of Macbeth on July 27th, 1054. [The historic Macbeth however, escaped from the battle and was killed at Lumphanan in Mar on the 5th December, 1056. Cf. **Extract** from Wyntoun's *Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland.*]

Scene: In the end of the Fourth Act, in England; through the rest of the play in Scotland.

CHARACTERS, PLACE-NAMES, &c.

Acheron. III. v. 15.

> And at the pit of Acheron
> Meet me i' the morning · [III. v. 15-16.]

The allusion is to a pit in the witches' cavern, supposed to have had some communication with the lower world. Hecate instructed the three witches to meet her in the morning at the pit of Acheron, to which Macbeth would come to know his destiny.

In classical mythology a river of Hell. According to Dante it forms the boundary of Hell:

> "These things," he answered me, "shall all be told,
> Soon as our feet upon the bank are placed
> Of Acheron, that mournful river old."
> *Inferno* III. 76-78. [Wright's translation.]

and on its shores are gathered from every region all those who have died in the wrath of God:

> "All those, my son," exclaimed the courteous guide,
> "Who in the wrath of the Almighty die,
> Are gathered here from every region wide,
> *Inferno* III. 121-123. [Wright's translation.]

According to Strabo and Pausanias there were two rivers called by the name of Acheron; one in Elis, a maritime countrey in the west of Peloponnesus, and this river flows in Alpheus, near the place where stood a famous Temple dedicated to Pluto and Proserpine. The other in Thesprotia, a countrey of Epirus, and flows out of the Lake Acherusia to the town of Cithyrus.

Aleppo. I. iii. 7.

> Her husband 's to Aleppo gone, master o' the Tiger.
> [I. iii. 7.]

A city of Northern Syria, once one of the greatest trading centres of the world. At the time *Macbeth* was first produced the Turkey or Levant Company—incorporated in 1579—was in full swing, and ships were continually passing between London and the Levant laden with rich cargoes. In Hakluyt's *Collection of the early Voyages, Travels, and Discoveries, of the English Nation* an account is given of a ship called *The Tiger* which made a voyage to Tripoli, and thence by caravan to Aleppo, in 1583:

> In the yeere of our Lord 1583, I Ralph Fitch of London marchant being desirous to see the countreys of the East India, in the company of M. Iohn Newberie marchant (which had beene at Ormus once before) of William Leedes Ieweller, and Iames Story Painter, being chiefly set foorth by the right worshipfull Sir Edward Osborne knight, and M. Richard Staper citizens and marchants of London, did ship my selfe in a ship of London called the Tyger, wherein we went for Tripolis in Syria: & from thence we tooke the way for Aleppo, which we went in seven days with the Carouan. Being in Aleppo, and finding good company, we went from thence to Birra, which is two dayes and an halfe trauaile with Camels.

Mention is also made by Sir Kenelm Digby in his Journal, 1628 of a ship called "the Tyger of London, going for Scanderone."

Cf. *Twelfth Night* V. i. 60.; "And this is he that did the Tiger board."

Angus. I. iii. p. 89; I. iv. p. 14; I. vi. p. 1; V. ii. p. 1; V. iv. p. 1.

A Nobleman of Scotland, and messenger of Duncan. With Rosse he conveyed to Macbeth the thanks of Duncan for his successes in the wars against the Norwegian king, and also the tidings that he was "thane of Cawdor":

> We are sent,
> To give thee from our royal master thanks;
> Only to herald thee into his sight,
> Not pay thee. [I. iii. 100-103.]

Being one of the minor characters in the play, no further mention is made of him until the army of Scottish nobles, including Lenox, Menteth, Cathness, and himself were in readiness awaiting to revenge the wrongs of Macduff. It was Angus who remarked that of all the men who marched beneath the banner of Macbeth not one was to be trusted as:

> Those he commands move only in command,
> Nothing in love: [V. ii. 19-20.]

Malcolm created Angus an earl, as a reward for his services in assisting to dethrone Macbeth. Cf. **Extract 19** from Holinshed.

Antony, Mark. III. i. 56.

> and under him
> My genius is rebuk'd; as, it is said,
> Mark Antony's was by Cæsar. [III. i. 54-56.]

According to ancient belief every man is watched over by a good or bad spirit that controls his actions. Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra* II. iii. 18-22:

> Therefore, O Antony, stay not by his side:
> Thy demon, that thy spirit which keeps thee, is
> Noble, courageous, high, unmatchable,
> Where Cæsar's is not; but, near him, thy angel
> Becomes a fear, as being o'erpowered:

and Plutarch *Marcus Antonius* (North's translation):

> For thy demon, said he, (that is to say, the good angel and spirit that keepeth thee) is afraid of his: and being courageous and high when he is alone, becometh fearful and timorous when he cometh near unto the other.

Apparitions. IV. i. p. 69, p. 77, p. 87, p. 112.

The Apparitions of the cavern. Macbeth visited the cavern of the weird sisters with the object of gaining further information concerning his future. He was shown three apparitions each of which was intended to mislead him, and lull him into a false security.

The first apparition was an "armed head" which was intended as a symbol of Macbeth's head cut off by Macduff and brought to Malcolm.

The second apparition was a "bloody child." The bloody child was Macduff, who was:

> from his mother's womb
> Untimely ripp'd. [V. vii. 44-45.]

The third apparition was a "child crowned, with a tree in his hand." This was a representation of Malcolm—the late king's son—who ordered each of his soldiers to cut down a bough from Birnam wood, and carry it before him to Dunisinane:

> Let every soldier hew him down a bough,
> And bear 't before him: [V. iv. 4-5.]

Macbeth demanded further information, and was shown a procession of eight kings—the last with a glass in his hand—

> Thou art too like the spirit of Banquo: down!
> Thy crown does sear mine eye-balls:—and thy hair,
> Thou other gold-bound brow, is like the first:—
> A third is like the former:—filthy hags!
> Why do you show me this?—A fourth?—Start, eyes!
> What! will the line stretch out to the crack of doom?
> Another yet?—A seventh?—I'll see no more:-
> And yet the eighth appears, who bears a glass,
> Which shows me many more; and some I see,
> That two-fold balls and treble sceptres carry.
> [IV. i. 112-121.]

The Apparition represented the eight Stuart kings of Scotland, Robert II. who ascended the throne in 1371; Robert III. and the six Jameses. The last, James VI. of Scotland and I. of England, was shown with a glass in his hand, which represented a mirror reflecting the persons of the succeeding kings who did not appear. Banquo brought up the rear. *See* Fleance and *Notes and Queries*, Fourth Series, Volume Four, July-December, 1869, page 432.

Arabia. V. i. 49.

Lady Macbeth. Here 's the smell of the blood still: all the perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten this little hand. [V. i. 48-49.]

Traditionally the land of perfumes and spices. The allusion is that all the spices of Arabia would not take away the rank, hot smell of the blood from her hands. *See* Neptune's Ocean.

Attendants. I. ii. p. 1; I. iv. p. 1; I. vi. p. 1; III. i. p. 11, p. 72; III. iv. p. 1; V. iii. p. 1.

Banquo. I. ii. 34; I. iii. 68, 69; I. iv. 29, 54; II. iii. 77, 80, 89; III. i. 48, 64, 69, 83, 114, 140; III. ii. 1, 30, 37; III. iv. 13, 25, 41, 90; III. vi. 5; IV. i. 102, 112, 123; V. i. 60.

A loyal general of King Duncan's army. With Macbeth he received the thanks of Duncan for successfully quelling the rebellion of Macdonwald, and repelling the invasion of the King of Norway:

Noble Banquo,
That hast no less deserv'd, nor must be known
No less to have done so, let me infold thee,
And hold thee to my heart. [I. iv. 29-32.]

Cf. **Extracts 1** and **2** from *Secret History of Macbeth.*

Banquo was also greeted by the weird sisters on the blasted heath:

First Witch. Lesser than Macbeth, and greater.
Second Witch. Not so happy, yet much happier.
Third Witch. Thou shalt get kings, though thou be none: [I. iii. 65-67.]

Cf. **Extract 3** from Holinshed.

Like Macbeth, he too was ambitious, but his lofty and noble character, and stern matter of fact manner prevented the prophecy of the witches, and its partial fulfilment from having any evil effect upon him. Macbeth can pay no higher tribute to him:

Our fears in Banquo
Stick deep, and in his royalty of nature
Reigns that which would be fear'd: 't is much he dares;
And, to that dauntless temper of his mind,
He hath a wisdom that doth guide his valour
To act in safety. There is none but he
Whose being I do fear: and under him
My genius is rebuk'd; as, it is said,
Mark Antony's was by Cæsar. [III. i. 48-56.]

The statement of the witches awakened his ambitions, but unlike Macbeth there was no treason in his mind. Macbeth was anxious to test whether Banquo's interpretation of the prophecy resembled his own, but, not so, he simply displayed a certain amount of interest in that part of the prophecy which concerned his descendants.

When Duncan was murdered and Malcolm and Donalbain fled, he still remained loyal to Macbeth as his newly crowned monarch, though he was suspicious as to the part he had played in Duncan's murder:

Thou hast it now, king, Cawdor, Glamis, all,
As the weird women promis'd; and, I fear,
Thou play'dst most foully for 't; [III. i. 1-3.]

He seemed almost obliged to remain at Macbeth's court, for with Duncan murdered, his sons fled, to leave his native country accompanied by his son Fleance, would throw suspicion on him; therefore Banquo could do nothing but swear allegiance to Macbeth as his sovereign.

Macbeth again sounded Banquo to see what effect the prophecy had upon him, thinking that perhaps Banquo might become a confederate:

Macbeth. If you shall cleave to my consent, when 't is,
It shall make honour for you.
Banquo. So I lose none
In seeking to augment it, but still keep
My bosom franchis'd, and allegiance clear,
I shall be counsell'd. [II. i. 25-29.]

but with a kindly "Good-night" Banquo and Macbeth separated. [According to Holinshed Banquo was a confederate with Macbeth in Duncan's murder.] Cf. **Extract 9** from Holinshed.

After the murder of Duncan and the coronation of Macbeth, Banquo was chief guest at a gathering of Scottish nobility at Macbeth's castle at Fores.

Macbeth. Here 's our chief guest.
. . . . . .
To-night we hold a solemn supper, Sir,
And I'll request your presence.
[III. i. 11-15.]

To all outward appearances Macbeth was very attentive and courteous to Banquo, but, although he had been crowned king, there still dwelt on his mind that part of the witches' prophecy concerning the children of Banquo:

Thou shalt get kings, though thou be none:
[I. iii. 67.]

and his eagerness to know the movements of Banquo and his son Fleance was noted by his guests:

Ride you this afternoon? [III. i. 19.]
Is 't far you ride? [III. i. 23.]
Goes Fleance with you? [III. i. 35.]

Banquo's death had already been decided upon by Macbeth, who had hired two ruffians to commit the crime. Banquo and his son left the castle promising to return by "seven at night" in time for the banquet.

When Banquo and his son had left Macbeth called in the two hired ruffians, and together they made plans for the murder of Banquo and Fleance.

Macbeth incensed these creatures against Banquo, persuading them that to Banquo they owed their broken fortunes. He placed himself on their side under the pretence that he was afraid of suffering like injuries from the same man. For revenge they were to take Banquo's life, and also that of his son Fleance:

for 't must be done to-night,
And something from the palace;
. . . . . .
Resolve yourselves apart;
I'll come to you anon. [III. i. 130-138.]

When all was settled the murderers left and Macbeth remarked:

It is concluded: Banquo, they soul's flight,
If it find heaven, must find it out to-night.
[III. i. 140-141.]

The two murderers waited for their victims in the road leading to the palace. The murderers attacked, with the result that Banquo was killed, but under cover of darkness, Fleance escaped. Cf. **Extract 11** from Holinshed. [According to an ancient MS. Banquo was stabbed by Lady Macbeth. *See* **Extract 6** from *Secret History of Macbeth.*]

During the banquet one of the murderers appeared at the door and communicated to Macbeth in a few hurried whispers the news of Banquo's death. Macbeth was recalled by the queen to his guests, and with all kingly grace he complained of the unkindness of Banquo in absenting himself from the banquet:

Here had we now our country's honour roof'd,
Were the grac'd person of our Banquo present;
Who may I rather challenge for unkindness,
Than pity for mischance! [III. iv. 40-43.]

On being recalled to the table the ghost of Banquo had occupied his vacant chair, and caused such terror and excitement to Macbeth that on its re-appearance the banquet was broken up.

Bellona's bridegroom. I. ii. 56.

Till that Bellona's bridegroom, lapp'd in proof,
Confronted him with self-comparisons. [I. ii. 56-57.]

The Roman goddess of war, and wife of Mars. According to *I. Henry IV.* IV. i. 114 "the fire-eyed maid of smoky war." The allusion here is to Macbeth, as representing the god of war. Chapman in his Fifth Book of the *Iliad* speaks of her as the "female mate" of Mars:

When
Hector had heard tell,
Amongst the uproar, of their deaths, he laid out all his voice,
And ran upon the Greeks. Behind came many men of choice,
Before him march'd great Mars himself, match'd with his female mate,
The dread Bellona.

Seymour remarks: "Another instance, says Mr. Henley, of our author's ignorance of the ancient mythology; but where is this ignorance at present? Macbeth is represented as a warrior so complete, that the poet would confer on him a kind of semi-apotheosis, and marry him to Bellona; for it is not Mars, as Mr. Henley and Mr. Steevens suppose, that is implied by the bridegroom of Bellona, but Macbeth himself."

Belzebub. II. iii. 4.

Who 's there,
i' the name of Belzebub?— [II. iii. 3-4.]

Belzebub = the devil. The sleepy porter stumbling in the darkness of the night towards the door, muttered and grumbled on his way, and swore by the one name of the devil, as if he were a porter of hell-gate.

Birnam; Birnam forest; Birnam wood. IV. i. 93, 98; V. ii. 5, 31; V. iii. 2, 60; V. iv. 3; V. v. 34, 44; V. vii. 59.

Macbeth shall never vanquish'd be, until
Great Birnam wood to high Dunsinane hill
Shall come against him. [IV. i. 92-94.]

A hill near Dunkeld in Perthshire, about 12 miles W.N.W. of Dunsinane. Two old trees, supposed to be the last remains of Birnam wood, grow by the river-side, about half a mile distant from the foot of the hill. When the soldiers under Malcolm arrived at this wood they were ordered to cut down boughs and bear them before them in order to conceal their numbers. Thus was fulfilled the witch's prophecy that Macbeth would not be defeated until "Birnam wood to high Dunsinane should come against him." Cf. **Extract 14** from Holinshed, and **Extract 9** from *Secret History of Macbeth.*

See also V. v. 33-35:

As I did stand my watch upon the hill,
I look'd toward Birnam, and anon, methought,
The wood began to move.

Knight observes:— "The hills of Birnam and Dunsinane must have been excellent posts of observation in time of war, both commanding the level country which lies between them, and various passes, lochs, roads, and rivers in other directions. Birnam Hill, no longer clothed with forest, but belted with plantations of young larch, rises to the height of 1040 feet, and exhibits, amidst the heath, ferns, and mosses, which clothe its sides, distinct traces of an ancient fort, which is called Duncan's Court. Tradition says that Duncan held his court there. The Dunsinane hills are visible, at the distance of twelve miles, from every part of its northern side. Birnam Hill is precisely the point where a general, in full march towards Dunsinane, would be likely to pause, to survey the plain which he must cross; and from this spot would the 'leavy screen' devised by Malcolm become necessary to conceal the amount of the hostile force from the watch on the Dunsinane heights:

thereby shall we shadow
The numbers of our host, and make discovery
Err in report of us. [V. iv. 5-7.]

In Deloney's ballad in praise of Kentishmen, published in "Strange Histories," 1607, (reprinted by the Percy Society) they conceal their numbers by the boughs of trees:

For when they spied his approch,
in place as they did stand,
Then marched they to hem him in,
each one a bough in hand.
So that unto the Conquerors sight,
amazed as he stood,
They seemed to be a walking grove,
or els a mooving wood.

Blood-bolter'd Banquo. IV. i. 123.

Now, I see, 't is true;
For the blood-bolter'd Banquo smiles upon me,
And points at them for his.—What! is this so?
IV. i. 122-124.

Has reference to the "trenched gashes" of III. iv. 27, and the "gory locks" of III. iv. 51:

Mur. Ay, my good lord, safe in a ditch he bides,
With twenty trenched gashes on his head;
The least a death to nature.

and

Macb. Thou canst not say, I did it: never shake
Thy gory locks at me.

Collier remarks: "The epithet *blood-bolter'd* is a provincial term, well known in Warwickshire. . . When a horse, sheep, or other animal, perspires much, and any of the hair or wool, in consequence of such perspiration, or any redundant humour, becomes matted in tufts with grime and sweat, he is said to be *boltered*; and whenever the blood issues out, and coagulates, forming the locks into hard clotted bunches, the beast is said to be *blood-bolter'd*. To this note we may add, that in "Arden of Faversham" the word *bolstered* is used in much the same sense. Michael says:

Methinkes I see them with their *bolstered* haire,
Staring and grinning in thy gentle face.

And in Pliny's *Natvrall Historie* [Holland's translation] Book XII. chap. XVII. we read:— "doth drop and diftill the faid moifture, which the fhrewd and vnhappy beaft catcheth among the fhag long haires of his beard. Now by reafon that duft

getteth among, it baltereth & cluttereth into knots and balls, and fo is concocted into a certaine confiftence in the Sunne." Such a term is therefore strictly applicable to Banquo, who had *twenty trenched gashes on his head.*

Boy, Son to Macduff. IV. ii. p. 1.

For patriotic motives Macduff was obliged to flee from Scotland to England leaving his wife and son to the mercy of Macbeth. The conversation between Lady Macduff and her son, concerning Macduff's flight, is considered to be "the one bit of pure pathos in the play."

The conversation being ended, a messenger entered to persuade Lady Macduff and her son to instant flight on account of impending danger, but before any arrangements could be made the murderers, hired by Macbeth to perform the deed, burst into the room and put Lady Macduff and the boy to death. Cf. **Extract 12** from Holinshed, and **Extract 7** from the *Secret History of Macbeth.*

Hudson [*Windsor Shakespeare*] remarks: "This messenger was one of the murderers employed by Macbeth to exterminate Macduff's family; but who, from emotions of remorse and pity, had outstripped his companions, to give timely warning of their approach."—Heath.

Cæsar. III. i. 56.

and under him
My genius is rebuk'd; as, it is said,
Mark Antony's was by Cæsar. [III. i. 54-56.]

See Anthony, Mark.

Cathness. V. ii. p. 1; V. iv. p. 1.

A Scottish nobleman in the attacking army bent on revenging the wrongs of Macduff. He gave information to Menteth that Macbeth had strongly fortified Dunsinane Castle, where he awaited his foes.

In figurative language he spoke of Malcolm as "the medicine of the sickly weal who had come to cleanse Scotland of its tyrant:"

Well; march we on,
To give obedience where 't is truly ow'd:
Meet we the medicine of the sickly weal;
And with him pour we, in our country's purge,
Each drop of us. [V. ii. 25-29].

Cawdor. I. ii. 55, 67; I. iii. 72, 75, 87, 108; I. iv. 1.

Norway himself, with terrible numbers,
Assisted by that most disloyal traitor,
The thane of Cawdor, began a dismal conflict;
[I. ii. 53-55.]

The Thane of Cawdor. He was condemned at Fores for treason against Duncan, having fought on the side of the rebels and invaders. Cf. **Extract 2** from Holinshed. This part of Rosse's speech is however inconsistent with the speech of Macbeth in I. iii. 72-73:

But how of Cawdor? the thane of Cawdor lives,
A prosperous gentleman;

and in I. iii. 111-116 Angus speaks of Cawdor thus:

Whether he was combin'd
With those of Norway, or did line the rebel
With hidden help and vantage, or that with both
He labour'd in his country's wrack, I know not;
But treasons capital, confess'd and prov'd,
Have overthrown him.

Holinshed makes no mention of Cawdor having assisted the Norwegian king.

Cawdor. I. iii. 49, 105, 116, 119, 122, 133; I. iv. 47, I. v. 7, 15, 54; I. vi. 20; III. i. 1.

All hail, Macbeth! hail to thee, thane of Cawdor!
[I. iii. 49.]

= Macbeth. This title had been conferred upon Macbeth by Duncan after the execution of the former thane for treachery:

No more that thane of Cawdor shall deceive
Our bosom interest.—Go, pronounce his present death,
And with his former title greet Macbeth.
[I. ii. 66-68.]

Cf. **Extract 2** from Holinshed.

Cawdor. II. ii. 41.

"Glamis hath murder'd sleep, and therefore Cawdor
Shall sleep no more, Macbeth shall sleep no more!"
[II. ii. 41-42.]

= Macbeth. Cawdor Castle, about six

miles south-west of Nairn—standing on rising ground overlooking the river Cawdor—is one of the several castles in which the murder of Duncan is declared to have been perpetrated. The chamber in which Duncan is supposed to have been assassinated, with the recess in the walls, in which the king's chamberlain is said to have hid himself during the perpetration of the deed, together with a portion of Duncan's coat-of-mail is shown there.

"Tradition says that the original builder of this castle was desired to load an ass with the gold he could afford for his edifice, to follow where the ass should lead, and build where it should stop. The ass stopped at a hawthorn in the wood, and this hawthorn was built into the centre chamber of the ground-floor of the castle. There it is still, worn and cut away till it is a slender wooden pillar in the midst of the antique apartment. Beside it stands the chest which contained the gold; and here, it is supposed, did the train of Duncan mingle in revel with the servants of Macbeth on the night of the murder. The stranger who stands in the low, dim vault, regrets that history and tradition cannot be made to agree." *Knight.*

See Glamis II. ii. 41.

Colme-kill. II. iv. 33.

Rosse. Where is Duncan's body?
Macduff. Carried to Colme-kill.
The sacred storehouse of his predecessors,
And guardian of their bones.
[II. iv. 32-35.]

Now called Icolmkill, the famous island of Iona. Here Columba an Irish preacher founded a monastery in the year 563, from which monastery Christianity spread over Scotland. The island therefore came to be considered holy, and, according to tradition was to be specially favoured at the destruction of the world:

Seven years before that awful day
When time shall be no more,
A watery deluge shall o'ersweep
Hibernia's mossy shore;
The green-clad Isla, too, shall sink,
While with the great and good
Columba's happier isle shall rear
Her towers above the flood.

It afterwards became the burial place of the kings of Scotland. Duncan I. and Macbeth were both buried here, but no trace of their tombs now remains:

Reilig Durain, the burial place of Oran, is the grand cemetery of the island. In this place of sepulture were interred, according to an early tradition, forty kings of Scotland, two Irish monarchs, a French king, and two Irish princes of the Norwegian rase. The last kings who here found sepulchres were Duncan I., slain in 1034, and his assassin and successor, the celebrated Macbeth. Rogers: *Monuments and Monumental Inscriptions of Scotland.*

Cf. **Extract 9** from Holinshed.

Dark Cave, A.

The witches' cavern, in the middle of which was a boiling cauldron. The scene of Act IV. Scene i. Macbeth entered and demanded further knowledge of his future. He was shown three apparitions, the object of each being to lull him into a false security. *See* Apparitions.

Donalbain. II. ii. 19; II. iii. 77; II. iv. 25; III. vi. 9; V. ii. 7.

Younger son of Duncan, king of Scotland, and brother of Malcolm. He was present with Malcolm when the news of Macbeth's success in the rebellion was brought to Duncan. He accompanied his father and brother as a guest to Macbeth's castle at Inverness where Duncan was murdered.

On hearing the news of the murder, and not knowing which was the better plan to adopt he decided on flight to Ireland:

To Ireland, I: our separated fortune
Shall keep us both the safer; where we are,
There 's daggers in men's smiles: the near in blood,
The nearer bloody. [II. iii. 141-144.]

thus referring to Macbeth, for, like his brother Malcolm, he suspected him of the crime, thinking that Macbeth's intention was to murder those who stood between him and the throne. Cf. **Extract 9** from Holinshed and **Extract 5** from *Secret History of Macbeth.*

Thus by his flight he played into the traitor's hands; he and Malcolm being suspected of having committed the murder:

They were suborn'd.
Malcolm, and Donalbain, the king's two sons,
Are stol'n away and fled; which puts upon them
Suspicion of the deed. [II. iv. 24-27.]

Duff. II. iii. 91.

▪ Macduff.

Duncan. I. v. 39, 59; I. vii. 16, 61, 70; II. i. 63; II. ii. 73; II. iii. 114; II. iv. 32; III. i. 65; III. ii. 22; III. iv. 63; III. vi. 3, 18, 24

King of Scotland and grandson of Malcolm II. whom he succeeded on the throne. [According to Holinshed, Duncan and Macbeth were cousins being the respective sons of Beatrice and Doada the two daughters of Malcolm II.] Cf. **Extract 16** from Holinshed.

At the opening of the Play, Duncan received the news from a bleeding sergeant, of Macbeth's and Banquo's success in suppressing the rebellion of Macdonwald. Cf. **Extract 1** from Holinshed and **Extract 1** from *Secret History of Macbeth.* The news was so pleasing to him that he immediately conferred on Macbeth the title of "Thane of Cawdor," the former thane having been, by order of Duncan, executed for treachery. Cf. **Extract 2** from Holinshed. Of the late Thane of Cawdor Duncan says:

There 's no art
To find the mind's construction in the face:
He was a gentleman on whom I built
An absolute trust— [I. iv. 11-14.]

though his remarks would in all respects have been more applicable to the new thane than Duncan suspected, and had Duncan been able to note "the mind's construction in the face" he would no doubt have given orders for the execution of the new Thane of Cawdor also. Instead, he spoke of Macbeth as "worthy gentleman, and valiant cousin."

When Macbeth returned from battle Duncan personally thanked him for his success in suppressing the rebellion. At the same time he proclaimed Malcolm, his eldest son Prince of Cumberland, the title carrying with it the succession. To Macbeth this proclamation caused the keenest disappointment, and when his disappointment was at its height Duncan proposed to honour him with a visit to his castle at Inverness. Macbeth's hope of succeeding Duncan as king of Scotland being dashed aside, he contemplated murder when his sovereign was within his walls. Cf. **Extract 5** from Holinshed, and **Extract 4** from *Secret History of Macbeth.*

Duncan and his train were received by Macbeth—to all outward appearances—with much joy. During the stormy night Duncan too weary with the fatigue of the journey to be awakened by the storm, was cruelly murdered by Macbeth. The bloody dirks were placed upon the pillows of the sleeping chamberlains, and their faces smeared with blood in order that suspicion should fall upon them. Cf. **Extracts 7** and **8** from Holinshed. [According to some authorities Duncan was murdered by ambushed assassins on the road to Inverness. *See* **Extract 5** from *Secret History of Macbeth*, and **Extract** from George Chalmers' *Caledonia.*]

The king's two sons, Malcolm and Donalbain, heard the news of their father's death next morning, and not knowing whom to trust they determined on flight. Malcolm escaped to England, and Donalbain to Ireland. Donalbain remarking:

To Ireland, I: our separated fortune
Shall keep us both the safer; where we are,
There 's daggers in men's smiles: the near in blood,
The nearer bloody. [II. iii. 141-144.]

The body of Duncan was carried for burial to Colmekill the ancient burying place of the kings of Scotland. The rightful heir to the throne was Malcolm, though the crown was usurped by Macbeth. Cf. **Extract 9** from Holinshed, and **Extract 5** from *Secret History of Macbeth.*

Duncan's horses. II. iv. 14.

And Duncan's horses (a thing most strange and certain)
Beauteous and swift, the minions of their race,
Turn'd wild in nature, broke their stalls, flung out,
Contending 'gainst obedience, as they would make
War with mankind. [II. iv. 14-18.]

Cf. **Extract 10** from Holinshed.

Dunsinane; Dunsinane hill. IV. i. 93; V. ii. 12; V. iii. 2, 60, 61; V. iv. 9; V. v. 45, 46; V. vii. 59.

> Macbeth shall never vanquish'd be, until
> Great Birnam wood to high Dunsinane hill
> Shall come against him. [IV. i. 92-94.]

Dunsinane, one of the Sidlaw hills, north-west of Perth. On the top of Dunsinane are the remains of a fortress, supposed to have been built by Macbeth, and popularly called Macbeth's Castle. Cf. **Extract 7** from *Secret History of Macbeth.*

From this hill the wooded hill of Birnam is visible some twelve miles away. When Malcolm with his forces arrived at this wood Macbeth retired to Dunsinane, which he intended to hold at all costs, but when the messenger brought the news that "Birnam wood was approaching Dunsinane" Macbeth realised the meaning of the prophecy of the third apparition. Cf. **Extract 14** from Holinshed, and **Extract 9** from *Secret History of Macbeth.*

Knight says:— "It is not ascertained on which hill of the Dunsinane range, in Perthshire, Macbeth's forces were posted. Behind Dunsinane House there is a green hill, on the summit of which are vestiges of a vitrified fort, which tradition has declared to be the remains of Macbeth's castle.

The country between Birnam and Dunsinane is level and fertile, and from several parts of the Dunsinane range the outline of Birnam Hill is visible; but, as the distance is twelve miles in a direct line, no sentinel on the Dunsinane hills could see the wood at Birnam begin to move, or even that there was a wood. We must suppose either that distance was contracted for the poet's purposes, or that the wood called Birnam extended from the hill for some miles into the plain:

> Within this three mile may you see it coming;
> [V. v. 37.]

Part of the play is enacted in and near Dunsinane Castle.

East. IV. iii. 37.

> And the rich East to boot. [IV. iii. 37.]

Probably an allusion to the imagination in Shakespeare's time of the wealth of Oriental countries. Cf. Milton: *Paradise Lost* II. 3-4:

> Or where the gorgeous East with richest hand
> Showers on her kings barbaric pearl and gold,

Edward. III. vi. 27; IV. iii. 43, 190.

> and is receiv'd
> Of the most pious Edward with such grace,
> That the malevolence of fortune nothing
> Takes from his high respect. [III. vi. 26-29.]

Edward the Confessor. After the murder of Duncan, Malcolm fled to England and resided for some time at the court of the English king. He solicited help from Edward, and Siward, Earl of Northumberland with a force of 10,000 men entered Scotland and defeated Macbeth. Cf. **Extract 14** from Holinshed, and **Extract 8** from *Secret History of Macbeth.*

England. II. iii. 140; III. i. 30; III. vi. 46; IV. iii. 148.

> What will you do? Let 's not consort with them:
> To show an unfelt sorrow in an office
> Which the false man does easy. I'll to England.
> [II. iii. 138-140.]

The reference is to Malcolm, Duncan's son, who on hearing of his father's murder, and not knowing which was the better course to take declared his intention of leaving Scotland for England. Cf. **Extract 9** from Holinshed, and **Extract 5** from *Secret History of Macbeth.*

England. IV. i. 142.

> Macduff is fled to England.
> *Macbeth.* Fled to England? [IV. i. 142.]

Macduff being suspicious of Macbeth, joined Malcolm—the king's son—at the English court, where they made preparations for the invasion of Scotland, and the overthrow of Macbeth. Cf. **Extracts 12 and 13** from Holinshed, and **Extract 8** from *Secret History of Macbeth.*

England. A room in the King's palace.

The Scene of Act IV. Scene iii. The palace is that of Edward the Confessor, King of England.

English Doctor, An. IV. iii. 145.

The introduction of the doctor at this stage and the subject of his conversation with Malcolm was probably intended as a compliment to King James I., who continued the practice of "touching" for the king's evil. This notion prevailed in England from the reign of Edward the Confessor to that of Queen Anne.

"Scrofula, so called from a notion which prevailed from the reign of Edward the Confessor to that of Queen Anne, that it could be cured by the royal touch. The Jacobites considered that the power did not descend to William III. and Anne, because the "divine" hereditary right was not fully possessed by them, but the office remained in our Prayer Book till 1719. Prince Charles Edward, when he claimed to be prince of Wales, touched a female child for the disease in 1745; but the last person touched in England was Dr. Johnson in 1712, when only thirty months old, by queen Anne." Brewer: *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable.*

"When he first arrived in England James had objected to touch for the king's evil. He had strong doubts as to the existence of the power to cure scrofulous disease, which was supposed to be derived from the Confessor. The Scotch ministers whom he had brought with him to England urged him to abandon the practice as superstitious. To his English counsellors it was a debasing of royalty to abandon the practice of his predecessors. With no very good will he consented to do as Elizabeth had done, but he first made a public declaration of his fear lest he should incur the blame of superstition. Yet as it was an ancient usage and for the benefit of his subjects, he would try what would be the result, but only by way of prayer, in which he requested all present to join. In after years he showed less hesitancy, and Shakspeare could flatter him by telling not only how Edward had cured the sick by his touch, but how he had left 'the healing benediction' to 'the succeeding royalty.' " Gardiner: *History of England*, 1603-1642.

Holinshed describes it thus:— "As hath beene thought, he [Edward the Confessor] was inspired with the gift of prophesie, and also to haue had the gift of healing infirmities and diseases. He vsed to helpe those that were vexed with the disease, commonlie called the kings euill, and left that verture as it were a portion of inheritance vnto his successors the kings of this realme."

Dr. Percy, in his Notes on *The Household Book of the Earl of Northumberland*, says:— "that our ancient kings even in those dark times of superstition, do not seem to have affected the cure of the king's evil. - This miraculous gift was left to be claimed by the Stuarts: our ancient Plantagenets were humbly content to cure the cramp." Dr. Borde, who wrote in the time of Henry VIII. says:— "The kynges of England by the power that God hath given to them dothe make sicke men whole of a sycknes called the *Kynge's Evyll.*"

In Robert Laneham's *Account of the Entertainment at Kenilworth Castle* in 1575 we read that Queen Elizabeth cured nine persons of the King's Evil:— "and allso, by her highnes accustumed mercy & charitée, nyne cured of the peynfull and daungerous diseaz, called *the* kings euill; for that Kings & Quéenz of this Realm, withoout oother medsin (saue only by handling & prayerz), only doo cure it."

English epicures. V. iii. 8.

Then fly, false thanes,
And mingle with the English epicures: [V. iii. 7-8.]

A natural reproach from a Scotchman. Shakespeare probably took his idea from Holinshed, who speaks of "English gormandizing and riotous manners."

For manie of the people, abhorring the riotous maners and superfluous gormandizing brought in among them by the Englishmen, were willing inough to receiue this Donald for their king, trusting (bicause he had beene brought vp in the Iles with the old customes and maners of their ancient nation, without tast of the English likerous delicats) they should by his seuere order in gouernement recouer againe the former temperance of their old progenitors.

Fife. I. ii. 50.

From Fife, great king,
Where the Norweyan banners flout the sky.
[I. ii. 50-51.]

A country on the east coast of Scotland, where Sweno, king of Norway landed with an army with the object of subduing Scotland. Cf. **Extract 1** from Holinshed, and **Extract 2** from *Secret History of Macbeth.*

Fife. II. iv. 36; IV. i. 151.

No, cousin; I'll to Fife. [II. iv. 36.]

The home of Macduff, Thane of Fife.

Fife. A room in Macduff's castle.

The scene of Act IV. Scene ii. "On the Fifeshire coast, about three miles from Dysart stand the quadrangular towers, supposed to be the ruins of Macduff's castle. These are not the only remains in Scotland, however, which claim to have been the abode of Macduff's wife and children when they were surprised and slaughtered by Macbeth." *Knight. See* Macduff.

Fleance. III. i. 35; III. ii. 37; III. iii. 17; III. iv. 18, 20; III. vi. 6, 7, 20.

Son of Banquo. Was a guest with his father at Macbeth's castle, Inverness when Duncan honoured him [Macbeth] with a visit. They were lodged outside the castle which would probably account for their late stirring. On their way to their lodgings they were met by Macbeth who was eager to test Banquo as to the effect the prophecy of the witches had on his mind, but with a calm "Good-night" Banquo and Fleance retired.

To Macbeth, Fleance was a stumbling block. Though Macbeth had been crowned king he could not forget that part of the witches' prophecy concerning Banquo and his children:

Thou shalt get kings, though thou be none:
[I. iii. 67.]

Cf. **Extract 3** from Holinshed.

With the aid of two hired ruffians whom he called in—and who were afterwards accompanied by a third—plans were made for the murder of Fleance as well as for Banquo. Their movements were carefully watched by Macbeth:

Ride you this afternoon? [III. i .19.]
Is 't far you ride? [III. i. 23.]
Goes Fleance with you? [III. i. 35.]

For Banquo and Fleance, Macbeth had present fears, and was also envious of their future:

For Banquo's issue have I fil'd my mind;
For them the gracious Duncan have I murder'd;
Put rancours in the vessel of my peace,
Only for them; and mine eternal jewel
Given to the common enemy of man,
To make them kings, the seed of Banquo kings!
[III. i. 64-69.]

He declared that if Fate had decreed Banquo's issue should be kings, he would challenge Fate itself to enter the lists against him. All arrangements for the crime had been completed. The murderers awaited their victims, but their success, owing to the darkness of the night, was only partial, for according to the words of the murderer:

Fleance is 'scap'd. [III. iv. 20.]

The announcement caused the keenest disappointment to Macbeth. After Fleance had escaped—probably to Wales—no further mention is made of him by Shakespeare.

Cf. **Extract 11** from Holinshed.

According to tradition Fleance married the daughter of the reigning prince of Wales, and had a son named Walter. This Walter afterwards became Lord High Steward of Scotland, and assumed the name of Walter Steward, or Stuart. From him—according to the Stuart tradition—proceeded in a direct line the Stuarts of Scotland, the royal line which gave James VI. of Scotland and James I. of England. Nothing however is known in history of Banquo or Fleance, Shakespeare's acceptance of the theory being probably out of compliment to James the First.

Lardner [*Cabinet Cyclopædia*] says: "It might be added, that early authorities show

us no such persons as Banquo and his son Fleance, nor have we reason to think that the latter ever fled further from Macbeth than across the flat scene, according to the stage direction. Neither were Banquo or his son ancestors of the house of Stuart."

Fores. I. iii. 39.

How far is 't call'd to Fores?— [I. iii. 39.]

Fores is in Elginshire, half-way between Elgin and Nairn. It was the abode of the witches, and the place where they appeared to Macbeth and Banquo:

But about that present time there was a murmuring amongst the people, how the king was vexed with no naturall sicknesse, but by sorcerie and magicall art, practised by a sort of witches dwelling in a towne of Murrey land, called Fores. Holinshed.

Cf. also **Extract 3** from Holinshed.

Knight says that *A camp near Fores* was "probably situated in the moors to the south of the town, so as to intercept the march of the invaders from Fife to the royal residences of the north. Wide and almost level tracts of heath extend southwards from Fores, amidst which the march of an army might be discerned from a great distance. It must be mentioned that the stage direction, 'Camp near Forres,' does not occur in the original; although it is clear in the third scene that Macbeth and Banquo are on their way thither:—

How far is 't called to Fores,"

Among the monuments in or near the town may be mentioned Sweno's stone, a remarkably sculptured monolith, and the witches' stone which recalls the meeting of the witches with Macbeth and Banquo.

In the castle, once a royal residence, King Duffe was murdered by Donwald. Cf. **Extract 8** from Holinshed. Probably this castle was the residence of Duncan, and afterwards of Macbeth, when the court or royal army was at Fores.

Parts of the play are enacted at or near Fores.

Gallowglasses. I. ii. 13.

The multiplying villainies of nature
Do swarm upon him, from the western isles
Of Kernes and Gallowglasses is supplied;
[I. ii. 11- 13.]

Heavy-armed troops, who wore helmets and coats of mail, and were armed with a long sword and an axe. They fought in the rebellion against Duncan under Macdonwald. Cf. **Extract 18** from Holinshed.

Collier remarks: "Boswell quotes the following description of *Kernes* and *Gallowglasses* from Barnabie Riche's " New Irish Prognostication," 1624:— 'The *Galloglas* succeedeth the Horseman, and he is commonly armed with a scull, a shirt of maile, and a *Galloglas* axe: his service in the field is neither good against horsemen, nor able to endure an encounter of pikes, yet the Irish do make great account of them. The *Kernes* of Ireland are next in request, the very drosse and scum of the countrey, a generation of villaines not worthy to live: these be they that live by robbing and spoiling the poor countreyman, that maketh him many times to buy bread to give unto them, though he want for himself and his poor children. These are they that are ready to run out with every rebel, and these are the very hags of hell, fit for nothing but for the gallows."Boswell was not aware that the *New Irish Prognostication* is only a reprint, with a different title-page, of Riche's *Description of Ireland*, 1610. *See* Kernes.

Gentlemen. [**Thanes**] V. vii. p. 64.

Gentlewoman. V. i. p. 1.

A woman in attendance on Lady Macbeth at Dunsinane Castle, during her illness. It was she who described to the doctor the sleep-walking of Lady Macbeth, but refused to supply any information of Lady Macbeth's remarks during her strange acts.

While in conversation with the doctor, Lady Macbeth entered the antè-room of the castle bearing a lighted taper—sleep-walking.

The gentlewoman remarked to the doctor:

> Lo you! here she comes. This is her very guise; and, upon my life, fast asleep. Observe her: stand close. [V i. 18-19.]

Ghost of Banquo. III. iv. p. 40, p. 93.

During the banqueting feast given by Macbeth the first murderer appeared at the door, and brought the news to Macbeth of the murder of Banquo and the escape of Fleance. Lady Macbeth recalled her husband, at the same time rebuking him for not playing the part of host. Returning, he found his chair occupied by the ghost of Banquo. The apparition was only visible to Macbeth, and his remark:

> —twenty mortal murders on their crowns. [III. iv. 81.]

was considered a reference to the twenty gashes inflicted by the murderers on Banquo. The disappearance of the ghost quelled Macbeth's horror and excitement, but on its reappearance the king's fear and fury were so great that the banquet had to be broken up. *See* III. iv. 40-73; 93-107.

Hudson [*Windsor Shakespeare*] remarks: "Much question has been made, whether there be not two several ghosts in this scene; some maintaining that Duncan's enters here, and Banquo's before; others, that Banquo's enters here, and Duncan's before. The question is best disposed of by referring to Dr. Forman, who, as he speaks of Banquo's ghost, would doubtless have spoken of Duncan's, had there been any such: 'The night, being at supper with his noblemen, whom he had bid to a feast (to the which also Banquo should have come,) he began to speak of noble Banquo, and to wish that he were there. And as he thus did *standing up to drink a carouse to him, the ghost of Banquo* came and sat down in his chair behind him. And he, turning about to sit down again, saw *the ghost of Banquo*, which fronted him, so that he fell in a great passion of fear and fury.' "

The circumstance of Banquo's ghost seems to be alluded to in *The Puritaine, or the Widdow of Watling-Streete*, first printed in 1607: "in ſtead of a Iefter, weele ha the ghoſt ith white fheete fit at upper end a' th Table." And in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Knight of the Burning Pestle*, V. i. Jasper, personating his own ghost, threatens the Merchant:

> When thou art at the Table with thy friends
> Merry in heart, and fild with swelling wine,
> Il'e come in midst of all thy pride and mirth,
> Invisible to all men but thy selfe,
> And whisper such a sad tale in thine eare,
> Shall make thee let the Cuppe fall from thy hand.
> *Shakespeare Allusion Book.*

Glamis. I. iii. 48, 71, 116; I. v. 15, 22, 54; III. i. 1.

> All hail, Macbeth! hail to thee, thane of Glamis. [I. iii. 48.]

= Macbeth. The Thaneship of Glamis was considered to have been the ancient inheritance of Macbeth's family. Macbeth had succeeded to the thaneship on the death of his father, Sinel.

> By Sinel's death, I know, I am thane of Glamis; [I. iii. 71.]

Cf. **Extract 3** from Holinshed.

Glamis Castle situated five miles from Forfar,—bounded on one side by the range of Dunsinane hills, and within view of Birnam hill—is another supposed scene of the murder of Duncan. Tradition assigns this castle as the official residence of Macbeth. The present castle, the property of the Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorne, contains an ancient bedstead, on which Duncan is supposed to have been murdered. Glamis Castle, is by tradition, considered to have been the scene of another murder—that of Malcolm II., in 1034.

Glamis. II. ii. 41.

> Still it cried, "Sleep no more!" to all the house:
> "Glamis hath murder'd sleep, and therefore Cawdor
> Shall sleep no more, Macbeth shall sleep no more!"
> [II. ii. 40-42.]

Macbeth is Glamis, Cawdor, and king though he does not dare to use the word. The crown had been won, and paid for heavily—with his peace of mind. The figure of the kindly old king peacefully resting in his chamber which had been sufficient to hold back the dagger of Lady Macbeth now

haunted his imagination. To Lady Macbeth he remarked:

> Methought, I heard a voice cry, "Sleep no more!
> Macbeth does murder sleep,"—the innocent sleep;
> [II. ii. 34-35.]

The passage quoted above is considered one of the most pathetic in literature. It is the speech of a disordered mind, speaking from the depths of sorrow and remorse.

Probably Shakespeare had in mind Kenneth III., king of Scots, who murdered Malcolm Duff in order to secure the succession for his own son. Cf. **Extract 20** from Holinshed.

Golgotha. I. ii. 41.

> Or memorise another Golgotha. [I. ii. 41.]

"the place of a skull" the place of execution at Jerusalem. *Matthew* XXVII. 33. Probably the sergeant meant to imply "create by slaughter of the enemy another place of a skull not less memorable than Golgotha." Cf. *Richard* II. IV. i. 142-144:

> Disorder, horror, fear and mutiny
> Shall here inhabit, and this land be call'd
> The field of Golgotha and dead men's skulls.

Gorgon. II. iii. 73.

> Approach the chamber, and destroy your sight
> With a new Gorgon. [II. iii. 72-73.]

The Gorgons were three in number, but the reference here is to Medusa the chief of the three, and the only one that was mortal. So hideous was she in appearance that she turned all beholders to stone. When Dante arrived in the infernal world the three Furies who guarded the entrance to the City of Dis, invoked Medusa to turn him into stone to prevent him entering the city:

> "Haste, bring Medusa—change him into stone,"
> . . . . . .
> "Turn back, and from the Gorgon hide thine eyes;
> For shouldst thou look on her, whom none withstands,
> Vain were the hope again to view the skies."
> *Inferno* IX. 52; 55-57.

Cf. Ovid's *Metamorphoses* V. 224-226; 248-250. (Golding's translation):

> if any friend of mine be here (he sayd)
> Sirs turne your faces all away: and therewithal he drew
> Out *Gorgons* head.
> . . . . . .
> But one there was a knight
> Of *Perseys* band, in whose defence as *Acont* stoode to feight,
> He waxed overgrowne with stone at ugly *Gorgons* sight.

Graymalkin. I. i. 8.

A name given to a gray cat. Cats were among the bodily forms attendant upon witches. *See* Paddock. Malkin is a diminutive of Moll (Molly) which is itself a diminutive of Mary. The word is used here as a synonym for a kitchen-wench. The name "malkin" also appears in the song *Come away, come away*, etc., Act III. Scene V. the first line only of which appears. It can be found complete in Middleton's *Witch*. *See* Songs. Here Hecate speaks of:

> Malkin my sweet spirit and I.

It is a matter of much doubt as to who is represented by Malkin. Some writers represent Hecate as Graymalkin, others the spirit of Hecate, while the third witch has also been represented as "Graymalkin."

Cf. the "brinded cat" IV. i. 1.

Johnson points out that "The usual form in which familiar spirits are reported to converse with witches, is that of a cat. A witch, who was tried about half a century before the time of *Shakespeare*, had a cat named *Rutterkin*, as the spirit of one of those witches was *Grimalkin*; and when any mischief was to be done she used to bid *Rutterkin go and fly*, but once when she would have sent *Rutterkin* to torment a daughter of the countess of *Rutland*, instead of *going* or *flying*, he only cried *mew*, from whence she discovered that the lady was out of his power, the power of witches not being universal, but limited, as *Shakespeare* has taken care to inculcate."

According to *Beware the Cat*, 1584, a witch was permitted *to take on her a cattes body nine times*. *Steevens*. Cf. Scot's *Discovery of Witchcraft*, I. iv. "Some fay

they can keep Devils and Spirits in the likenefs of Todes and Cats."

See also I. vii. 44-45;—

'Letting "I dare not" wait upon "I would,"
Like the poor cat i' the adage?

This adage is found in Heywood's *Proverbs*, edited by Julian Sharman, 1874 [see Bartlett's *Familiar Quotations*]:—

The cat would eate fish, and would not wet her feete.

Among the Egyptians the cat was sacred to Isis or the moon, their Hecate or Diana, and accordingly worshipped with great honour.

Hautboys. I. vi. p. 1; I. vii. p. 1.

A player on the hautboy, and who announced the approach of royalty. The hautboy was a wind instrument, similar in shape to the clarionet.

Heath, A.

The "blasted heath" on the road to Fores. The Scene of Act I. Scene iii; and of Act III. Scene v. The meeting foreshadowed in Act I. Scene i. is now at hand. Macbeth enters with Banquo and is greeted by the witches as "Thane of Glamis, Thane of Cawdor, and future King of Scotland." To Banquo the third witch announces:

Thou shalt get kings, though thou be none:
[I. iii. 67.]

The heath is considered to be a dreary piece of moorland on the borders of Elgin and Nairn, about six miles from Fores and four miles from Nairn, from which places the high road intersects it. This 'blasted heath' which is devoid of tree and shrub, is made up of peat and bog-water, and bushes of furze. To the north can be seen the distant hills of Ross and Caithness, and on the north-west, on the estate of Brodie of Brodie, the ruins of a castle rises from amongst a few trees. "There is something startling to a stranger in seeing the solitary figure of the peat-digger or rush-gatherer moving amidst the waste in the sunshine of a calm autumn day; but the desolation of the scene in stormy weather, or when the twilight fogs are trailing over the pathless heath or settling down upon the pools, must be indescribable." *Knight.*

Hecate. II. i. 52; III. ii. 41; III. v. 1.

The goddess to whom the witches performed their rites and made offerings. In II. i. 52 she is called "pale Hecate" in allusion to the pale moonlight, and in III. v. she appeared in person and scolded the witches for their dealings with Macbeth:

How did you dare
To trade and traffic with Macbeth,
In riddles, and affairs of death; [III. v. 3-5.]

She bade them meet her next morning at the pit of Acheron—according to Homer, one of the rivers of hell—to which Macbeth would come to know his destiny:

But make amends now: get you gone,
And at the pit of Acheron
Meet me i' the morning: thither he
Will come to know his destiny. [III. v. 14-16.]

In classical mythology Hecate is a triple deity, being Luna in heaven. Diana on earth, and Hecate or Proserpine in hell. She was supposed to preside over magic and enchantments, and was represented like a woman with three heads looking different ways. She is introduced by the dramatist as the "queen of the witches" who carry on their orgies in connection with the moon. Cf. *Hamlet* III. ii. 272:

With Hecate's ban thrice blasted, thrice infected,

and *King Lear* I. i. 110:

The mysteries of Hecate and the night.

The song referred to in Act III. Scene V. *Come away, come away*, etc., and the song *Black Spirits*, etc., in Act IV. Scene I., sung while the witches are brewing a potion, occur in Thomas Middleton's play, *The Witch*. Whether Shakespeare borrowed his witches from Middleton's play, or whether Middleton imitated Shakespeare, critics are divided. Probably the source of the witchlore in each case, was the same, viz:— Scot's *Discovery of Witchcraft*, from which the following is taken: "Certain general Councils, by their Decrees, have condemned the Confeffions and erroneous credulity of Witches, to be vain, phantaftical

and fabulous . . . to wit; their night-walkings and meetings with *Herodias*, and the Pagan gods: . . . The words of the Council are thefe; It may not be omitted, that certain wicked women following Satans provocations, being feduced by the illufion of Devils, believe and profefs, that in the night times they ride abroad with *Diana*, the goddefs of the *Pagans*, or elfe with *Herodias*, with an innumerable multitude, upon certain Beafts, and pafs over many Countries, and Nations, in the filence of the night, and do whatfoever thofe fairies or Ladies command, &c." Book III. chapter xvi.

Hurlyburly. I. i. 3.

When the hurlyburly 's done,
When the battle 's lost and won. [I. i. 3-4.]

= tumult; uproar. The reference is to the battle in progress between the Scottish forces led by Macbeth and Banquo, and the army of the Norwegian king, Sweno.

Hyrcan tiger. III. iv. 101.

The arm'd rhinoceros, or the Hyrcan tiger;
[III. iv. 101.]

Hyrcania, the ancient name of the region south of the Caspian or Hyrcanian sea. It is frequently mentioned by old English writers as the habitat of tigers, the Hyrcan tiger being by them regarded, like the Bengal tiger is to-day, as the symbol of ferocity. Cf. *Hamlet* II. ii. 481 *"The rugged Pyrrhus, like th' Hyrcanian beast, —"* and *3 Henry VI.* I. iv. 155 "O, ten times more than tigers of Hyrcania."

Inverness. I. iv. 42.

= Inverness Castle, the home of Macbeth; and where Duncan, accompanied by his sons, Malcolm and Donalbain, paid a visit as an honour to Macbeth for his success in suppressing the invasion of the Norwegian king Sweno. This royal visit to Macbeth's castle has historical authority, it being customary for the king of Scotland to make an annual progress through his dominions, sojourning at the castles of the nobility.

According to Shakespeare it was in this castle that Duncan was murdered by Macbeth. The castle, which stood on an eminence to the south-west of the town, is supposed to have been destroyed by Malcolm Canmore, the son of Duncan, who built another on a different part of the hill. The castle, dismantled in the Jacobite war of 1745, was visited by Dr. Johnson and James Boswell in 1773.

Knight says:— "It is now believed by some that Duncan was not assassinated at all, but slain in battle. Later historians follow Boece in his declaration that the king was murdered in Macbeth's castle at Inverness; but the register of the Priory of St. Andrew's says:— 'Doncath interfectus est in *Bothgonanan.*' Fordun says that, being wounded, he was conveyed to Elgin, and died there. The meaning of *Bothgonanan* being the 'smith's dwelling,' it has been conjectured that the king was murdered by ambushed assassins, at or near a smith's dwelling, in the neighbourhood of Elgin. [Cf. **Extract 5** from *Secret History of Macbeth*, and **Extract** from George Chalmers' *Caledonia.*] . . . No vestiges remain of Malcolm's castle, visited by Dr. Johnson and Boswell as the Macbeth's castle of Boece and Shakspere."

Parts of the play are enacted in and before this castle.

Ireland. II. iii. 141; III. i. 30.

To Ireland, I: our separated fortune
Shall keep us both the safer; where we are,
There 's daggers in men's smiles: the near in blood,
The nearer bloody. [II. iii. 141-144.]

An allusion to Donalbain, younger son of Duncan, who on hearing of his father's murder decided to flight to Ireland. His words showed that he suspected Macbeth of the crime—Macbeth being the next in blood:

Cf. **Extract 9** from Holinshed and **Extract 5** from *Secret History of Macbeth.*

Kernes. I. ii. 13, 30.

> The multiplying villainies of nature
> Do swarm upon him) from the western isles
> Of Kernes and Gallowglasses is supplied;
> [I. ii. 11-13.]

A name given in Ireland and the Western Isles to light-armed soldiers. They came over from Ireland and offered to serve under Macdonwald when he rebelled against Duncan. Cf. **Extract 18** from Holinshed. Cf. *2 Henry VI.* III. i. 310-311:—

> The uncivil kerns of Ireland are in arms
> And temper clay with blood of Englishmen:

2 Henry VI. IV. ix. 24-27:—

> The Duke of York is newly come from Ireland,
> And with a puissant and a mighty power
> Of gallowglasses and stout kerns
> Is marching hitherward in proud array;

and *Richard II.* II. i. 155-158:

> Now for our Irish wars:
> We must supplant those rough rug-headed kerns,
> Which live like venom where no venom else
> But only they have privilege to live.

See Gallowglasses.

Kernes. V. vii. 17.

> I cannot strike at wretched Kernes, whose arms
> Are hir'd to bear their staves: [V. vii. 17-18.]

The word here is contemptuously applied to the English troops. Cf. I. ii. 13.

King of Scotland. I. ii. 28.

= Duncan.

King of Scotland. V. vii. 88, 89.

= Malcolm.

Lenox. I. ii. p. 1; I. iv. p. 1; I. vi. p. 1; II. iii. p. 23, p. 93; III. i. p. 11; III. iv. p. 1; III. vi. p. 1; IV. i. p. 135; V. ii. p. 1; V. iv. p. 1.

Young Scottish nobleman. With Macduff and other attendants he was lodged outside Macbeth's castle on the eve of Duncan's murder. On the following morning with Macduff,—whose duty it was to call Duncan—he proceeded to the castle and aroused the porter. Macduff went to the bed-chamber, and having discovered the murder aroused the household, while Lenox with Macbeth entered the king's death chamber.

His suspicion seemed to fall on the grooms. In answering Malcolm, Duncan's son, he says:

> Those of his chamber, as it seem'd, had done 't:
> Their hands and faces were all badg'd with blood;
> So were their daggers, which, unwip'd, we found
> Upon their pillows:
> They star'd, and were distracted; no man's life
> Was to be trusted with them. [II. iii. 103-108.]

He was an invited guest at the banquet following Macbeth's coronation, and noticed Macbeth's unseemly behaviour when the ghost of Banquo occupied the vacant chair. The ghost though visible to Macbeth was invisible to the eyes of the guests and also to Lady Macbeth:

> *Macbeth.* The table 's full.
> *Lenox.* Here is a place reserv'd, Sir.
> *Macbeth.* Where?
> *Lenox.* Here, my good lord. What is 't that moves
> your highness? [III. iv. 46-48.]

Macbeth's second crime the murder of Banquo, and the singular good fortune which attended it accounted no doubt for the ironical speech of Lenox and another 'lord.' The speech conveyed the idea that further suspicions were aroused, as on a former occasion Lenox had broached the subject. *See* Act III. Scene VI.

At the close of the speech 'the lord' informed Lenox of Macduff's flight to England in order to obtain help for the overthrow of Macbeth. Lenox informed Macbeth of Macduff's flight, whereon Macbeth vowed revenge on Macduff and his family.

Finally he with Angus and a train of Scottish nobles marched towards Birnam wood with a burning desire to revenge the wrongs of Macduff, being joined on the other hand by Malcolm and Earl Siward with their English hosts marching forward for the overthrow of Macbeth.

After Malcolm had ascended the throne he created Lenox an earl after the title and dignity adopted in the English court. Cf. **Extract 19** from Holinshed.

Lord's anointed temple. II. iii. 70.

Most sacrilegious murder hath broke ope
The Lord's anointed temple, [II. iii. 69-70.]

= the temple of the Lord's anointed, *See* 1 Samuel XXIV. 10. Kings were often called the "Lord's anointed" on account of their being anointed with holy oil at their coronation.

Lords. III. i. p. 11; III. iv. p. 1; III. vi. p. 1.

Macbeth. I. i. 7; I. ii. 16, 34, 68, 70; I. iii. 31, 48, 49, 50, 65, 68, 69, 89, 148; II. ii. 35, 42; II. iv. 23, 30; III. i. 7; III. iii. 1; III. v. 4; III. vi. 4, 11; IV. i. 71, 77, 81, 92, 98, 126; IV. iii. 18, 52, 57, 65, 117, 238; V. iii. 6; V. vii. 6, 18.

Son of Sinel, Thane of Glamis, and grandson of Malcolm II. king of Scotland; a general of King Duncan's army.

By Sinel's death, I know, I am thane of Glamis;
[I. iii. 71:]

[According to Holinshed Duncan and Macbeth were the sons of Beatrice and Doada, the two daughters of Malcolm, Duncan's predecessor on the throne. Hence, Macbeth and Duncan were cousins.] Cf. **Extract 16** from Holinshed.

In the opening scene of the play his bravery is marked. He fought successfully against Macdonwald and Sweno, and received the personal thanks of Duncan who made him Thane of Cawdor:

For brave Macbeth (well he deserves that name),
Disdaining fortune, with his brandish'd steel,
Which smok'd with bloody execution,
Like valour's minion, carv'd out his passage,
Till he fac'd the slave: [I. ii. 16-20.]

and in speaking of himself:

I dare do all that may become a man;
Who dares do more, is none. [I. vii. 46-47.]

Cf. **Extracts 1** and **2** from Holinshed, and **Extracts 1** and **2** from *Secret History of Macbeth.*

On his return from the wars he met on a heath three weird sisters who hailed him as "Thane of Glamis, Thane of Cawdor" and

All hail, Macbeth! thou shalt be king hereafter.
[I. iii. 50.]

[Some authorities say that the witches appeared to Macbeth in a dream. *See* **Extract 3** from *Secret History of Macbeth*, and **Extract** from Wyntoun's *Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland.*

Coming home from battle victorious, excited, and no doubt wearied, the prophecy of the witches troubled his mind. By his father's death he became Thane of Glamis, and Duncan bestowed upon him the thaneship of Cawdor. Thus the twofold part of the prophecy was fulfilled. Macbeth was ambitious for the throne. He meditated on the letter of the prophecy thinking only of its fulfilment. It had already been partially fulfilled, so to Macbeth's thinking all will be well, and from the time of his meeting with the witches the evil thoughts in his nature asserted themselves, and he allowed them to have full sway. He went from bad to worse. When Duncan proclaimed Malcolm his son as Prince of Cumberland and therefore his successor, he saw that if he were to gain the object of his ambition, there was no alternative but murder, though at first the idea was to him horrible. He detested acting treacherously to Duncan and was half inclined to give up the idea:

My thought, whose murder yet is but fantastical,
Shakes so my single state of man, that function
Is smother'd in surmise, and nothing is,
But what is not. [I. iii. 139-142.]

but being railed at by his wife who knew the weaker points of his character, he had not the courage to give the true reason for wishing to withdraw, but made a sham excuse:

He hath honour'd me of late; and I have bought
Golden opinions from all sorts of people,
Which would be worn now in their newest gloss,
Not cast aside so soon. [I. vii. 32-35.]

His wife taunted him with cowardice, till at last he gave way. Duncan was murdered —thus the object of his ambition attained. Cf. **Extracts 3, 4, 5, 6, 7,** and **8** from Holinshed, and **Extract 4** from *Secret History of Macbeth.* [According to some authorities Duncan was murdered by am-

bushed assassins on the road to Inverness. Lardner: [*Cabinet Cyclopædia*] remarks: "Macbeth broke no law of hospitality in his attempt on Duncan's life. He attacked and slew the king at a place called Bothgowan, or the Smith's House, near Elgin, in 1039, and not, as has been supposed, in his own castle at Inverness. The act was bloody, as was the complexion of the times; but, in very truth, the claim of Macbeth to the throne, according to the rule of Scottish succession, was better than that of Duncan." Cf. **Extract 5** from *Secret History of Macbeth*, and **Extract** from George Chalmers' *Caledonia.*]

The assassination of Duncan did not see the close of Macbeth's treachery, but rather spurred him on to further crime,—the premeditated murder of Banquo and his son Fleance, and also that of Lady Macduff and her children.

With the escape of Fleance the fortunes of Macbeth began to turn. The second murder was only partially successful: Cf. **Extract 11** from Holinshed.

At the banquet at his palace he alone saw the apparition of Banquo occupying his chair. In his nervousness of new danger which he thought was foretold by the visitation of Banquo's ghost, he again visited the cave of the hags, and demanded to know his future. He was shown a procession of eight kings, descendants of Banquo, Banquo's ghost following. He remarked:

> Now, I see, 't is true;
> For the blood-bolter'd Banquo smiles upon me,
> And points at them for his.—What! is this so?
> [IV. i. 122-124.]

See IV. i. 69-132.

The evil in his nature again asserted itself. Learning of Macduff's flight to England he ordered the murder of Lady Macduff and her children. Cf. **Extract 12** from Holinshed and **Extract 7** from *Secret History of Macbeth.* Macduff on hearing the news vowed revenge, and along with Malcolm—Duncan's son—the allied forces, amounting to some 10,000 men, landed in Scotland and marched to Birnam wood.

Macbeth still relied on the assertion of the third witch:

> Be lion-mettled, proud, and take no care
> Who chafes, who frets, or where conspirers are:
> Macbeth shall never vanquish'd be, until
> Great Birnam wood to high Dunsinane hill
> Shall come against him. [IV. i. 90-94.]

The morning following their arrival at Birnam wood, Malcolm ordered each of his soldiers to cut down a bough and carry it before him in order to conceal their numbers.

Malcolm's army reached the plain, and when a sentinel, who stood on Macbeth's castle wall, saw all these branches, he hastened to the king and informed him that "Birnam was moving towards the castle of Dunsinane." Macbeth disbelieved the sentinel, but on looking from the walls himself he saw the "forest approaching" and realised the meaning of the prophecy of the third apparition.

News was brought to him of the desertion of many of his followers, but he decided to hold Dunsinane at all costs, though according to Angus—a Scottish nobleman—he could not trust anyone:

> Those he commands move only in command,
> Nothing in love: [V. ii. 19-20.]

He saw now the folly of the witch's prophecy, but determined to fight on. He clung to life and determined not to die a suicide:

> They have tied me to a stake: I cannot fly,
> But, bear-like, I must fight the course.—What 's he,
> That was not born of woman?—Such a one
> Am I to fear, or none. [V. vii. 1-4.]

and

> Why should I play the Roman fool, and die
> On mine own sword? [V. vii. 30-31.]

Sallying forth at the head of a few followers who remained loyal to him he was killed fighting hand to hand with Macduff, who cut off his head and brought it to Malcolm. Cf. **Extracts 13, 14** and **15** from Holinshed, and **Extracts 8** and **9** from *Secret History of Macbeth.*

The historic Macbeth however, escaped from the battle, and was killed at Lumphanan in 1056.

"MacBeth, MacBeath (or MacBeathad MacFinlegh, as he was called in contemporary chronicles), was a King of Scotland. He ascended the throne in 1039, and reigned seventeen years. According to one account he inherited the rule of the province of Moray from Finlegh, his father; according to another account he was by birth Thane of Ross, and by his marriage with Lady Gruoch, became also Thane of Moray during the minority of Lulach, the infant son of that lady by her marriage with Gilcomgain, the Maormor, or Thane of Moray. He was slain at Lumphanan in Aberdeenshire on the 5th of December, 1056. His body was interred in Iona the common sepulchre for many centuries of the Scottish Kings. His followers were able to place his nephew, or stepson Lulach, on the throne." *The Scottish Clans and their Tartans.*

"Macbeth engaged the foe in the neighbourhood of his celebrated castle of Dunsinane. He was defeated, but escaped from the battle, and was slain at Lumphanan in 1056." Lardner: *Cabinet Cyclopædia* Cf. also **Extract** from Wyntoun's *Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland.*

Macbeth. II. ii. 35.

Methought, I heard a voice cry, "Sleep no more! Macbeth does murder sleep,"—the innocent sleep; [II. ii. 34-35.]

See Glamis II. ii. 41.

Macbeth, Lady. I. v. p. 1; I. vi. p. 10; I. vii. p. 29; II. ii. p. 1, p. 63; II. iii. p. 83; III. i. p. 11; III. ii. p. 1; III. iv. p. 1; V. i. p. 18.

Wife of Macbeth. Her name is supposed to have been Gruoch, and she was the daughter of Kenneth IV. who was killed in 1003 when fighting against Malcolm II., Duncan's father. From this it is thought that her desire to murder Duncan arose not only out of ambition for the title of queen, but was partly a matter of revenge.

Duncan, by his mother Beatrice a grandson of Malcolm II., succeeded to the throne on his grandfather's death, in 1033: he reigned only six years. Macbeth, his near relation, also a grandchild of Malcolm II., though by the mother's side, was stirred up by ambition to contest the throne with the possessor. The lady of Macbeth also, whose real name was Graoch, had deadly injuries to avenge on the reigning prince. She was the granddaughter of Kenneth IV., killed in 1003, fighting against Malcolm II.; and other causes of revenge animated the mind of her who has been since painted as the sternest of women. Lardner: *Cabinet Cyclopædia.* Cf. EXTRACT from George Chalmers' *Caledonia.*

Steevens says that Andrew of Wyntoun, in his *Orygynale Cronykil*, informs us that this personage was the widow of Duncan; a circumstance with which Shakespeare must have been wholly unacquainted:

"And Dame *Grwok*, hys Emys wyf,
Tuk, and led wyth hyr hys lyf,
And held hyr bathe hys Wyf and Qweyne,
As befor than scho had beyne
Til hys Eme Qwene, lyvand
Quhen he was Kyng wyth Crowne rygnand:
For lytyl in honowre than had he
The greys of affynyte." Book VI.

Throughout, Lady Macbeth's one ruling motive was ambition, and in order to gratify that motive she sacrificed all just principles and womanly feelings. She was possessed of an iron will, and a remarkable determination from which she never wavered, and it was this which was the secret of her influence over her husband, and her winning him to consent to her murderous plans. In the earlier parts of the play she occupied the most prominent part, but after Duncan's murder she fell more and more into the background, and this because she was no longer a sharer in her husband's guilt.

At the commencement of the play her strength of will power greatly exceeded that of her husband. While Macbeth pondered over the contemplated murder of Duncan, and almost wavered and distrusted his own powers, it was not so with Lady Macbeth. She on the other hand was extremely self-reliant, and being aware of her own strength, and knowing the one weak spot in her husband's character, she taunted him with cowardice:

Wouldst thou have that
Which thou esteem'st the ornament of life,
And live a coward in thine own esteem,
Letting "I dare not" wait upon "I would,"
Like the poor cat i' the adage? [I. vii. 41-45.]

Macbeth could not endure the taunt of cowardice and so his opposition to Duncan's murder was soon overcome. Lady Macbeth was determined upon the crown of Scotland, and had already decided upon the part she intended to play in order to gain success.

Lady Macbeth received a letter from her husband telling her of the prophecy of the witches and of its partial fulfilment. The messenger also gave her news of Duncan's visit to her castle that night, and instantly the idea of murder passed through her mind. Macbeth followed quickly on the messenger. She greeted him with the same words as the witches, and suggested the plan they must follow in order to give them "solely sovereign sway and masterdom."

> Great Glamis! worthy Cawdor!
> Greater than both, by the all-hail hereafter!
> [I. v. 54-55.]
> He that 's coming
> Must be provided for; and you shall put
> This night's great business into my dispatch;
> [I. v. 66-68.]

Steevens remarks:— "Shakespeare has supported the character of Lady Macbeth by repeated efforts, and never omits any opportunity of adding a trait of ferocity, or a mark of the want of human feelings, to this monster of his own creation. The softer passions are more obliterated in her than in her husband, in proportion as her ambition is greater. She meets him here on his arrival from an expedition of danger, with such a salutation as would have beome one of his friends or vassals; a salutation apparently fitted rather to raise his thoughts to a level with her own purposes, than to testify her joy at his return, or manifest an attachment to his person: nor does any sentiment expressive of love or softness fall from her throughout the play. While Macbeth himself, amidst the horrors of his guilt, still retains a character less fiend-like than that of his queen, talks to her with a degree of tenderness, and pours his complaints and fears into her bosom, accompanied with terms of endearment."

Macbeth himself showed great admiration for her superior will power:

> Bring forth men-children only!
> For thy undaunted mettle should compose
> Nothing but males. [I. vii. 72-74.]

In the murder of Duncan it was Lady Macbeth who assumed the manly part. She never wavered in her energy towards the commission of the crime. She entered Duncan's chamber, drugged the grooms, and laid the daggers in readiness, and would herself have committed the murder had not Duncan so resembled her late father as he slept. Thus Macbeth was induced to perform the actual deed, and in obedience to a signal—the ringing of a bell—given by Lady Macbeth he entered Duncan's chamber, and committed the awful deed.

Lady Macbeth awaited his return from the death chamber. Macbeth, pale, trembling, and nervous, his hands smeared with blood, joined his wife. In his terror he had forgotten to leave the daggers with the sleeping grooms, in order to throw suspicion on them, but Lady Macbeth with her characteristic presence of mind noticed the omission, and ordered her husband to carry them back to the chamber. He refused to return, whereupon she forthwith snatched them from his hands, and with perfect calmness entered the death chamber, smeared the grooms with the blood of Duncan, and left the daggers with them. To her the dead were but as pictures:

> The sleeping, and the dead,
> Are but as pictures; 't is the eye of childhood
> That fears a painted devil. If he do bleed,
> I'll gild the faces of the grooms withal,
> For it must seem their guilt. [II. ii. 52-56.]

On her return she heard a knocking at the Castle gate. Being perfectly self-possessed she again took the leading part, and insisted upon Macbeth retiring to his chamber under the pretence of sleep:

> A little water clears us of this deed. [II. ii. 66.]

To Macbeth however she proved a most devoted wife. Her whole ambition was for him. She perceived—though now too late—the effect Duncan's murder had upon him. At the banquet scene when his mind was unbalanced on seeing Banquo's apparition

she perceived immediately the cause of his strange demeanour, and tried various methods to restore his mental balance.

The accomplishment of Duncan's murder saw the commencement of the downfall of Lady Macbeth. While Macbeth gained fresh courage, and contemplated further murder —that of Banquo and his son Fleance—the powers of Lady Macbeth began to wain.

Nowhere in the play is she urging her husband on to further crime. Since Duncan's murder she and her husband had been more than usually apart. In the conspiracy against Banquo she was no confidant. She attributed Macbeth's peculiar demeanour at the banquet to deep meditations on past events—then it was that Macbeth, in guarded language, broke to her the secret of his plans when they were almost at the point of execution:

> There's comfort yet; they are assailable:
> Then be thou jocund. Ere the bat hath flown
> His cloister'd flight; ere to black Hecate's summons
> The shard-borne beetle, with his drowsy hums,
> Hath rung night's yawning peal,
> There shall be done a deed of dreadful note.
> [III. ii. 39-44.]

Of the dreadful massacre of Lady Macduff and her family she knew nothing, and when next she appears in the play, they have left Fores and are living in the strong castle of Dunsinane. Her health had completely broken down, and her nerves were shattered, she was given to sleep-walking and constantly meditating and talking of the terrible past. The words of the waiting gentlewoman removed all doubts as to the cause and nature of her illness:

> Since his majesty went into the field, I have seen her rise from her bed, throw her night-gown upon her, unlock her closet, take forth paper, fold it, write upon it, read it, afterwards seal it, and again return to bed; yet all this while in a most fast sleep.
> [V. i. 4-8.]

In sleeping and in walking, her mind was never at rest. "The thane of Fife had a wife: where is she now?—What, will these hands ne'er be clean? —" "Here 's the smell of blood still: all the perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten this little hand. Oh! oh! oh!" "To bed, to bed: there 's knocking at the gate. Come, come, come, come, give me your hand. What 's done cannot be undone, To bed, to bed, to bed." *See* V. i. 18-65.

Macbeth's crimes were now made public. His fate was to be decided upon the battle-field. She could be of no further use. Her part was played.

After her breakdown she used no words of reproach against her husband. Her whole thoughts were still for him and his safety. The murder of Banquo was the first step towards his downfall. Macbeth's absence in the field to meet the:

> worthy fellows that were out; [IV. iii. 184.]

strained her nerve power to the uttermost as she was no longer able to communicate with him or extend any words of advice. They had drifted apart. Macbeth's enquiries of the doctor concerning his patient were marked by indifference:

> How does your patient, doctor?
> *Doctor.* Not so sick, my lord.
> As she is troubled with thick-coming fancies,
> That keep her from her rest.
> *Macbeth.* Cure her of that:
> Canst thou not minister to a mind diseas'd,
> [V. iii. 36-40.]

Within the castle the cry of women was heard. Macbeth on inquiring the cause learned of the death of Lady Macbeth:

> [*A cry within, of women.*
> *Sey.* It is the cry of women, my good lord.
> . . . . . .
> *Macb.* Wherefore was that cry?
> *Sey.* The queen, my lord, is dead. [V. v. 7-8; 15-16.]

The words of the poet concerning Duncan may well be applied to her:

> Duncan is in his grave;
> After life's fitful fever he sleeps well;
> Treason has done his worst: nor steel, nor poison,
> Malice domestic, foreign levy, nothing
> Can touch him further! [III. ii. 22-26.]

When the news of her death was brought to Macbeth his reply was almost callous. Owing to disaster following disaster all interest in life, to him, was dead. He had become despondent, and accepted the news with perfect calmness:

> She should have died hereafter:
> There would have been a time for such a word.—
> [V. v. 17-18.]

Macdonwald. I. ii. 9.

> The merciless Macdonwald
> (Worthy to be a rebel, for to that
> The multiplying villainies of nature
> Do swarm upon him) from the western isles
> Of Kernes and Gallowglasses is supplied;
> [I. ii. 9-13.]

Holinshed's Makdowald. A wild highlander who rebelled against Duncan in Lochaber, and gathering together an army of Kernes and Gallowglasses defeated the forces of the king. Macbeth and Banquo being sent against him he was besieged in a castle where he had taken refuge. Finding resistance impossible he slew his wife and children and afterwards killed himself. When Macbeth entered the castle he found the lifeless body of Macdonwald, and cutting off his head sent it to the king of Perth. Cf. **Extracts 18** and **1** from Holinshed, and **Extract 1** from *Secret History of Macbeth.*

"In the reign of Duncan, Banquo having been plundered by the people of Lochaber of some of the king's revenues, which he had collected, and being dangerously wounded in the affray, the persons concerned in this outrage were summoned to appear at a certain day. But they slew the *sergeant at arms* who summoned them, and chose one Macdowald as their captain. Macdowald speedily collected a considerable body of forces from Ireland and the Western Isles, and in one action gained a victory over the king's army. . . . Afterwards Macbeth and Banquo were appointed to the command of the army; and Macdowald being obliged to take refuge in a castle in Lochaber, first slew his wife and children, and then himself. Macbeth, on entering the castle, finding his dead body, ordered his head to be cut off, and carried to the king, at the castle of Bertha, and his body to be hung on a high tree." *Malone.*

Macduff. II. iv. 20; III. iv. 128; II. vi. 23, 29, 39; IV. i. 71, 82, 142, 150; IV. iii. 114, 225; V. ii. 2; V. vi. 4; V. vii. 44, 62, 67.

A Scottish nobleman. First appears in the play the morning following Duncan's murder. Presumably he was Lord of the Bedchamber to Duncan, and therefore it was his duty to call him. With other attendants —of whom Lenox was one—he had been lodged outside the castle, and at the appointed hour proceeded to arouse the sleepy porter. The knocking caused such disturbance that Macbeth was roused, and greeted Macduff with perfect ease and deportment. Macduff entered the king's bed-chamber, and in a most natural manner, discovered the murder:

> *Macduff.* O horror! horror! horror! Tongue, nor heart,
> Cannot conceive, nor name thee!
> *Macbeth. Lenox.* What's the matter?
> *Macduff.* Confusion now hath made his masterpiece!
> Most sacrilegious murder hath broke ope
> The Lord's anointed temple, and stole thence
> The life o' the building! [II. iii. 66-71.]

Macduff, at first, thought that Duncan's attendants suborned by his two sons—Malcolm and Donalbain—had committed the murder, and in addressing Rosse who put the question to him:

> Is 't known, who did this more than bloody deed?
> [II. iv. 22.]

he did not hesitate to express his opinion freely:

> They were suborn'd.
> Malcolm and Donalbain, the king's two sons,
> Are stol'n away and fled; which puts upon them
> Suspicion of the deed. [II. iv. 24-27.]

He was also suspicious of Macbeth as his subsequent conduct proved.

Rosse left to attend the coronation of Macbeth, but Macduff returned to his country seat, though he did not utter to Rosse any suspicions he had of Macbeth:

> *Rosse.* Will you to Scone?
> *Macduff.* No, cousin; I'll to Fife.
> *Rosse.* Well, I will thither.
> *Macduff.* Well, may you see things well done
> there:—adieu!—
> Lest our old robes sit easier than our new!
> [II. iv. 35-38.]

and, even when he received a direct invitation from Macbeth to visit his palace, he refused:

> *Lenox.* Sent he to Macduff?
> *Lord.* He did: and with an absolute "Sir, not I,"
> The cloudy messenger turns me his back,
> And hums, as who should say, "You'll rue the time
> That clogs me with this answer."
> [III. vi. 39-43.]

Suddenly discovering his life was in danger he fled to England, leaving his wife and children to the mercy of Macbeth. In this matter it was difficult to account for his impulsive conduct, as in all previous proceedings his plans had been well laid and carefully carried out. It could hardly be ascribed to cowardice as subsequent events fully justified. Present conditions had prevented him from taking his wife and children with him, but he thought that help from England would assist him to rescue them, and also his country from the hands of Macbeth. Cf. **Extract 12** from Holinshed, and **Extract 7** from *Secret History of Macbeth.*

The news brought by Rosse of the massacre of his wife and children at the hands of Macbeth filled him with remorse His affection for his family was marked:

> He has no children—All my pretty ones?
> Did you say, all?—O hell-kite!—All?
> What, all my pretty chickens, and their dam,
> At one fell swoop? [IV. iii. 217-220.]

but Malcolm who had at first received him at the English court with suspicion, tried to comfort the heart-broken thane, and entreated him to:

> Dispute it like a man.
> . . . . . .
> Be this the whetstone of your sword: let grief
> Convert to anger; blunt not the heart, enrage it.
> [IV. iii. 221; 229-230.]

and Macduff vowed revenge on Macbeth:

> O! I could play the woman with mine eyes,
> And braggart with my tongue.—But, gentle heavens,
> Cut short all intermission; front to front,
> Bring thou this fiend of Scotland, and myself;
> Within my sword's length set him; if he 'scape,
> Heaven forgive him too! [IV. iii. 231-236.]

Cf. **Extracts 12** and **13** from Holinshed, and **Extract 8** from *Secret History of Macbeth.*

With Malcolm and their respective armies they reached a plain before Macbeth's castle. The castle surrendered and Macduff entered in search of Macbeth. Had it not been for the prophecy of the third apparition concerning Birnam wood, Macbeth would have met his foes on the plain, and not remained "cooped up" in his castle at Dunsinane.

> They have tied me to a stake: I cannot fly,
> But, bear-like, I must fight the course. [V. vii. 1-2.]

Macbeth slew young Siward, son of the Earl of Northumberland, but when he saw Macduff he remembered the words of the first apparition:—

> Macbeth! Macbeth! Macbeth! beware Macduff;
> Beware the thane of Fife.— [IV. i. 71-72.]

Crying out that no man born of woman could harm him he learned how Macduff was "untimely taken from his mother." He would have turned away, but Macduff taunted him with cowardice, and threatened "to make a show of him, as men show monsters, and a painted board, on which shall be written, 'Here men may see the tyrant.' "

Being stung to the quick, Macbeth threw himself on Macduff, and crying out:

> I will not yield,
> To kiss the ground before young Malcolm's feet,
> And to be baited with the rabble's curse,
> Though Birnam wood be come to Dunsinane,
> And thou oppos'd, being of no woman born,
> Yet I will try the last: before my body
> I throw my warlike shield: lay on, Macduff;
> And damn'd be him that first cries, "Hold, enough!"
> [V. vii. 56-63.]

was, after a severe struggle overcome by Macduff who cut off his head and brought it to Malcolm. Cf. **Extract 15** from Holinshed and **Extract 9** from *Secret History of Macbeth.*

So, in Hervey's *Life of King Robert Bruce*, 1729:—

> The noble Weemyss, Mcduff's immortal son,
> Mcduff! th' asserter of the Scottish throne:
> Whose deeds let Birnam and *Dunsinnan* tell,
> When Canmore battled, and the villain fell.

After Malcolm had ascended the throne he created Macduff, Earl of Fife, and declared that his descendants should lead the Scottish army in battle, and have the honour of placing the crown on the king's head at the ceremony of coronation. Cf. **Extract 19** from Holinshed.

"The origin of this tribe [The Clan of Macduff], of which the old Mormaers and afterwards Earls of Fife were head, is clouded by fable; but the first of whom there is any distinct trace is that Earl of Fife who is said to have slain MacBeth, and whom, according to Fordoun, Malcolm III., rewarded by according to his family the honour of placing the sovereign on the throne, with the leading of the army, and the sanctuary, afforded by the famous Girth cross of MacDuff, of which, we believe, only the socket stone is seen on the Ochil range now." *The Scottish Clans and their Tartans.*

Macduff, Lady. IV. ii. p. 1.

Wife of Macduff, a Scottish nobleman—Thane of Fife.

Macduff being suspicious of Macbeth, fled to England with the object of raising an army to dethrone Macbeth, and restore Malcolm, Duncan's son, to the throne.

Before leaving, Macduff ordered his wife to shut the gates of the castle, draw up the drawbridge, and allow no one to enter.

Hearing of Macduff's flight, and being foiled in his attempts to revenge, Macbeth turned his wrath upon Lady Macduff and her children.

Arriving at the castle, Macbeth summoned the lady to surrender, but being incensed at her defiance he took the castle by storm, and put to death both Lady Macduff and her children. Cf. **Extract 12** from Holinshed, and **Extract 7** from *Secret History of Macbeth.*

Rosse, a Scottish nobleman conveyed the news to Macduff, who, upon hearing it, vowed revenge. He encountered Macbeth in single combat with the result that Macbeth was slain.

The ruins of Macduff's castle, called the Thane's castle are still to be seen.

Further west and upon the banks of the Forth is Castlehill, antiently called Dunnemarle Castle, that is, in the Gaelic language, the Castle by or near the sea, from a fort or stronghold of the Macduffs, Thanes of Fife, . . . According to tradition, it was here that the cruel murder of Lady Macduff and her children by order of Macbeth, forming an effecting incident in Shakespeare's tragedy of that name, was perpetrated. *Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland*

Malcolm. I. iv. 38; II. iii. 77, 80; II. iv. 25; III. vi. 9; V. ii. 1; V. iii. 3; V. vii. 57.

Elder son of Duncan, king of Scotland. He brought the news to his father that the execution of Cawdor had been carried out, remarking:

> Nothing in his life
> Became him like the leaving it: [I. iv. 7-8.]

When Macbeth returned victorious from the wars with Sweno, king of Norway he received the personal thanks of Duncan, who at the same time named Malcolm—Prince of Cumberland—heir apparent, the announcement causing keen disappointment to Macbeth. Cf. **Extract 5** from Holinshed, and **Extract 4** from *Secret History of Macbeth.*

With his father and younger brother he was a guest at Macbeth's castle at Inverness, where Duncan was murdered. On the following morning he, with his brother Donalbain determined on flight, Malcolm to the English court, and Donalbain to Ireland; their flight instantly throwing suspicion on them. To Donalbain, Malcolm remarked:

> What will you do? Let's not consort with them:
> To show an unfelt sorrow in an office
> Which the false man does easy. I'll to England.
> [II. iii. 138-140.]

thus hinting at Macbeth, who was his second cousin, as being guilty of the crime. Cf. **Extracts 7, 8** and **9** from Holinshed, and **Extract 5** from *Secret History of Macbeth.*

Malcolm was followed to the English court by Macduff, a Scottish nobleman, who fled to England to obtain aid for the overthrow of Macbeth. Malcolm received him at first with suspicion, thinking that he, who had left wife and children to the mercy of Macbeth, must be in league with the tyrant. Macduff explained his reasons for leaving Scotland. His outburst of grief for the state of his country convinced Malcolm that he

was no traitor, and Malcolm finally related to him the preparations he had made for war, and the two worked together to rescue their country from the hands of Macbeth. Cf. **Extracts 12** and **13** from Holinshed, and **Extracts 7** and **8** from *Secret History of Macbeth.*

At the head of a large army he invaded Scotland, and marched to Birnam where they encamped. The next morning Malcolm gave instructions to each of his soldiers to cut down a bough from Birnam wood and carry it before him in order to conceal their numbers. Thus the prophecy of the third apparition to fear not "until Great Birnam wood to high Dunsinane hill Should come against him" caused Macbeth much uneasiness. Malcolm's army reached the plain before the castle, the soldiers threw down their boughs and the battle commenced. Macduff and Macbeth engaged in single combat, with the result that Macbeth was slain, and Malcolm proclaimed king as Malcolm III.

> Hail, king! for so thou art. Behold, where stands
> The usurper's cursed head: the time is free.
> I see thee compass'd with thy kingdom's pearl,
> That speak my salutation in their minds;
> Whose voices I desire aloud with mine,—
> Hail, King of Scotland! [V. vii. 83-88.]

Cf. **Extracts 14** and **15** from Holinshed, and **Extract 9** from *Secret History of Macbeth.*

Menteth. V. ii. p. 1; V. iv. p. 1.

One of the Scottish noblemen, who with Rosse, Angus and a band of soldiers marched towards Dunsinane, having sworn a burning revenge on Macbeth for his cruelty towards Macduff and his family. On the other hand they met Malcolm, and Siward with English forces also marching to the overthrow of Macbeth:

> The English power is near, led on by Malcolm,
> His uncle Siward, and the good Macduff.
> Revenges burn in them; for their dear causes
> Would, to the bleeding and the grim alarm,
> Excite the mortified man. [V. ii. 1-5.]

Macbeth had strongly fortified Dunsinane Castle and awaited the approaching forces, being confident of the prophecy of the third apparition:

> Macbeth shall never vanquish'd be, until
> Great Birnam wood to high Dunsinane hill
> Shall come against him. [IV. i. 92-94.]

Obeying the orders of Malcolm:

> Let every soldier hew him down a bough,
> And bear 't before him: thereby shall we shadow
> The numbers of our host, and make discovery
> Err in report of us. [V. iv. 4-7.]

Menteth saw the tyrant vanquished, and "Birnam wood moved towards Dunsinane."

Messengers. I. v. p. 30; IV. ii. p. 64; V. v. p. 29.

In Act IV. Scene ii. the messenger—a stranger to Lady Macduff—entered her castle, warned her of approaching danger—Macbeth's avowal to murder her and her children—and urged her to instant flight. The warning however proved to be too late.

In Act V. Scene v. the messenger brought news to Macbeth that Birnam wood had begun to move, in accordance with the prophecy of the third apparition.

Murderers. III. i. p. 72; III. iii. p. 1; III. iv. p. 8; IV. ii. p. 79.

In Act III. Scene i. two hired ruffians called in by Macbeth to carry out the murder of Banquo and his son Fleance.

In Act III. Scene iii. the two murderers were joined by a third murderer. The third is thought to have been the "attendant" mentioned in Act III. i. By some authorities it has been stated that the third murderer was Macbeth himself. [*See Notes and Queries*, Fourth Series, Volume Four, July-December, 1869, 211, 282, 376, 412 and 484; and Henry Irving: *Nineteenth Century*, April, 1877.] "The third assassin seems to have been sent to join the others, from Macbeth's superabundant caution. From the following dialogue it appears that some conversation has passed between them before their present entry on the stage." *Malone.*

"The third Murderer enters only to tell them *where* they should place themselves." *Steevens.*

In their object of murdering Banquo and Fleance they were only partly successful, for according to the words of the third murderer:

There 's but one down: the son is fled. [III. iii. 19.]

to which the second murderer made answer:

We have lost
Best half of our affair. [III. iii. 20-21.]

The first murderer brought the news of this partial success to Macbeth during the coronation banquet held at his palace at Fores.

Neptune's Ocean. II. ii. 59.

Will all great Neptune's ocean wash this blood
Clean from my hand? [II. ii. 59-60.]

Neptune = god of the ocean. The allusion is that not all the water of the ocean could wash out the stain from the hand which had murdered Duncan. *See* Arabia. Cf. Marston: *The Insatiate Countess*, 1613:

Although the waves of all the northern sea
Should flow for ever through these guilty hands,
Yet the sanguinolent stain would exstant be.

and Fletcher and Shakespeare's *Two Noble Kinsmen*, V. I:

Thou mighty one, that with thy power hast
turn'd
Green Neptune into purple;

Northumberland. III. vi. 31.

Thither Macduff
Is gone to pray the holy king, upon his aid
To wake Northumberland, and warlike Siward;
[III. vi. 29-31.]

= Siward (q.v.)

Norway. I. ii. 53; I. iii. 112.

Norway himself, with terrible numbers,
Assisted by that most disloyal traitor,
The thane of Cawdor, began a dismal conflict;
[I. ii. 53-55.]

= Sweno (q.v.)

Norweyan banners. I. ii. 51.

From Fife, great king
Where the Norweyan banners flout the sky
And fan our people cold. [I. ii. 50-52.]

The banners of the army of Sweno, king of Norway, who had landed on the east coast of Scotland.

The banners may be poetically described as waving in *mockery* or *defiance* of the sky. So, in *King Edward* III., 1599:

And new replenish'd pendants cuff the air,
And beat the wind, that for their gaudiness
Struggles to kiss thee." *Steevens.*

Malone says: "This passage has perhaps been misunderstood. The meaning seems to be, not that the Norweyan banners proudly insulted the sky; but that, the standards being taken by Duncan's forces, and fixed in the ground, the colours idly flapped about, serving only to cool the conquerors, instead of being proudly displayed by their former possessors." Cf. *King John* V. i. 72:

Mocking the air with colours idly spread.

Norweyan lord. I. ii. 31.

But the Norweyan lord, surveying vantage,
With furbish'd arms, and new supplies of men,
Began a fresh assault. [I. ii. 31-33.]

= Sweno (q.v.)

Officers.

Old Man, An. II. iv. p. 1.

Following the discovery of Duncan's murder, Rosse, a nobleman attending upon Duncan, and "an old man" entered into conversation concerning the recent tragic events. To the old man "more than threescore and ten" all former experiences as compared with these seemed but trifles.

The omens and signs witnessed by Rosse and the old man are described in Holinshed, but they really belong to Holinshed's description of the murder of King Duffe by Donwald. Cf. **Extract 10** from Holinshed.

Open Place, An.

The Scene of Act I. Scene i. Three witches enter amid thunder and lightning. They arrange to meet Macbeth upon the "blasted heath" when the "battle 's lost and won."

Paddock. I. i. 9.

Paddock calls.—Anon!
Fair is foul, and foul is fair: [I. i. 9-10.]

= a toad; another of the spirits attendant upon witches. *See* Graymalkin. Probably by the expression "paddock calls" the witches wish to convey the idea that they know by the croaking of the paddocks that "foul is fair" *i.e.* the thunderstorm is breaking, and what is foul to them, is gaining the upper hand. Hudson [*Windsor Shakespeare*] remarks: "Anon! was the usual answer to a call; meaning presently or immediately. Here the toad, serving as a familiar is supposed to make a signal for the witches to leave, and Anon! is the reply."

"The representation of St. James in the witches' house (one of the set of prints taken from the painter called *Hellish Breugel*, 1566), exhibits witches flying up and down the chimney on brooms; and before the fire sit *grimalkin* and *paddock*, i.e. a *cat*, and a *toad*, with several *baboons*. There is a cauldron boiling, with a witch near it, cutting out the tongue of a snake, as an ingredient for the charm. A representation somewhat similar likewise occurs in *Newes from Scotland*." *Steevens.*

In Scot's *Discovery of Witchcraft* I. iv. we read: "Some fay, they can keep Devils and Spirits, in the likenefs of Todes and Cats."

Porter, A. II. iii. p. 1.

Keeper of the door of Macbeth's castle, Inverness. On the morning following the murder of Duncan he was suddenly aroused by the incessant knocking of Macduff and Lenox, it being the duty of Macduff to awaken Duncan at an appointed hour. During the continued knocking Macbeth and his wife had time to remove all traces of the crime, and retire to their bedchamber.

The porter's soliloquy as to the equivocator throw some light on the date of the play. 'Faith, here 's an equivocator, that could swear in both the scales against either scale; who committed treason enough for God's sake, yet could not equivocate to heaven: O! come in, equivocator. [II. iii. 8-12.] His remarks were probably an allusion to the trial of Henry Garnet, a Jesuit, in 1606 for complicity in the gunpowder plot—the doctrine of equivocation being avowed by Garnet. *See* Gardiner's *History of England*, 1603-1607, Vol. 1, and Sydney's *History of the Gunpowder Plot.*

His reference to "the farmer":

Here 's a farmer, that hanged himself on the expectation of plenty:
[II. iii. 4-5.]

is commonly thought to allude to the exceptionally abundant harvest of 1606 and the consequent lowness of the price of corn which drove the farmer to desperation. Cf. Bishop Hall: Book IV. Satire vi.:

Each muck-worme will be rich with lawlesse gaine,
Altho' he smother up mowes of seven years' graine,
And *hang'd himself when corne grows cheap again.*

Prince of Cumberland. I. iv. 39, 48.

We will establish our estate upon
Our eldest, Malcolm; whom we name hereafter
The Prince of Cumberland: [I. iv. 37-39.]

Cumberland at this time included the counties of Cumberland, Westmoreland, the northern part of Lancashire, and part of Strathclyde in Scotland. It was held by the kings of Scotland as a fief from the English king. The crown of Scotland was not hereditary, but by election, and Macbeth hoped to succeed to the throne on the death of Duncan. By proclaiming Malcolm Prince of Cumberland and consequently heir to the throne, Macbeth's hope of succeeding Duncan was somewhat hindered, consequently he took counsel as to how he might usurp the crown. Cf. **Extract 5** from Holinshed, and **Extract 4** from *Secret History of Macbeth.*

"In the mene tyme Kyng Duncane maid his son Malcolme *Prince of Cumbir, to signify yt he suld regne eftir hym*, quhilk was gret displeseir to Makbeth; for it maid plane derogatioun to the thrid weird promittit afore to hym be this weird sisteris. Nochtheles he thoct gif Duncane were

slane, he had maist rycht to the croun, because he wes nerest of blud yairto, be tenour of ye auld lavis maid eftir the deith of King Fergus, quhen young children wer unable to govern the croun, the nerrest of yair blude sal regne." Bellenden's translation of *Hector Boethius.*

Roman fool. V. vii. 30.

> Why should I play the Roman fool, and die
> On mine own sword? [V. vii. 30-31.]

Probably an allusion to Cato the younger, who, after Cæsar's victory at Thapsus in 46 B.C. stabbed himself rather than fall into the hands of Cæsar; or to Brutus, who, after his defeat at Phillipi by Anthony and Augustus, committed suicide by falling upon his sword. It was customary amongst Romans to commit suicide in moments of defeat. Cleopatra called this "the high Roman fashion." Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra* IV. xv. 86-88:

> and then, what 's brave, what 's noble,
> Let 's do it after the high Roman fashion,
> And make death proud to take us.

and *Julius Cæsar* V. i. 101-104:

> Even by the rule of that philosophy
> By which I did blame Cato for the death
> Which he did give himself, I know not how,
> But I do find it cowardly and vile,

Rosse. I. ii. 46.

A Scottish nobleman, messenger of King Duncan. A bleeding sergeant first brought to Duncan the news of Macbeth's successes in the wars. Rosse took up the story where the sergeant left it, speaking of Macbeth in the highest terms of praise:

> Till that Bellona's bridegroom, lapp'd in proof,
> Confronted him with self-comparisons,
> Point against point, rebellious arm 'gainst arm,
> Curbing his lavish spirit: and, to conclude,
> The victory fell on us;— [I. ii. 56-60.]

He exposed the treachery of the Thane of Cawdor and received instructions from Duncan to:

> pronounce his present death,
> And with his former title greet Macbeth.
> [I. ii. 67-68.]

Three weird sisters met Macbeth and Banquo returning from the field of victory. They hailed Macbeth as "Thane of Glamis, and Thane of Cawdor." On their disappearance Rosse met Macbeth, and in the name of the king thanked him for his recent victories, and bestowed upon him the title of "Thane of Cawdor":

> The king hath happily receiv'd, Macbeth,
> The news of thy success;
> . . . . . .
> And, for an earnest of a greater honour,
> He bade me, from him, call thee thane of Cawdor:
> In which addition, hail, most worthy thane,
> For it is thine. [I. iii. 89-90; 104-107.]

The sudden fufilment of the prophecy of the second witch was received by Macbeth with the greatest surprise. Cf. **Extracts 3** and **4** from Holinshed.

After Duncan's murder and the flight of his sons, Rosse and an old man were discussing the past events. Each had noticed certain significant signs on the night of the king's murder. While the discussion was in progress Macduff entered with the news of the flight of Duncan's sons, and the subsequent suspicion which their flight caused.

Rosse described the horrors of the night to the old man:

> *Rosse.* Ah! good father,
> Thou seest, the heavens, as troubled with man's act,
> Threaten his bloody stage: by the clock 't is day,
> And yet dark night strangles the travelling lamp,
> Is 't night's predominance, or the day's shame,
> That darkness does the face of earth entomb,
> When living light should kiss it?
> *Old Man.* 'T is unnatural,
> Even like the deed that 's done. On Tuesday last,
> A falcon, towering in her pride of place,
> Was by a mousing owl hawk'd at, and kill'd.
> *Rosse.* And Duncan's horses (a thing most strange and certain)
> Beauteous and swift, the minions of their race,
> Turn'd wild in nature, broke their stalls, flung out,
> Contending 'gainst obedience, as they would make
> War with mankind.
> *Old Man.* 'T is said, they eat each other.
> *Rosse.* They did so; to th' amazement of mine eyes,
> That look'd upon 't. [II. iv. 4-20.]

[These signs really belong to Holinshed's description of the murder of King Duffe by Donwald, though Shakespeare uses them as appearing on the night of Duncan's murder.] Cf. **Extract 10** from Holinshed.

Whether Rosse or Macduff had suspicions as to who had committed the crime is not known. Rosse, after making many inquiries concerning Macbeth's movements, and Duncan's burial, decided to attend the former's coronation at Scone, while Macduff retired to his country seat.

After the coronation Rosse was one of the guests at the banquet where all received a hearty welcome from the king and queen. Banquo's place was vacant, and the king with easy grace complained of his unkindness in spoiling the completeness of the gathering. Rosse, possibly the oldest lord, asked Macbeth to fill the vacant place. Macbeth found the chair occupied by Banquo's ghost—the apparition to the guests being invisible. He was full of terror and excitement whereupon Rosse rose, and explained to the assembled guests that "his highness is not well."

In the meantime Macduff had fled to England, and Rosse arrived at his castle bringing the news to Lady Macduff, hinting that public reasons made his flight a necessity. After the murder of Lady Macduff and her family Rosse left Scotland and arrived at the English court as bearer of good news to Malcolm concerning his country, but tidings of despair for Macduff:

> Your castle is surpris'd; your wife, and babes,
> Savagely slaughter'd: to relate the manner,
> Were, on the quarry of these murder'd deer,
> To add the death of you. [IV. iii. 205-208.]

Rosse was again the messenger of tidings of despair, this time to Siward concerning his son, the youthful Siward, who was slain by Macbeth:

> Your son, my lord, has paid a soldier's debt:
> He only liv'd but till he was a man;
> The which no sooner had his prowess confirm'd,
> In the unshrinking station where he fought,
> But like a man he died. [V. vii. 68-72.]

Cf. **Extract 15** from Holinshed.

Russian bear. III. iv. 100.

> Approach thou like the rugged Russian bear,
> [III. iv. 100.]

Saint Colme's inch. I. ii. 64.

> Till he disbursed at Saint Colme's inch
> Ten thousand dollars to our general use.
> [I. ii. 64-65.]

Inchcolm (St. Columba's Island), a small island lying in the Firth of Forth. There are still the ruins of a monastery on it, dedicated to St. Columb who is said to have resided there in the sixth century. It was near this island that the Danes under Sweno were defeated by the Scottish forces. After the battle the friends of those who had fallen paid to Macbeth a sum of money in order that they may be buried on the island. Cf. **Extract 1** from Holinshed.

Scone. II. iv. 31, 35; V. vii. 105.

This ancient royal city which lay about two miles north of the present town of Perth is supposed to have been the capital of the Pictish kingdom. It was from early times a place of residence of the kings of Scotland, and the place of their coronation. After Duncan's murder Macbeth was proclaimed king and crowned at Scone. Cf. **Extract 9** from Holinshed, and **Extract 5** from *Secret History of Macbeth.*

Tradition says that the celebrated stone of Destiny on which the Scottish kings were crowned was the "pillow" on which the Patriarch Jacob slept at Bethel, and that it was afterwards brought from the plain of Luz to Dunstaffnage in Argyllshire and thence removed to Scone by Kenneth II. soon after the founding of the Abbey in 838. In 1296 it was transferred to Westminster Abbey by King Edward I., and it still remains enclosed in the coronation chair of the British monarchs.

The following is taken from the *New Statistical Account of Scotland,* 1845:—

"Edward [I.,] penetrated to the north as far as Elgin. . . It was on his return from this triumphal progress, that he ordered the famous stone, on which the Scottish Kings had been wont to be crowned, to be removed from the Abbey of Scone, and conveyed to Westminster, in testimony, says Hemingford an English contemporary chronicler, of the conquest

and surrender of the kingdom. . . Although not mentioned in the Treaty of Northampton (A.D. 1328), it was then, as we shall see, stipulated that the stone should be restored. This, however, like the other conditions of that treaty, were never complied with, and, consequently, with other articles pillaged by Edward, it still remains in England. 'This fatal stone' says Sir Walter Scott, 'was said to have been brought from Ireland by Fergus, the son of Eric, who led the Dalriads to the shores of Argyleshire. Its virtues are preserved in the celebrated leonine verse:—

Ni fallat fatum, Scoti, quocunque locatum[1]
Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.'

There were Scots who hailed the accomplishment of this prophecy at the accession of James vi., to the crown of England, and exulted, that in removing their palladium, the policy of Edward resembled that which brought the Trojan horse in triumph within their walls, and which occasioned the destruction of their royal family. The stone is still preserved, and forms the support of King Edward the Confessor's chair, which the sovereign occupies at his coronation.' In preparing this chair for the coronation of her present Majesty [Queen Victoria] some small fragments of this stone were broken off."

Scotch Doctor, A. V. i. 76; V. iii. 37, 49, 50.

A doctor who with a waiting gentlewoman was in attendance on Lady Macbeth in the castle of Dunsinane, this being the first appearance of Lady Macbeth in the play since the night of the coronation banquet. Her health had completely broken down, her nerve power strained to the uttermost; she was given to sleep-walking, and her mind constantly troubled with the horrors of past events.

From the waiting gentlewoman the doctor learned of the strange actions of the queen, and desired to know "what at any time she had said," but the gentlewoman refused any information. During the conversation Lady Macbeth entered carrying a lighted taper. The doctor watched her actions, and noted her speech, for he remarked:

> I will set down what comes
> from her, to satisfy my remembrance the more
> strongly. [V. i. 31-33.]
>
> This disease is beyond my practice: yet I have
> known those which have walked in their sleep, who
> have died holily in their beds. [V. i. 56-58.]

Giving instructions to the gentlewoman to watch her patient and with the words:

> More needs she the divine than the physician.—
> [V. i. 71.]

he bade her "Good-night."

Macbeth becoming distracted and nervous, anxiously questioned the doctor concerning the queen. He explained that the disease was of the mind, Macbeth hurriedly replying:

> Cure her of that:
> Canst thou not minister to a mind diseas'd,
> Pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow,
> Raze out the written troubles of the brain,
> And with some sweet oblivious antidote
> Cleanse the stuff'd bosom of that perilous stuff
> Which weighs upon the heart? [V. iii. 39-45.]

The doctor deemed this impossible, telling Macbeth that:

> Therein the patient
> Must minister to himself. [V. iii. 45-46.]

Scotland. IV. iii. 7, 88, 100, 113, 164, 187, 234.

Servants. I. vii. p. 1; II. i. p. 10; III. ii. p. 1; V. iii. p. 11.

Sewer. I. vii. p. 1.

An officer, who placed and removed the dishes at a feast.

"A *sewer* was an officer so called from his placing the dishes upon the table. . . Thus, in Chapman's version of the 24th., *Iliad*:

> Automedon,
> as fit
> Was for the reverend sewer's place; and
> all the brown joints served
> On wicker vessel to the board;

[1] Unless the fates are faithless found,
And prophets' voice be vain,
Where'er this monument is found
The Scottish race shall reign.

Barclay, *Ecl.* II. has the following remark on the conduct of these domestics:

Slowe be the *sewers* in serving in alway,
But swift be they after, taking the meate away.

Another part of the *sewer's* office was, to bring water for the guests to wash their hands. Thus Chapman, in his version of the *Odyssey*:

——and then the *sewre*
Pour'd water from a great and golden ewre.

The *sewer's* chief mark of distinction was a towel round his arm. So, in Ben Jonson's *Epicœne; or, The Silent Woman*, III. i., "—but clap me a clean *towel* about you, like a *sewer*."

It may be worth while to observe, for the sake of preserving an ancient word, that the dishes served in by *sewers* were called *sewes*. So, in the old MS. romance of *The Sowdon of Babyloyne*:

Lest that lurdeynes come sculkynge oùt,
For ever they have bene shrewes,
Loke ech of them have such a cloute
That they never ete moo *sewes*." *Steevens.*

Seyton. V. iii. 19, 20, 29, 49.

Macbeth's armour-bearer. Before the approaching battle Macbeth became despondent:

I have liv'd long enough: my way of life
Is fall'n into the sere, the yellow leaf;

And that which should accompany old age,
As honour, love, obedience, troops of friends,
I must not look to have; [V. iii. 22-26.]

During this mood Seyton entered and was commanded by Macbeth to bring his armour in order to be in readiness for the coming fight:

I'll put it on.
Send out more horses, skir the country round;
Hang those that talk of fear. Give me mine armour.—
[V. iii. 34-36.]

Within the castle of Dunsinane was heard the cry of women. Macbeth demanded of Seyton the cause of the noise. He broke the news to him:

The queen, my lord, is dead. [V. v. 16.]

and Macbeth in a cold, callous manner, and as a man to whom all interest in life was almost dead remarked:

She should have died hereafter:
There would have been a time for such a word.—
To-morrow, and to-morrow, and to-morrow,
Creeps in this petty pace from day to day,
To the last syllable of recorded time;
And all our yesterdays have lighted fools
The way to dusty death. Out, out, brief candle!
Life 's but a walking shadow; [V. v. 16-24.]

The name of Seyton was assumed during the time of Malcolm. Cf. **Extract 19** from Holinshed.

Sinel's death. I. iii. 71.

By Sinel's death, I know, I am thane of Glamis;
[I. iii. 71.]

Thane of Glamis, and father of Macbeth. He married the younger daughter of Malcolm II. of Scotland. Cf. **Extract 16** from Holinshed. In Fordun's *Scotichronicon* Macbeth is called "Machabeus filius Finele."

His true name, which however appears, but perhaps only typographically, corrupted to *Synele* in Hector Boethius, from whom, by means of his old Scottish translator, it came to the knowledge of Holinshed, was *Finleg*. Both *Finlay* and *Macbeath* are common surnames in Scotland at this moment. *Ritson.*

Synele for *Finleg*, seems a very extraordinary typographical corruption. The late Dr. Beattie conjectured that the real name of the family as *Sinane*, and that *Dunsinane*, or *the hill of Sinane*, from thence derived its appellation. *Boswell.*

Siward. III. vi. 31; IV. iii. 135, 191; V. ii. 2, 9.

Earl of Northumberland. A general of the English forces who with Malcolm at their head marched into Scotland, joined the forces of Lenox, Angus, and other Scottish nobles with the burning desire to revenge the wrongs of Macduff, and overthrow Macbeth. He wisely remarked that Time would show how all things stood, but only deeds could decide the conflict, and the approaching fight would either make or mar their fortunes:

The time approaches,
That will with due decision make us know
What we shall say we have, and what we owe.
Thoughts speculative their unsure hopes relate,
But certain issue strokes must arbitrate;
Towards which advance the war. [V. iv. 16-21.]

He brought the news to Malcolm of the surrender of the castle of Dunsinane:

Siward. This way, my lord;—The castle 's gently render'd:
The tyrant's people on both sides do fight;
The noble thane, do bravely in the war.
The day almost itself professes yours,
And little is to do.
Malcolm. We have met the foes
That strike behind us.
Siward. Enter, Sir, the castle. [V. vii. 24-29.]

During the fight his son, young Siward, was slain by Macbeth—Rosse being the bearer of the tidings:

Your son, my lord, has paid a soldier's debt:
He only liv'd but till he was a man;
. . . . . .
But like a man he died. [V. vii. 68-72.]

Siward remarking:

He 's worth no more;
They say, he parted well, and paid his score:
And so, God be with him!— [V. vii. 80-82.]

Cf. **Extracts 14** and **15** from Holinshed.

In V. ii. 1-2, Shakespeare speaks of him as uncle to Malcolm:

The English power is near, led on by Malcolm,
His uncle Siward, and the good Macduff.

but according to Holinshed he was Malcolm's maternal grandfather. Cf. **Extract 5** from Holinshed, and **Extract 8** from *Secret History of Macbeth.*

"This famous warrior was, undoubtedly, a historical personage, although a great deal of tradition surrounds his origin. His grandfather was said to be a bear, not in a figurative, but in a literal sense. According to Palgrave, referred to by French, Siward encouraged this fable as tending to enhance his fame. He was a successful general under Hardicanute, and afterwards under Edward the Confessor, when he defeated the rebel Earl Godwin and his sons. He was the uncle of Malcolm, and partly for that reason was selected to help that young prince in his effort to regain the throne which Macbeth had usurped. *Siward's* eldest son Osberne (the *young Siward* of this play) was killed in the action before Macbeth's castle. Earl Siward's wife was Elfreda, daughter of Aldred. By her he left a son Waltheof, who was beheaded by William the Conqueror, much to the sorrow of the English people, and was subsequently canonized as Saint Waldeve. One of Waltheof's daughters, Maud, married Prince David, youngest son of Malcolm Canmore, and two of their grandchildren became kings of Scotland as Malcolm IV. and William the Lion, while the third grandson, David (the Kenneth of Sir Walter Scott's *Talisman*), had two daughters, from whom sprang Balliol and Bruce: so that, as French justly observes, the *warlike Siward* had as good a claim as Banquo 'to be called the ancester of kings.' " Marshall.

"Langebek (in his *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum*) tries ingeniously enough to rationalise the mythic pedigree of Earl Siward Digre, by making the Fairy Bear identical with Styrbiorn, Spratling his son with Thorkill Sprakaleg, and Biorn Bearsson, father of Siward, a brother of Earl Ulf and Countess Gyda. But if so, Ulf and Gyda would have been notoriously of the House of the Bear, and famous, like Siward, for their pointed ears. Besides, Siward would thus have been the nephew of Countess Gyda and Earl Godwin, a fact which is mentioned by no chronicler, and which is inadmissible on account of Siward's age. His pedigree is altogether mythical, and best left in the fairyland whence it sprang. Kingsley: *Hereward the Wake.*

Soldier, A. I. ii. p. 1.

Introduced by Malcolm to King Duncan as:

the sergeant,
Who, like a good and hardy soldier, fought
'Gainst my captivity. [I. ii. 3-5.]

[In the stage direction he is called "a bleeding Captain."]

At Malcolm's request he gave Duncan a description "of the broil as he left it." He compared the weakness of Macdonwald—the Makdowald of Holinshed—with the strength and bravery of Macbeth, then related how

Macbeth slew Macdonwald:

And fix'd his head upon our battlements. [I. ii. 23.]

In describing the bravery of Macbeth and Banquo he spoke of the Norweyan lord beginning "a fresh assault". Of a previous assault Shakespeare makes no mention, but Holinshed after describing the suppression of the rebellion of Makdowald, and his death by suicide, goes on to relate the second rebellion, how Canute, King of England sent an army in revenge of his brother Sweno's overthrow.

According to Holinshed the sergeant was slain by the rebels. Shakespeare took the name from Holinshed, and ignored the rest of the story: "Yet escaping their hands, after hee was somewhat recouered of his hurts, and was able to ride, he repaired to the court, where making his complaint to the king in most earnest wise, he purchased at length that the offendors were sent for by a sergeant at armes, to appeare to make answer vnto such matters as should be laid to their charge: but they augmenting their mischiefous act with a more wicked deed, after they had misused the messenger with sundrie kinds of reproches, they finallie slue him also."

Sergeants were not formerly the non-commissioned officers now so called, but a guard specially appointed to attend the person of the king; and, as Minsheu says, "to arrest Traytors or great men, that doe, or are like to contemme messengers of ordinarie condition, and to attend the Lord High Steward of England, sitting in judgement upon any Traytor, and such like."

The Compiler of the Glossary to Wyntoun's *Orygynale Cronykil* observes that *Sergeant* is "a degree in military service now unknown."

Of *sergeandys* thare and knychtis kene
He gat a gret cumpany. Book VIII.

and in the fourth Poem of Lawrence Minot we read:—

He hasted him to the swin, with *sergantes* snell,
To mete with the Normandes that fals war and fell.

Soldiers. V. ii. p. 1; V. iv. p. 1; V. v. p. 1; V. vi. p. 1; V. vii. p. 64.

Song.

Come away, come away, etc. [III. v. p. 341

The song referred to here occurs in *The Witch*,[1] a play by Thomas Middleton:

Come away, come away,
Hecate, Hecate, come away!
Hec. I come, I come, I come, I come,
With all the speed I may,
With all the speed I may.
Where 's Stadlin?
[*Voice above.*] Here.
Hec. Where 's Puckle?
[Voice above.] Here;
And Hoppo too, and Hellwain too;
We lack but you, we lack but you;
Come away, make up the count.
Hec. I will but 'noint, and then I mount.
[*A Spirit like a cat descends.*
[*Voice above.*] There 's one comes down to fetch his dues,
A kiss, a coll, a sip of blood;
And why thou stay'st so long,
I muse, I muse,
Since the air 's so sweet and good.
Hec. O, art thou come?
What news, what news?
Spirit. All goes still to our delight:
Either come or else
Refuse, refuse.
Hec. Now I'm furnish'd for the flight.
Fire. Hark, hark, the cat sings a brave treble in her own language!
Hec. [going up.] Now I go, now I fly,
Malkin my sweet spirit and I.
O what dainty pleasure 'tis
To ride in the air
When the moon shines fair,
And sing and dance, and toy and kiss!
Over woods, high rocks, and mountains,
Over seas, our mistress' fountains,
Over steep towers and turrets.
We fly by night, 'mongst troops of spirits:
No ring of bells to our ear sounds,
No howls of wolves, no yelps of hounds;
No, not the noise of water's breach,
Or cannon's throat our height can reach.
[*Voices above.*] No ring of bells, &c.

Song.

Black Spirits, etc. [IV. i. p. 44.]

The above song, sung while the witches are brewing a potion, also appears in *The Witch*:[2] The song is there called "A Charme-Song, about a Vessel."

Hecate. Stir, stir about, whilst I begin the charm.
Black spirits and white, red spirits and gray,
Mingle, mingle, mingle, you that mingle may!

1 *and* 2 *Chambers's Cyclopædia of English Literature.*

Titty, Tiffin,
Keep it stiff in;
Firedrake, Puckey,
Make it lucky;
Liard Robin,
You must bob in;
Round, around, around, about, about!
All ill come running in, all good keep out!
First Witch. Here 's the blood of a bat.
Hec. Put in that, O, put in that!
Second Witch. Here 's libbard's-bane.
Hec. Put in again!
First Witch. The juice of toad, the oil of adder.
Second Witch. Those will make the younker madder.
Hec. Put in—there 's all—and rid the stench.
Firestone. Nay, here 's three ounces of the red-hair'd wench.
All the witches. Round, around, around, &c.

The song was, in all probability, a traditional one. The colours of spirits are often mentioned. So, in *Monsieur Thomas*, 1639:

Be thou *black*, or *white*, or *green*,
Be thou heard, or to be seen.

and Scot in *A Discourse concerning Devils and Spirits* I. xxxiii. in enumerating the different kinds of spirits, particularly mentions *white*, *black*, *grey*, and *red* spirits: "Now how *Brian Darcies* he-fpirits, and fhe-fpirits, *Titty* and *Tiffin*, *Suckin* and *Pidgin*, *Liard* and *Robin*, &c., his *white-fpirits* and *black-fpirits*, *gray-fpirits* and *red-fpirits*, *Devil-toad* and *Devil-lambe*, *Devils-cat* and *Devils-dam*,"

Sweno. I. ii. 62.

That now
Sweno, the Norways' king, craves composition;
[I. ii. 61-63.]

King of Norway who invaded Scotland, and defeated Duncan's army at Culross. He was preparing to besiege the city of Perth, when he was attacked by the Scottish forces, the van and rear of which were commanded by Macbeth and Banquo respectively, whilst Duncan commanded the main body. His army was almost annihilated but Sweno accompanied by a few survivors escaped to Norway.[1]

[1]The Scots won the victory by drugging the Danes, who incautiously accepted from Duncan a present of ale and bread, compounded with "the iuice of mekilwoort berries."—Hol. ii. H.S. 170/1/41. In the Clarendon Press ed. of *Macbeth*, it is conjectured that "mekilwoort" is the "insane Root" spoken of by Banquo. (I. iii. 84.) *Boswell-Stone.*

Holinshed goes on to narrate the arrival and defeat of a second army sent by Canute, king of England in revenge of his brother, Sweno's overthrow. For dramatic purposes Shakespeare has combined the two invasions. Cf. **Extract 1** from Holinshed, and **Extract 2** from *Secret History of Macbeth.*

Malone says:— "In the last year of Duncan's reign, Sueno, King of Norway, landed a powerful army in Fife, for the purpose of invading Scotland. Duncan immediately assembled an army to oppose him, and gave the command of two divisions of it to Macbeth and Banquo, putting himself at the head of a third. Sueno was successful in one battle, but in a second was routed: and, after a great slaughter of his troops, he escaped with ten persons only, and fled back to Norway. Though there was an interval of time between the rebellion of Macdowald and the invasion of Sueno, our author has woven these two actions together."

Tarquin's ravishing strides. II. i. 55.

With Tarquin's ravishing strides, towards his design
Moves like a ghost.— [II. i. 55-56.]

An allusion to the story of Tarquinius as told by Shakespeare in his poem entitled *Lucrece*. Macbeth in moving out with tiptoe noiseless strides towards his design—the murder of Duncan—compared himself with Tarquin making his way towards Lucretia with the object of ravishing her.

Cf. *Lucrece* 162-168:—

Now stole upon the time the dead of night,
When heavy sleep had clos'd up mortal eyes:
No comfortable star did lend his light,
No noise but owls' and wolves' death-boding cries;
Now serves the season that they may surprise
The silly lambs: pure thoughts are dead and still,
While lust and murder wakes to stain and kill.

And in *Cymbeline* II. ii. 12-14, Iachimo, like Macbeth, compares himself to Tarquin, as he sets about his crime: "Our Tarquin thus

Did softly press the rushes, ere he waken'd
The chastity he wounded."

"A *ravishing stride* is an action of violence, impetuosity, and tumult, like that of a savage rushing on his prey; whereas the poet is here attempting to exhibit an image of secrecy and caution, of anxious circumspection and guilty timidity, the *stealthy pace* of a *ravisher* creeping into the chamber of a virgin, and of an assassin approaching the bed of him whom he proposes to murder, without awaking him; these he describes as *moving like ghosts*, whose progression is so different from *strides*, . . .

Tarquin is, in this place, the general name of a ravisher, and the sense is: Now is the time in which every one is a-sleep, but those who are employed in wickedness; the witch who is sacrificing to Hecate, and the ravisher, and the murderer, who, like me, are stealing upon their prey." *Johnson.*

Thane of Fife. IV. i. 72; V. i. 41.

Macbeth! Macbeth! Macbeth! beware Macduff;
Beware the thane of Fife.— [IV. i. 71-72.]

Macduff, who was destined to kill Macbeth. The first apparition "an armed head" symbolised Macbeth's head, as cut off by Macduff. The second apparition "a bloody child" represented Macduff as he was born:

Despair thy charm;
And let the angel, whom thou still hast serv'd,
Tell thee, Macduff was from his mother's womb
Untimely ripp'd. [V. vii. 42-45.]

Three Witches. I. i. p. 1; I. iii. p. 1; III. v. p. 1; IV. i. p. 1.

The "three weird sisters" whose appearance in a desert place in the midst of thunder and lightning, makes an unique opening to the play. The "three sisters" represent three different phases of witchcraft. They make arrangements to meet Macbeth "when the hurlyburly 's done" upon the heath.

In the brief opening Scene of the play the first witch asks:

When shall we three meet again,
In thunder, lightning, or in rain? [I. i. 1-2.]

to which the second replies:

When the hurlyburly 's done,
When the battle 's lost and won. [I. i. 3-4.]

but it is the third who is more far-seeing. She gives the prophetic reply:

That will be ere the set of sun. [I. i. 5.]

Macbeth and Banquo returned from the battle, and as arranged, they were met by the witches. The first witch greeted Macbeth as "Thane of Glamis"; by the death of his father Sinel, he knows he is already in possession of this title:

All hail, Macbeth! hail to thee, thane of Glamis!
[I. iii. 48.]

He is hailed by the second witch as "Thane of Cawdor." To him the news would seem a little more prophetic, though at the court of Duncan the news of the execution of the former thane would probably be known:

All hail, Macbeth, hail to thee, thane of Cawdor!
[I. iii. 49.]

It remained to the higher power of the third witch to foretell his future:

All hail, Macbeth! that shalt be king hereafter.
[I. iii. 50.]

To Banquo's questionings the first witch answered:

Lesser than Macbeth, and greater. [I. iii. 65.]

to which the second added:

Not so happy, yet much happier. [I. iii. 66.]

but the third witch again, with fuller and more far-seeing knowledge announced:

Thou shalt get kings, though thou be none:
[I. iii. 67.]

In Act III. Scene v. the witches again appeared, this time with their queen Hecate. Their meeting-place was again on the heath. Hecate reproached them for aiding Macbeth:

How did you dare
To trade and traffic with Macbeth,
In riddles, and affairs of death;

. . . . . .

But make amends now: get you gone,
And at the pit of Acheron
Meet me i' the morning: thither he
Will come to know his destiny. [III. v. 3-5; 14-17.]

and then related to them the plans she had made for his downfall:

draw him on to his confusion.
He shall spurn fate, scorn death, and bear
His hopes 'bove wisdom, grace and fear;
And you all know, security
Is mortals' chiefest enemy. [III. v. 29-33.]

In the opening scene of Act IV. the witches once more appeared. In the preparation of a potent charm for Macbeth the three stages of witchcraft were again displayed:

The first witch threw into the cauldron two ingredients, "poisoned entrails":

Toad, that under cold stone
Days and nights has thirty-one
Swelter'd venom, sleeping got, [IV. i. 6-8.]

and subsequently added two more:

Pour in sow's blood, that hath eaten
Her nine farrow; grease, that's sweaten
From the murderer's gibbet, throw
Into the flame. [IV. i. 64-67.]

The second witch's contribution, including the "baboon's blood", totalled ten, all of which would be provided with very little trouble:

Fillet of a fenny snake,
In the cauldron boil and bake;
Eye of newt, and toe of frog,
Wool of bat, and tongue of dog,
Adder's fork, and blind-worm's sting,
Lizard's leg, and howlet's wing,
For the charm of powerful trouble,
Like a hell-broth toil and bubble.
. . . . . .
Cool it with a baboon's blood;
When the charm is firm and good.
[IV. i. 12-19; 37-38.]

but the more powerful charm came from the third witch, who threw into the cauldron, ugly ingredients to the number of "an unlucky thirteen":

Scale of dragon, tooth of wolf;
Witches' mummy; maw, and gulf,
Of the ravin'd salt-sea shark;
Root of hemlock, digg'd i' the dark;
Liver of blaspheming Jew;
Gall of goat, and slips of yew,
Silver'd in the moon's eclipse;
Nose of Turk, and Tartar's lips;
Finger of birth-strangled babe,
Ditch-deliver'd by a drab,
Make the gruel thick and slab:
Add thereto a tiger's chaudron,
For the ingredients of our cauldron.
[IV. i. 22-34.]

Hecate entered, and they sang the song *Black spirits*, etc:

O, well done! I commend your pains,
And every one shall share i' the gains,
And now about the cauldron sing,
Like elves and fairies in a ring,
Enchanting all that you put in.

Music and a song 'Black spirits, etc.'[1]
[IV. i. 39-43.]

Macbeth, whose nerves were unstrung after seeing Banquo's apparition, entered the cave, and demanded knowledge of his future, and carrying out the plot made by Hecate, the witches summoned up three visions, the first an "armed head", the second a "bloody child" and the third "a child crowned with a tree in his hand." See Apparitions.

Each oracle and each statement of the witches was contrived to mislead Macbeth, and as Hecate had planned to lead him to a false security. Macbeth still unsatisfied, demanded further information, with the result that he was shown a procession of eight kings. [see Apparitions.] From their features they were recognised by Macbeth as the lineage of Banquo, this being in accordance with the prophecy of the third witch concerning Banquo:

Thou shalt get kings, though thou be none:
[I. iii. 67.]

The apparitions then vanished, the witches danced, and finally disappeared.

The earliest known form of the witches' prophecy is given by Andrew Wyntoun, Canon of St. Andrews, in his *Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland*, 1424. The meeting

[1]Although in the *dramatis personæ* only "Hecate and Three Witches" are given, the stage direction of the folio gives "Enter Hecate, and the other three witches" which seems to imply that six witches are brought together at this stage. As it is unlikely that Shakespeare purposed any addition to the original triad, these lines are considered spurious.

of Macbeth with the three weird sisters, who appear to him in a dream, is thus described:[1]

He thowcht[2] quhile[3] he wes swa syttand[4]
He sawe thre wemen by gangand;[5]
And thai[6] wemen than[7] thowcht he
Thre werd Systrys mast[8] lyk[9] to be.
The fyrst he hard[10] say gangand by,
'Lo, yhondyr[11] the Thayne off Crumbawchty![12]
The tothir woman sayd agane,
'Of Moravel[13] yhondyre I se the Thayne!'
The thryd than sayd, 'I se the King!'
All this he herd[14] in his dremying.[15]

Cf. **Extract 3** from *Secret History of Macbeth*, **Extract** from Wyntoun's *Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland*, and Appendix III.

Tiger. I. iii. 7.

Her husband 's to Aleppo gone, master o' the Tiger:
[I. iii. 7.]

The name of a ship. *See* Aleppo.

Young Siward. V. iv. p. 1; V. vii. p. 4.

Son of Siward, Earl of Northumberland; was present with Malcolm, his father, Macduff, Angus, Lenox, and all the train of Scottish nobles marching to Dunsinane to the overthrow of Macbeth. Malcolm's army approached the plain before the castle. The branches from Birnam wood were thrown down, and the fight began.

Young Siward encountered Macbeth and demanded his name, Macbeth declaring that Siward would be afraid to hear it, but Siward showed no fear, and challenged Macbeth to prove the lie he spoke, remarking at the same time that "the devil himself could not pronounce a name more hateful to him than that of Macbeth." They engaged in single fight, with the result that young Siward—the pride of England's youth—fell dead at Macbeth's feet.

Ross conveyed the news of his death to his father in the following words:

Your son, my lord, has paid a soldier's debt:
He only liv'd but till he was a man;
But like a man he died, [V. vii. 68-72.]
. . . . . .

his father remarking:

Why then, God's soldier be he!
Had I as many sons as I have hairs,
I would not wish them to a fairer death:
And so, his knell is knoll'd [V. vii. 76-79.]

Cf. **Extract 17** from Holinshed.

[1] *Chambers's Cyclopædia of English Literature.* [2] thought. [3] while. [4] was sitting there. [5] going. [6] the. [7] then. [8] most. [9] like. [10] heard. [11] yonder. [12] Thane of Cromarty. [13] Moray. [14] heard. [15] dreaming.

EXTRACTS FROM HOLINSHED[1] THAT ILLUSTRATE *MACBETH.*

1. And euen so it came to passe: for being sent foorth with a new power, at his entring into Lochquhaber, the fame of his comming out the enimies in such feare, that a great number of them stale secretlie awaie from their capteine Makdowald, who neuerthelesse inforced thereto, gaue battell vnto Makbeth, with the residue which remained with him: but being ouercome, and fleeing for refuge into a castell (within the which his wife & children were inclosed) at length he saw how he could neither defend the hold anie longer against his enimies, nor yet vpon surrender be suffered to depart with life saued, hee first slue his wife and children, and lastlie himselfe, least if he had yeelded simplie, he should haue beene executed in most cruell wise for an example to other. Makbeth entring into the castell by the gates, as then set open, found the carcasse of Makdowald lieng dead there amongst the residue of the slaine bodies, which when he beheld, remitting no peece of his cruell nature with that pitifull sight, he caused the head to be cut off, and set vpon a poles end, and so sent it as a present to the king, who as then laie at Bertha.[2] The headlesse trunke he commanded to bee hoong vp vpon an high paire of gallows. . . Thus was iustice and law restored againe to the old accustomed course, by the diligent means of Makbeth. Immediatlie wherevpon woord came that Sueno king of Norway was arriued in Fife with a puissant armie, to subdue the whole realme of Scotland. . . The Scots hauing woone so notable a victorie, after they had gathered & diuided the spoile of the field, caused solemne processions to be made in all places of the realme, and thanks to be giuen to almightie God, that had sent them so faire a day[3] ouer their enimies. But whilest the people were thus at their processions, woord was brought that a new fleet of Danes was arriued at Kingcorne,[4] sent thither by Canute king of England, in reuenge of his brother Suenos overthrow. To resist these enimies, which were alreadie landed, and busie in spoiling the countrie, Makbeth and Banquho were sent with the kings authoritie, who hauing with them a conuenient power, incountred the enimies, slue part of them, and chased the other to their ships. They that escaped and got once to their ships, obteined of Makbeth for a great summe of gold, that such of their friends as were slaine at this last bickering, might be buried in saint Colmes Inch. In memorie whereof many old sepultures are yet in the said Inch, there to be seene graven with the armes of the Danes.

2. For shortlie after, the thane of Cawdor being condemned at Fores of treason against the king committed; his lands, liuings, and offices were giuen of the kings liberalitie to Mackbeth.

3. Shortlie after happened a strange and vncouth[5] woonder, which afterward was the cause of much trouble in the realme of Scotland, as ye shall after heare, It fortuned as Makbeth and Banquho iournied towards Fores, where the king then laie,[6] they went sporting by the waie togither without other companie, saue onelie themselues, passing thorough the woods and fields, when suddenlie in the middest of a laund,[7] there met them three women in strange and wild apparell, resembling creatures of elder[8] world, whome when they attentiuelie beheld, woondering much at the sight, the first of them spake and said: "All haile, Makbeth, thane of Glammis!"[9] (for he had latelie entered into that dignitie and office by the death of his father Sinell). The second of them said: "Haile, Makbeth, thane of Cawder!"[10] But the third said: "All haile, Makbeth, that heereafter shalt be king of Scotland!"

Then Banquho:"What manner of women" (saith he) "are you, that seeme so little "fauourable vnto me, whereas to my fellow heere, besides high offices, ye assigne also "the kingdome, appointing foorth nothing for me at all?" "Yes" (saith the first of "them) we promise greater benefits vnto thee, than vnto him, for he shall reigne in deed, "but with an vnluckie end: neither shall he leaue anie issue behind him to succeed in his "place, where[11] contrarilie thou in deed shalt not reigne at all, but of thee those shall be "borne which shall gouerne the Scotish kingdome by long order of continuall descent". Herewith the foresaid women vanished immediatlie out of their sight.

[1]Shakespeare's Holinshed by W. G. Boswell-Stone. [2]The site of this town was near the modern Perth, founded by William the Lion to replace Bertha, which was destroyed by an inundation of the rivers Almond and Tay in 1210. [3]Cf. Macbeth's words. (I. iii. 38.) "So foul and fair a day I have not seen." [4]Kinghorn, Fife, on the Firth of Forth. [5]mysterious. [6]resided. [7]an open space in a wood. [8]old. [9]Glamis is five and a half miles south-west of Forfar. [10]Cawdor is five and a half miles south-west of Nairn. [11]whereas.

4. This was reputed at the first but some vaine fantastical illusion by Mackbeth and Banquho, insomuch that Banquho would call Mackbeth in iest, king of Scotland; and Mackbeth againe would call him in sport likewise, the father of manie kings. But afterwards the common opinion was, that these women were either the weird sisters, that is (as ye would say) the goddesses of destinie, or else some nymphs or feiries, indued with knowledge of prophesie by their necromanticall science, bicause euerie thing came to passe as they had spoken. . .

The same night after, at supper, Banquho iested with him and said: "Now Mackbeth "thou hast obteined those things which the two former sisters prophesied, there re- "maineth onelie for thee to purchase[1] that which the third said should come to passe." Whereupon Mackbeth reuoluing the thing in his mind, began euen then to deuise how he might atteine to the kingdome: but yet he thought with himselfe that he must tarie a time, which should aduance him thereto (by the diuine prouidence) as it had come to passe in his former preferment.

5. But shortlie after it chanced that king Duncane, hauing two sonnes by his wife which was the daughter of Siward earle of Northumberland, he made the elder of them, called Malcolme, prince of Cumberland, as it were therebey to appoint him his successor in the kingdome, immediatlie after his deceasse. Mackbeth sore troubled herewith, for that he saw by this means his hope sore hindered (where,[2] by the old lawes of the realme, the ordinance was, that if he that should succeed were not of able age to take the charge vpon himself, he that was next of blood vnto him should be admitted) he began to take counsell how he might vsurpe the kingdome by force, hauing a iust quarell so to doo (as he tooke the matter) for that Duncane did what in him lay to defraud him of all maner of title and claime, which he might in time to come, pretend[3] vnto the crowne.

6. The woords of the three weird sisters also (of whom before ye haue heard) greatlie incouraged him herevnto, but speciallie his wife lay sore vpon him to attempt the thing, as she that was verie ambitious, burning in vnquenchable desire to beare the name of a queene.

7. For the king being in that countrie, was accustomed to lie[4] most commonlie within the same castell, hauing a speciall trust in Donwald, as a man whom he neuer suspected.

But Donwald, not forgetting the reproch which his linage had susteined by the execution of those his kinsmen, whome the king for a spectacle[5] to the people had caused to be hanged, could not but shew manifest tokens of great griefe at home amongst his familie: which his wife perceiuing, ceassed not to trauell[6] with him, till she vnderstood what the cause was of his displeasure. Which at length when she had learned by his owne relation,[7] she as one that bare no lesse malice in hir heart towards the king, for the like cause on hir behalfe, than hir husband did for his friends, counselled him (sith the king oftentimes vsed to lodge in his house without anie gard about him, other than the garrison of the castell, which was wholie at his commandement) to make him awaie, and shewed him the meanes wherby he might soonest accomplish it.

Donwald thus being the more kindled in wrath by the words of his wife, determined to follow hir aduise in the execution of so heinous an act. Whervpon deuising with himselfe for a while, which way hee might best accomplish his curssed intent, at length gat opportunitie, and sped[8] his purpose as followeth. It chanced that the king vpon the daie before he purposed to depart foorth of the castell, was long in his oratorie at his praiers, and there continued till it was late in the night. At the last, comming foorth, he called such afore him as had faithfullie serued him in pursute and apprehension of the rebels, and giuing them heartie thanks, he bestowed sundrie honorable gifts amongst them, of the which number Donwald was one, as he that had beene euer accounted a most faithfull seruant to the king.

8. At length, hauing talked with them a long time, he got him into his priuie chamber, onelie with two of his chamberlains, who hauing brought him to bed, came foorth againe, and then fell to banketting with Donwald and his wife, who had prepared diuerse delicate dishes, and sundrie sorts of drinks for their reare supper of collation, wherat they sate vp so long, till they had charged their stomachs with full gorges, that their heads were no sooner got to the pillow, but asleepe they were so fast, that a man

1gain. 2whereas. 3put forward. 4lodge. 5as a warning. 6harass, agitate. 7account. 8executed.

might haue remooued the chamber ouer them, sooner than to haue awaked them out of their droonken sleepe.

Then Donwald, though he abhorred the act greatlie in heart, yet through instigation of his wife hee called foure of his seruants vnto him (whome he had made priuie to his wicked intent before, and framed to his purpose with large gifts) and now declaring vnto them, after what sort[1] they should worke the feat,[2] they gladly obeied his instructions, & speedilie going about the murther, they enter the chamber (in which the king laie) a little before cocks crow, where they secretlie cut his throte as he lay sleeping, without anie buskling[3] at all: and immediatlie by a posterne gate they caried foorth the dead bodie into the fields, and throwing it vpon an horsse there prouided readie for that purpose, they conuey it vnto a place, about two miles distant from the castell, where they staied, and gat certeine labourers to helpe them to turne the course of a little riuer running through the fields there, and digging a deepe hole in the chanell, they burie the bodie in the same, ramming it vp with stones and grauell so closelie, that setting the water in the right course againe, no man could perceiue that anie thing had beene newlie digged there. This they did by order appointed them by Donwald as is reported, for that the bodie should not be found, & by bleeding (when Donwald should be present) declare him to be guiltie of the murther. For such an opinion men haue, that the dead corps of anie man being slaine, will bleed abundantlie if the murtherer be present. But for what consideration soeuer they buried him there, they had no sooner finished the worke, but that they slue them whose helpe they vsed herein, and streightwaies therevpon fled into Orknie.

9. Malcolme Cammore and Donald Bane the sons of king Duncane, for feare of their liues (which they might well know that Mackbeth would not seeke to bring to end for his more sure confirmation in the estate) fled into Cumberland, where Malcolme remained, till time that saint Edward the sonne of Ethelred recouered the dominion of England from the Danish power, the which Edward receiued Malcolme by way of most friendlie enterteinment: but Donald passed ouer into Ireland, where he was tenderlie cherished by the king of that land. . . . At length therefore, communicating his purposed intent with his trustie friends, amongst whome Banquho was the chiefest, vpon confidence of their promised aid, he slue the king at Enuerns,[4] or (as some say) at Botgosuane, in the sixt years of his reigne. Then hauing a companie about him of such as he had made priuie to his enterprise, he caused himselfe to be proclaimed king, and foorthwith went vnto Scone, where (by common consent) he receiued the inuesture of the kingdome according to the accustomed maner. The bodie of Duncane was first conueied vnto Elgine, & there buried in kinglie wise; but afterwards it was remoued and conueied vnto Colmekill,[5] and there laid in a sepulture amongst his predecessors, in the yeare after the birth of our Sauiour, 1046.[6]

10. For the space of six moneths togither, after this heinous murther thus committed, there appeered no sunne by day, nor moone by night in anie part of the realme, but still[7] was the skie couered with continuall clouds, and sometimes such outragious winds arose, with lightenings and tempests, that the people were in great feare of present[8] destruction . . .

Monstrous sights also that were seene within the Scotish kingdome that yeere were these: horsses in Louthian, being of singular beautie and swiftnesse, did eate their owne flesh, and would in no wise taste anie other meate. . . There was a sparhawke also strangled by an owle. Neither was it anie lesse woonder that the sunne, as before is said, was continuallie couered with clouds for six moneths space. But all men vnderstood that the abhominable murther of king Duffe was the cause heereof. . . . .

11. These and the like commendable lawes Makbeth caused to be put as then in vse, governing the realme for the space of ten years in equall iustice. But this was but a counterfet zeale of equitie shewed by him, partlie against his naturall inclination, to purchase thereby the fauour of the people. Shortlie after, he began to shew what he was, in stead of equitie practising crueltie. For the pricke of conscience (as it chanceth euer in tyrants, and such as atteine to anie estate by vnrighteous means) caused him euer to feare, least he should be serued of the same cup, as he had ministered to his pre-

[1]manner. [2]deed. [3]bustling, noise. [4]Inverness. [5]Iona. [6]Some authorities say 1040. [7]always. [8]immediate.

decessor. The woords also of the three weird sisters would not out of his mind, which as they promised him the kingdome, so likewise did they promise it at the same time vnto the prosteritie of Banquho. He willed[1] therefore the same Banquho, with his sonne named Fleance, to come to a supper that he had prepared for them; which was in deed, as he had deuised, present[2] death at the hands of certeine murderers, whom he hired to execute that deed; appointing them to meete with the same Banquho and his sonne without[3] the palace as they returned to their lodgings, and there to slea them, so that he would not haue his house slandered, but that in time to come he might cleare himselfe, if anie thing were laid to his charge vpon anie suspicion that might arise.

It chanced yet, by the benefit of the darke night, that, though the father were slaine, the sonne yet, by the helpe of almightie God reseruing him to better fortune, escaped that danger; and afterwards hauing some inkeling (by the admonition of some friends which he had in the court) how his life was sought no lesse than his fathers, who was slaine not by chancemedlie[4] (as by the handling of the matter Makbeth woould haue had it to appeare) but euen vpon a prepensed deuise: wherevpon to auoid further perill he fled into Wales.

12. Shortlie after, Makbeth comming to behold how the worke went forward, and bicause he found not Makduffe there, he was sore offended, and said: "I perceiue this man will neuer obeie my commandements, till he be ridden with a snaffle; but I shall prouide well inough for him." . . . . afterwards abide to looke vpon the said Makduffe either for that he thought his puissance ouer great; either[5] else for that he had learned of certeine wizzards, in whose words he put great confidence, (for that the prophesie had happened so right, which the three faries or weird sisters had declared vnto him,) how that he ought to take heed of Makduffe, who in time to come should seeke to destroie him.

And suerlie herevpon had he put Makduffe to death, but that a certeine witch, whome hee had in great trust, had told that he should neuer be slaine with man borne of anie woman, nor vanquished till the wood of Bernane came to the castell of Dunsinane. By this prophesie Makbeth put all feare out of his heart, supposing he might doo what he would, without anie feare to be punished for the same, for by the one prophesie he beleeued it was vnpossible for anie man to vanquish him, and by the other vnpossible to slea him. This vaine hope caused him to doo manie outragious things, to the greeuous oppression of his subiects. At length Makduffe, to auoid perill of life, purposed with himselfe to passe into England, to procure Malcolme Cammore to claime the crowne of Scotland. But this was not so secretlie deuised by Makduffe, but that Makbeth had knowledge giuen him thereof: for kings (as is said) haue sharpe sight ilke vnto Lynx, and long ears like vnto Midas. For Makbeth had, in euerie noble mans house, one slie fellow or other in fee with him[6] to reueale all that was said or doone within the same, by which slight he oppressed the most part of the nobles of his realme. . .

Immediatlie then, being aduertised[7] whereabout Makduffe went, he came hastily with a great power into Fife, and foorthwith besieged the castell where Makduffe dwelled, trusting to haue found him therein. They that kept the house, without anie resistance opened the gates, and suffered him to enter, mistrusting none euill. But neuerthelesse Makbeth most cruellie caused the wife and children of Makduffe, with all other whom he found in that castell, to be slaine. Also he confiscated the goods of Makduffe, proclaimed him traitor, and confined[8] him out of all the parts of his realme; but Macduffe was alreadie escaped out of danger, and gotten into England vnto Malcolme Cammore, to trie what purchase[9] hee might make by means of his support, to reuenge the slaughter so cruellie executed on his wife, his children, and other friends.

13. At his comming vnto Malcolme, he declared into what great miserie the estate of Scotland was brought, by the detestable cruelties exercised by the tyrant Makbeth, hauing committed manie horrible slaughters and murders, both as well of the nobles as commons; for the which he was hated right mortallie of all his liege people, desiring nothing more than to be deliuered of that intollerable and most heauie yoke of thraldome, which they susteined at such a caitifes[10] hands.

Malcolme hearing Makduffes woords, which he vttered in verie lamentable sort,[11] for meere compassion and verie ruth[12] that pearsed his sorowful hart, bewailing the miserable state of his countrie, he fetched a deepe sigh; which Makduffe perceiuing, began to fall most earnestlie in hand with him[13] to enterprise[14] the deliuering of the

1ordered. 2immediate. 3outside. 4accident. 5or. 6in his pay. 7informed. 8banished. 9help. 10villain's. 11manner. 12pity. 13to urge him. 14to undertake.

Scotish people out of the hands of so cruell and bloudie a tyrant, as Makbeth by too manie plaine experiments did shew himselfe to be: which was an easie matter for him to bring to passe, considering not onelie the good title[1] he had, but also the earnest desire of the people to haue some occasion[2] ministred whereby they might be reuenged of those notable iniuries, which they dailie susteined by the outragious crueltie of Makbeths misgouernance. Though Malcolme was verie sorowfull for the oppression of his countriemen the Scots, in maner as Makduffe had declared; yet doubting whether he were come as one that ment vnfeinedlie as he spake, or else as sent from Makbeth to betraie him, he thought to haue some further trial, . . .

At the last, when he was readie to depart, Malcome tooke him by the sleeue, and said: "Be of good comfort, Makduffe, for I haue none of these vices before remembred,[3] but "haue iested with thee in this manner, onelie to prooue[4] thy mind; for diuerse times "heeretofore hath Makbeth sought by this manner of meanes to bring me into his hands, "but the more slow I haue shewed my selfe to condescend[5] to thy motion and request, "the more diligence shall I vse in accomplishing the same." Incontinentlie[6] heerevpon they imbraced ech other, and, promising to be faithfull the one to the other, they fell in consultation how they might prouide for all their businesse, to bring the same to good effect.

14. In the meane time, Malcolme purchased[7] such fauor at king Edwards hands, that *old Siward* earle of Northumberland was appointed *with ten thousand men* to go with him into Scotland, to support him in this enterprise, for recouerie of his right. After these newes were spread abroad in Scotland, the nobles drew into two seuerall factions, the one taking part with Makbeth, and the other with Malcolme. Heerevpon insued oftentimes sundrie bickerings, & diuerse light skirmishes; for those that were of Malcolmes side would not ieopard to ioine with their enimies in a pight field,[8] till his comming out of England to their support. But after that Makbeth perceiued his enimies power to increase, by such aid as came to them foorth of England with his aduersarie Malcolme, he recoiled backe into Fife, there purposing to abide in campe fortified, at the castell of Dunsinane, and to fight with his enimies, if they ment to pursue him; howbeit some of his friends aduised him, that it should be best for him, either to make some agreement with Malcolme, or else to flee with all speed into the Iles, and to take his treasure with him, to the end he might wage[9] sundrie great princes of the realme to take his part, & reteine strangers, in whome he might better trust than in his owne subiects, which stale[10] dailie from him; but he had such confidence in his prophesies, that he beleeued he should neuer be vanquished, till Birnane wood were brought to Dunsinane; nor yet to be slaine with anie man, that should be or was born of anie woman. . . .

Malcolme, following hastilie after Makbeth, came the night before the battell vnto Birnane wood; and, when his armie had rested a while there to refresh them, he commanded euerie man to get a bough of some tree or other of that wood in his hand, as big as he might beare, and to march foorth therewith in such wise, that on the next morrow they might come closelie and without sight in this manner within view of his enimies. On the morrow when Makbeth beheld them comming in this sort, he first maruelled what the matter ment, but in the end remembred himselfe that the prophesie which he had heard long before that time, of the comming of Birnane wood to Dunsinane castell, was likelie to be now fulfilled.

15. Neuerthelesse, he brought his men in order of battell, and exhorted them to doo valiantlie; howbeit his enimies had scarselie cast from them their boughs, when Makbeth, perceiuing their numbers, betooke him streict to flight; whom Makduffe pursued with great hatred euen till he came vnto Lunfannaine, where Makbeth, perceiuing that Makduffe was hard at his backe, leapt beside his horsse, saieng: "Thou traitor, what meaneth "it that thou shouldest thus in vaine follow me that am not appointed to be slaine by anie "creature that is borne of a woman? come on therefore, and receiue thy reward which "thou hast deserued for thy paines!" and therwithall he lifted vp his swoord, thinking to haue slaine him.

But Makduffe, quicklie auoiding[11] from his horsse, yer[12] he came at him, answered (with his naked swoord in his hand) saieng: "It is true, Makbeth, and now shall thine "insatiable crueltie haue an end, for I am euen he that thy wizzards haue told thee of; "who was never borne of my mother, but ripped out of her wombe:" therewithall he

1claim. 2opportunity. 3mentioned. 4test. 5agree. 6immediately. 7gained. 8pitched battle. 9obtain. 10stole. 11leaping. 12before.

stept vnto him, and slue him in the place. Then cutting his head from his shoulders, he set it vpon a pole, and brought it vnto Malcolme. This was the end of Makbeth, after he had reigned 17 yeeres ouer the Scotishmen. In the beginning of his reigne he accomplished manie woorthie acts, verie profitable to the common-wealth (as ye haue heard) but afterward, by illusion[1] of the diuell, he defamed the same with most terrible crueltie. He was slaine in the yeere of the incarnation, 1057, and in the 16 yeere of king Edwards reigne ouer the Englishmen. . .

It is recorded also, that, in the foresaid battell, in which earle Siward vanquished the Scots, one of Siwards sonnes chanced to be slaine, whereof although the father had good cause to be sorowfull, yet, when he heard that he died of a wound which he had receiued in fighting stoutlie, in the forepart of his bodie, and that with his face towards the enimie, he greatlie reioised therat, to heare that he died so manfullie. . . .

Malcolme Cammore thus recouering the relme (as ye haue heard) by support of king Edward, in the 16 yeere of the same Edwards reigne, he was crowned at Scone the 25 day of Aprill, in the yeere of our Lord 1057.

16. After Malcolme succeeded his nephue Duncane the sonne of his daughter Beatrice: for Malcolme had two daughters, the one which was this Beatrice, being giuen in mariage vnto one Abbanath Crinen, a man of great nobilitie, and thane of the Iles and west parts of Scotland, bare of that mariage the foresaid Duncane; the other called Doada, was maried vnto Sinell the thane of Glammis, by whom she had issue one Makbeth a valiant gentleman, and one that if he had not beene somewhat cruell of nature, might haue beene thought most woorthie the gouernement of a realme.

17. But here is to be noted, that not now, bupt a little before, (as *Henrie Hunt* saith) that earle Siward went into Scotland himselfe in person, he sent his sonne with an armie to conquere the land, whose hap was there to be slaine: and when his father heard the newes, he demanded whether he receiued the wound whereof he died, in the forepart of the bodie, or in the hinder part: and when it was told him that he receiued it in the forepart: "I reioise (saith he) euen with all my heart, for I would not wish either to my "sonne nor to my selfe any other kind of death."

18. Then doubting not but for such contemptuous demeanor against the kings regall authoritie, they should be inuaded with all the power the king could make, Makdowald one of great estimation among them, making first a confederacie with his neerest friends and kinsmen, tooke vpon him to be chiefe capteine of all such rebels as would stand against the king, in maintenance of their grieuous offenses latelie committed against him. Manie slanderous words also, and railing tants this Makdowald vttered against his prince, calling him a faint-hearted milkesop, more meet to gouerne a sort of idle moonks in some cloister, than to haue the rule of such valiant and hardie men of warre as the Scots were. He vsed also such subtill persuasions and forged allurements, that in a small time he had gotten togither a mightie power of men: for out of the westerne Iles there came vnto him a great multitude of people, offering themselues to assist him in that rebellious quarell, and out of Ireland in hope of the spoile came no small number of Kernes and Galloglasses, offering gladlie to serue vnder him, whither it should please him to lead them.

Makdowald thus hauing a mightie puissance about him, incountered with such of the kings people as were sent against him into Lochquhaber, and discomfiting them, by mere force tooke their capteine Malcolme, and after the end of the battell smote off his head.

19. Immediatlie after his coronation he called a parlement at Forfair, in the which he rewarded them with lands and liuings that had assisted him against Makbeth, aduancing them to fees and offices as he saw cause, & commanded that speciallie those, that bare the surname of anie offices or lands, should haue and inioy the same. He created manie earles, lords, barons, and knights. Manie of them, that before were thanes, were at this time made earles, as Fife, Menteth, . . . Leuenox, . . . Cathnes, Rosse, and Angus. These were the first earles that haue beene heard of amongst the Scotishmen (as their histories doo make mention.) Manie new surnames were taken vp at this time amongst them, as Cauder, . . . Seiton, . . . with manie other that had possessions giuen them, which gaue names to the owners for the time.

[1]deception.

20. Thus might he seeme happie to all man, hauing the loue both of his lords and commons: but yet to himselfe he seemed most vnhappie, as he that could not but still liue in continuall feare, least his wicked practise concerning the death of Malcolme Duffe should come to light and knowledge of the world. For so commeth it to passe, that such as are pricked in conscience for anie secret offense committed, haue euer an vnquiet mind. And (as the fame goeth) it chanced that a voice was heard as he was in bed in the night time to take his rest, vttering vnto him these or the like woords in effect: "Thinke not Kenneth that the wicked slaughter of Malcolme Duffe by thee contriued, is "kept secret from the knowledge of the eternall God: thou art he that didst conspire the "innocents death, enterprising by traitorous meanes to doo that to thy neighbour, which "thou wouldest haue reuenged by cruell punishment in anie of thy subiects, if it had "beene offered to thy selfe. It shall therefore come to passe, that both thou thy selfe "and thy issue, through the iust venegance of almightie God, shall suffer woorthie "punishment, to the infamie of thy house and familie for euermore. For euen at this "present are there in hand secret practises to dispatch both thee and thy issue out of the "waie, that other maie inioy this kingdome which thou doost indeuour to assure vnto "thine issue."

The king with this voice being stricken into great dread and terror, passed that night without anie sleepe comming in his eies.

Extracts from *The Secret History of Macbeth, King of Scotland.*

[Taken from a very Ancient Original Manuscript.]

1. *Macdonald*, whom I mentioned, retiring into the Weftern Iflands with the young *Caithnefs*, had been fo induftrious in Mifchief, as to ftir up the People of thofe Parts into Rebellion, declaring againft the Faction of *Rofs*, and the King himfelf, as the meer Tool of that Party, not free in his Actions, nor at Liberty to do Jufstice to any, whom the *Roffians* had a Mind to oppref. *Macbeth* and *Bancho* were made Choice of by the Miniftry to command the Army againft the Rebels. They rendezvouzed at *Invernefs*, where the Command was thus divided: *Bancho*, with a fufficient Force, marched into *Rofs* to the Borders of *Sutherland*, to have an Eye on the *Thanes* of *Caithnefs* and *Sutherland*, who they had Reafon to believe were in the Defign, and would join them, if they found the Iflanders met with any tolerable Succefs. But in Appearance they lay ftill, as not at all concerned in the Affair, either awed by the Neighbourhood of *Bancho*, or their own Diftruft of good Fortune. . . .

Macbeth paft over into *Skie*, where all the Rebels were met, and ready to invade the Continent, had he not prevented them by his Speed. *Macdonald* and his Iflanders were fomething difheartened at his Approach, and often confulted of a Retreat; but that was impoffible, without a Victory, which they had Caufe to defpair of. Not but that they were far more numerous than the Army of *Macbeth*, but they were a rude ill-difciplined Multitude, and ill provided with warlike Stores and Arms, and no News of the Men of *Caithnefs* and *Sutherland*, who, *Macdonald*, had affured would join them. *Macbeth* would not give them Leave to recover of their Fears, but immediately fell on them, totally routed their Army, killing vaft Numbers on the Spot, and taking all, or moft of the reft Prifoners. He then purfued *Macdonald* to a ftrong Fortrefs, whither he was retired with a Handful of his Followers, that had efcaped the Battle. But finding himfelf unable to hold out, and expecting or defiring no Mercy from *Macbeth*, he fell on his own Sword, expiring the very Moment the Fortrefs furrendered. *Macbeth* was not fatisfied with the Execution he had done on himfelf, but ordered his Head to be ftruck off on a Scaffold by the Provost Marfhal in the Sight of his Army.

2. *Macbeth* and *Bancho* return in Triumph to Court, and receive the Compliments of all Degrees, and the Thanks of the King, and the Careffes of their Friends. But they enjoyed not long the Tranquility, fuch a great Succefs promifed them. For the domeftick Enemy being fuppreffed, Fate raifed them another far more terrible and dangerous. For *Sweno* or *Swane* King of *Norway*, came into the *Firth* of *Forth* with a very numerous Fleet, aboard which he had a very formidable Army, which he landed in *Fife*.

The King immediately difpatched *Macbeth* to draw together all the Force he could in the Eaft, while he and *Bancho* made a Stand with what he could in Hafte gather together; and being too confident in his Men, ventured, contrary to *Bancho's* Advice, to march againft *Sweno*, and endeavour to drive him in his Ships before he had made too

firm Footing in his Kingdom, as the *Danes* had done in *England*. He came to a Battle with the *Norwegians*, and was beaten, but not in fo difgraceful a Manner, but that he made good his Retreat to *Perth*, there to attend the Arrival of *Macbeth*; who now being come near him, at a Confult betwixt them, advifed the King to have Recourfe to Stratagems, fince he had met with fuch ill Luck in his Trial of Force. It was therefore propofed by *Macbeth*, that the King fhould fend fome Commiffioners to *Sweno* to treat of a Peace, and of the Conditions, that *Sweno* would be pleafed to allow them. That the Commiffioners fhould act fo as to give the *Norwegian* Reafon to think the King's Cafe was very defperate, that fo he might be the more remifs in his Difcipline, and taking it for granted, that his Bufinefs was already done, make him negligent of the means of accomplifhing it.

Thefe Meafures approved, I was by *Macbeth* recommended as a fit Perfon for managing this Affair. I took Care to difcharge my Truft fo well as to give full Satisfaction to thofe that employed me. For by my Addrefs I infpired a Belief, that the King only waited his Terms for an entire Surrender. His firft Demand was a fufficient Quantity of Wine and Provifion to fupply his Army, to be furnifhed every Day during the Treaty. I defired Leave to fend the King Notice of his Demand; which being known to Macbeth, he took the Hint, and propofed to the King the poifoning all the Liquor with a foporeferous Drug, common enough in *Scotland*, and that when the *Norwegian* Army had had their full Dofe the *Scots* fhould fall on them, and make them an eafy Prey. This was immediately put in Execution, and Word was returned, that the Supply demanded fhould be fent into the Camp the next Day, on *Sweno's* Parole, that none that brought it in fhould fuffer any Injury, but be permitted to depart in Security.

The *Norwegians*, after the Fatigue of a long Voyage, and that of a Battle, were too fond of Refrefhment, to be at all temperate in fuch a Plenty of good Liquor, fo that they foon threw themselves into the Condition that we defired. And our Army advancing, came Time enough to cut all their Throats, except the King's, and three or four more, who had been more temperate than the reft, who bore off the King, now half afleep with the Potion, and laying him acrofs a Horfe, hurried him a Ship-board, fcarce able to man one fmall Veffel with all the Survivers of that fatal Day; the other Ships without Mariners fell foul of each other, and were sunk in the *Firth*.

This Difgrace coming to the Ears of *Canutus*, he fends another great Fleet with Men to revenge the Quarrel of the *Norwegians*, but *Macbeth* and *Bancho* fell on them as foon as landed, and cut moft of them to Pieces; the reft make a precipitate Retreat to their Ships, hoift their Sails and away to Sea, having had enough of Attempts on the *Scottifh* Coafts.

Thefe terrible Defeats to the *Norwegians* and *Danes*, reftored Peace and Security to Scotland, fo that there being nothing now to fear from abroad, they had the more Leifure to take Advantage of weak King, and ftir up Factions at Home. This Succefs againft domeftick and foreign Enemies gave the Factions of *Rofs* too much Security to fuffer them to obferve any Meafures of right or wrong. They threw afide their Veil of public Good, and every Man plainly drove at his own Gain, and Advancement to Pofts, that might yield him that Profit which he fought.

3. During thefe Bickerings betwixt thefe Parties, now this, now that being uppermoft, *Macbeth* being one Summers Evening in his Garden, beneath a fhady Arbour, was lull'd afleep by the chirping of the Birds, and the Murmurs of a tumbling Brook that ran juft beneath it. He had not been long afleep, but a Vifion appeared to him moft furprising and pleafing; three Women appeared to him with Faces fhining with celeftial Glory, and Garment like the Beams of the Sun. The firft falutes him by the Name of Thane of *Angus*; the fecond by that of *Murray*; and the third by the Title of King of *Scotland*. I know very well that there is a Story fpread abroad fince his evil Adminiftration, that he met three Witches in a Foreft, who vifibly, and by Day-light, gave him those Salutations, but I had it from his own Mouth long before, and take the Dream to be nothing elfe but the Effect of his perpetual Thoughts how to bring that ambitious Defign about, and to which his Lady, whofe Soul was nothing but Ambition, pufhed him on inceffantly.

4. They found the King of fo fickle and weak a Temper, that he had loft his Reputation and Esteem with the Nobility and People; and fhow'd fo little Refolution, that his Declarations never carry'd with them any Authority. The Evils were too great for *Duncan* to redrefs; they wanted a Man of Spirit, Bravery and Refolution to over-awe and

quafh all the Parties, that had got to great Head for the Safety of *Scotland*.

It was no new thing with us to remove one King, and fet up another, as we have judg'd it conducive to the publick Good; and Mankind, indeed feems to have a Right of dong this on juft Occafions. So that finding no Hopes of Remedy from *Duncan*, or his Family, they concluded to beftow the Crown on *Macbeth*, who was a man of thofe Parts, that were requifite to fo great a Worth, in fo difficult a Time.

Caithnefs had fome blind Intelligence of their Defign, at leaft had fuch Account of their Confultations, as comparing it with their Actions, he concluded that they aim'd at dethroning of *Duncan*, and fetting up *Macbeth* or *Bancho*, or fome other Relation of the Crown. He fignify'd his Fears to the King, but the Patriots were too powerful to be attack'd by open Force, and therefore *Caithness* advis'd the King, that fince the Government of *Cumberland* was the firft Step to the Throne, he fhou'd cut off their Hopes that Way by immediately declaring his Son *Malcolm* Governor of that Province, tho' a Child. The King had but two sons by his wife, the Daughter of *Sibert*, Duke of *Northumberland*; this *Malcolm* was the Eldeft, and *Donald* or *Duncan*, the Youngeft, neither of them capable by their Years of a Poft of that Importance and Dignity.

This Step gave fuch an Alarm to the Patriots, that they were forc'd to have feveral Confultations about it. Some wou'd not take the leaft irregular Meafures for obtaining the greateft Good; but thofe were but half Patriots; while thofe who were refolv'd to put an End to the publick Miferies, were refolved to pufh on their Delivery by depofing of *Duncan*, and fetting up of *Macbeth* or *Bancho*, who was alfo thought on, tho' not furnifh'd with many Votes in the Cabal.

5. In the mean time *Macbeth* grew uneafy at thefe Delays, ev'ry Day exprefs'd a greater and nearer Kindnefs for *Bancho*, till having perfwaded him to a Belief, that the Crown might be his if *Duncan* were remov'd; or if it fhould fall to *Macbeth* by Plurality of Voices, yet as he had no Children, nor likely to have any, *Bancho* wou'd by his Heir and Succeffor, either in his own Perfon, or in his Offspring. At the fame Time he put me on to perfuade *Bancho*, that the Way to make the greater Intereft with the Patriots, was to be before-hand with *Macbeth* in the Difpatch of the King; for as long as he was alive the Cabal would be very dilatory in their Refolves. I perfuaded *Macbeth* in the mean time to leave the Difpatch of the King wholly to *Bancho*, who wou'd get the Odium of that Action, the Benefit of which wou'd be altogether his. He feemed to allow of my Reafons: But whether pufh'd on by his Lady, or his own Impatience of expecting that golden Round, which already he fancy'd on his Brow, he fent a Party of Men, who joining *Bancho's* and meeting the King on the road to *Invernefs*, fell on him from their Ambufh, and having left him and fome of his Train dead, feparated without any Purfuit, fo odious was the King grown to the People.

The News of the King's Death arriving, the Nobility affembled at *Scone*, whither *Macbeth* and *Bancho* came with the firft, both in Mourning for his Majesty, and fhowing in their Faces no little Concern. However they were neither of them remifs in the making their Intereft, tho' it is said, that *Bancho* made all his for *Macbeth*, and only fet up for a Candidate to prevent any other. However that was, it was plain, that *Macbeth* carry'd the Point by a very great Majority; and was very fpeedily crown'd King at *Scone*.

Malcolm and *Donald*, the Children of the unfortunate *Duncan*, fled away immediately, *Malcolm* for *Cumberland* his Government, and *Donald* to the *Iflands*.

6. As fhe was ambitious, fo fhe was extreamly jealous of her Power, and mortally hated any one that could give her the leaft Caufe of Sufpicion. She remembered that *Bancho* had appeared a Competitor with her Husband, and had for that Reafon a vigilant Eye over him. Her Spies had told her that fome Gypfies had affured *Bancho*, on enquiring his Fortune, that his Pofterity fhould be Kings of *Scotland*, and keep Poffeffion of the Throne, as long as the Nation remained. This, tho' an idle Story, was fufficient to alarm a Woman of her Temper, who, from that Time, was contriving how fhe fhould engage the King to take him off, and his only son *Fleans*, which would be an effectual Defeat of the Prophecy. She was apprehenfive that the Story of the Gypfies would fcarce be of Force enough to raife a Jealousy in *Macbeth*, a Man of whofe Fidelity and Friendfhip he had had fuch Experience. Her only Way therefore was to make a Breach betwixt them, which would make Way for thofe Infinuations fhe had a Mind to make to his Prejudice. After much Study, Accident furnifhed the Means. . . . .

This Difcourfe was not fo fecret, but it was overheard and carry'd to the Queen, who had perpetual Spies about them both. She told it the King, who in Return told her all

that had paft betwixt him and *Bancho*. *Tho' I can't approve of your Propofal to* Bancho *of a Thing of that Nature* (faid the Queen) *who looks on himfelf as your Heir, and has already given out Prophecies of it; yet if you can purfue the Hint, and work him up to the Undertaking, I will fecure him from ever giving you any Trouble; but Care muft be taken of young* Fleans *likewife, for my Mind cannot be at reft till the whole Family is remov'd; for till then you are not fecure on the Throne.* . . . . .

Macbeth purfues the Queen's advice, being really alarmed with an Apprehenfion of *Bancho*, both in his Love and his Power. He confidered, that he would be a perpetual Curb to him, if he fhould think fit to indulge his Paffions, and go a little out of the Way in their Gratification. That he was popular, both among the Nobility and People, and a Man of a daring Spirit, that might eafily be wrought on to purfue the fame Tract with him, as they both had done with *Duncan*. He found it therefore no ill Policy to begin firft and fecure himfelf by deftroying him. . .

This Apartment was the moft remote from the royal Bed-chamber, on purpofe to be out of the Noife, that would foon be in the Palace. *Macbeth* difmiffing the Company, conducted *Bancho* to his Lodging, and leaves him there to undrefs, then comes alone, and conducts him in his Gown to the Queen's Bed fide, where he leaves him, and goes to Bed in a Room not far diftant. The Queen lies, as afleep, . . . but when now he turned himfelf to her . . . with a Dagger fhe had prepared, fhe ftab'd him to the Heart. . . .

Macbeth by this Time, and all the Court were come into the Chamber; he pretends the laft Surprize, and could not fatisfy himfelf but that all were miftaken, fince his Friendship for *Bancho* could never let fuch a Thought enter his Bosom. Nay he fhed fome Tears at his Lofs, and ordered his Body to be carry'd into his Apartment till the next Morning, when the Caufe fhould be heard by the whole Council.

7. This Courfe of Murder, and Opreffion, inftead of delivering *Macbeth* from his Fears, only increafed them. For now he was afraid to live in any City; and therefore looks out for a Spot of Ground to build a Caftle on, that fhould not be acceffible to any of his Enemies. This was the Occafion of his building *Dunfinane*, on the Top of a hill, difficult of Accefs, and as ftrongly fortify'd, as the Place wou'd admit.

But in the Building this Palace of Security he took Care to play the Tyrant, and force every Thane of the Kingdom to contribute to the Edifice; and in their turns overfee the Work.

Makduff, Thane of *Fife*, was a powerful Man, and therefore odious to the Court: On him therefore, for his pretended Negligence in his Contribution to, and over-feeing this Work, the King began to fhow his Refentment. But he was taught by what had happened to others, betimes to make his Efcape for *England*. Yet the Emiffaries of the Tyrant were fo dexterous and quick, that he was forced to fly in a little Boat, and leave all his Affairs to the Management of his Wife, who, being both a prudent Woman, and related to *Macbeth*, he thought fecure from his Cruelty. But when her Husband's Flight was talked of, the King made hafte with fome Troops to his Eftate to feize his Perfon, and plunder his Demefns. But finding, that the Bird was flown, he enters his Caftle, and feizes his Wife and Children. The Lady *Macduff* applies herfelf in fo moving a Manner for his Mercy, and pleads fo earnestly and pioufly for her Husband, as would have moved any Creature lefs monftrous to Compaffion. . .

She urged, that he was admitted to the Caftle as her King, her Relation, and her Friend; that fhe hoped he would not be guilty of fo unroyal a Vice, as to abufe her Hofpitality: . . . The Tyrant laughing at her naming Honour and Virtue, commanded her to be bound, . . . ordered her Children to be murdered, and next herfelf.

8. The Thane of *Lorn* had no fooner done, but News was brought that there was an Exprefs come from Court, with Orders to *Eric* to raife a thoufand Men to join *Sibert* Duke of *Northumberland*, who with *Macduff*, and other *Scots* Nobility were marching to fet *Malcolm* on the Throne, and put an End at Length to an Ufurpation under which that Nation had fo long groan'd.

This News foon brought all the illuftrious Guefts of *Eric* and *Bertha* into the Hall, where *Eric* was difcourfing the Meffenger, who had brought him the Order, and with him a *Scots* Gentleman, who was immediately known to be a Relation of *Macduff's*, and had fled with him into *England*. . . .

But what News (perfifted *Glamis*) from the Court of *England*, has our Cafe at laft mov'd the pious *Edward* to fend us Relief?

There are (faid the Gentleman) *on full march fix thoufand brave Men, and the valiant Duke* Sibert, *Grandfather to* Malcolm, *King* Duncan's *Son, at the Head of them; in this Train is* Macduff, *vowing Revenge on the Tyrant for his Wife and his Children. To him, Gentlemen, and his Induftry you owe the Hopes you have of feeing your Country once more free and the gentle* Malcolm *on the* Scots *Throne. Four Thoufand more I have Orders to the feveral Magiftrates of the North to get ready to meet them; with which Ten Thoufand, and our Friends in* Scotland, *there is no doubt of puniſhing a Tyrant now odious to all Men.*

The News was fo furprizing and pleafing, that the Company defir'd an Account of the Negotiation, and how *Macduff* found Intereft enough to bring it about. According to their Defire, the Company being feated, he thus began.

Macduff,. Gentlemen, affoon as we got into *England* in a little Boat, thought not of an idle Retreat from the Tyrant, but how to deliver his Country, by the Affiftance of *England*. He remember'd the Son of the late King *Duncan*, was alfo the Grandfon by the Mother's Side, to *Sibert* Duke of *Northumberland*, a Man of the firft Quality of *England*, and of the greateft Confideration with Earl *Godwin*. Undeftanding therefore, that *Malcolm* was at Court, he directed his Journey directly to the fame. And having found him, let him know his Fortune, and how unpopular *Macbeth* was, how eafy it was for him to put in his Claim to the Crown of *Scotland*; and as he was the Son of Royal *Duncan*, he advis'd him to fhow the Spirit of a King, and endeavour to recover his paternal Dignity. That Piety would certainly not fuffer him to let the Murther of his Father pafs unreveng'd, nor neglect the Miferies of that People who look'd on themſelves as committed by God to his Charge. . . .

Thus having enter'd into a moft ftrict and firm Friendfhip, they refolv'd to make immediate Application to the King of England, by the Means of his Grand-father *Sibert*; and to Earl *Godwin* by another Intereft. In the mean Time the news arriv'd of the Deftruction of *Macduff's* Lady and Children. As the Account gave him the utmoft Pain and Fury, fo the Abominablenefs of the Fact ftruck the pious King with fuch an Abhorrence of *Macbeth*, that he immediately granted out Suit, Made *Sibert* General of the Expedition; and Men were rais'd with much Expedition in a Caufe fo juft, as the Deliverance of a Neighbour Nation. The Forces are all on the March, and will be in this Neighbourhood by that Time we can get ready thofe Men, which thefe Countries are to provide.

The whole Company were reviv'd with the welcome Account of their fpeedy Deliverance from all their Diftrefs; and every one banifh'd all Thoughts of paft Evils, with the Hopes of feeing a fpeedy End of all their Misfortunes.

Eric had been extreamly induftrious, and got his Quota, according to the King's Order, ready mufter'd and difciplin'd, by that Time they had Couriers arriv'd of Duke *Sibert's* Arrival in thofe Parts.

8. The *Engliſh* Army was now entered the *Scots* Dominions, when the Country came in on all Sides, not only with Proviſion and Neceffaries, but with Men and Armour, on purpofe to affift in the Relief of their Country. . . .

As the Army marched on, it daily encreafed; which ftruck fuch a Terror into *Macbeth*, that though he had drawn his Forces together, with a Refolution to give the *Engliſh* Battle, yet finding every Day fuch defertions, and how ill his Orders were obey'd, he fled to the Caftle of *Dunfinane*, hoping there to make a Stand againft fo dangerous a Torrent. But his Men here likewife left him, and none but his own Cutthroats ftood by him, compelled by their common Guilt, to run his Fate for fear of one more ignominous, if they fell not in Fight.

But the Fortifications of *Dunfinane* were not ftrong enough to keep out his Fears. For when from the Hill he had obferved the *Engliſh* marching from *Bernham*-Wood, with green Boughs all in their Hats, as in Triumph for a bloodlefs Conquest; he and his fmall Party quitted the Caftle, hoping from Flight another Day for his Fate; which muft there come on him, if he fuffer'd himfelf to be coop'd up within the Walls: On which a Party took Poffeffion of the Caftle, and another under the Command of *Macduff* purfu'd the Tyrant, till they brought him to a Neceffity of fighting, or of being taken Prifoner. Defpair was to him Courage; wherefore he turns on his Enemies, and fights with that Fury, and almoft Madnefs, that had the reft of his Troop perform'd like him, they had made their Way through all Oppofers: But they found themſelves weigh'd down with Guilt, and a daftardly Spirit, fo as to let their Mafter be furrounded, where he defended himfelf for a while againſt all; till *Macduff* coming up, and knowing him,

notwithstanding this Difguife that he had put on for his fecure Efcape, encounter'd him with equal Force, and foon brought him to the Ground, with many Wounds, and frequent Exprobrations for the Murder of his Wife and Children.

Thus fell the Tyrant, who had rais'd himfelf by Virtues he had not, and fell by the Vices he cou'd not mafter; after he had eftablish'd his doubtful Throne in Righteoufnefs and Love, he forfook both, to deftroy in feven Years by his Folly, what he had built up in Ten by his Wifdom.

The Party, that feiz'd the Caftle found the Queen dead; and examining into the Manner of her Death, they were inform'd, that for some Time thefe Events, that were so fatal to their Caufe, fhe had frequently difturb'd in her Sleep, and walk'd about the Caftle with her Eyes fhut talking to herfelf, as concern'd for the concealing the Murthers fhe had been guilty of; but that thefe Fits at laft reach'd her awake, and threw her into fuch Defpair, that a few Days before the Arrival of the profperous Forces of her Enemies in Sight of the Caftle, fhe being alone hang'd herfelf, and was not found till fhe was quite dead, every Body being got on the Caftle Walls to view the *Engliſh* Army, full of Fear and Defpair for themfelves.

The Tyrant, and his Lady, being dead, *Macduff* and all the Thanes prefent with one Voice declar'd *Malcolm* King of *Scotland.*

Extracts from George Chalmers' *Caledonia*, and Wyntoun's *Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland.*

"The rebellion of Macdonwald and the invasion of Sueno during the reign of Duncan are fables; Banquo and Fleance, the ancestors of the Stuarts, are the inventions of the chronicler. Lady Macbeth, whose name was Gruoch, was the grand-daughter of Kenneth IV., who was slain at the battle of Monivaird by Malcolm II. Her first husband, Gilcomgain, the maormor of Moray, was burnt in his castle with fifty of his friends. Her only brother was slain by Malcolm's orders. There were reasons therefore why she should cherish vengeance against Duncan, the grandson of Malcolm. She took as her second husband Macbeth, the maormor of Ross, who, during the minority of her son Lulach, became maormor of Moray. The rebellion of Torfin, Earl of Caithness, another grandson of Malcolm's appears to have been the original of the revolt of Macdonwald, and Duncan was on his way to punish it when he fell a victim to treachery at Bothgownan, near Elgin, in the territory of Gruoch and Macbeth. Macbeth on his side had motives for revengee. His father Finlegh, or Finley, maormor of Ross, had been slain in a conflict with Malcolm II. in 1020. In Wyntoun's *Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland* an entirely different version is given. Duncan is there the uncle of Macbeth, who is thane of Cromarty; and Gruoch is Duncan's wife, who after the murder of her husband marries Macbeth. Malcolm is the illegitimate son of Duncan by a miller's daughter, and a supernatural parentage is invented for Macbeth himself. It is in Wyntoun that we first meet with the weird sisters, who, however, only manifest themselves to Macbeth and spur his ambition in a dream. According to the same chronicler, the absence of Macduff from the feast was one of the causes which provoked Macbeth against him. It is worth observing that there is nothing of this kind in the narrative of Holinshed. The battle of Dunsinnan did not decide the fate of Macbeth. He was defeated there in the year 1054, but it was not till two years afterwards that he met with his death at Lumphanan by the hands of Macduff, December 5, 1056."

APPENDIX I.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Ninth Series. - Volume XI.

January-June, 1903.

Macbeth's "Trebble scepters," IV. i. 143. In young Mr. H. H. Furness's excellent new edition of his father's Variorum of 'Macbeth' the editor at p. 263 adds this note:—

"*Manly.* The style and title assumed by James I. after October 24, 1604, was: 'The Mõst Highe and Mightie Prince, James, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britaine, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith.' This is the treble sceptre, and not that of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland." Ed. ii.

This will not do, for James's title does but repeat those of Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth; see Holinshed (1587), iii. 979/1, and 1170/2:—

"The executours of the said king [Henry VIII.] and other of the nobilitie . . . did . . . cause his sonne and heire . . . to be proclaimed king of this realme by the name of Edward the sixt, king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith. . . . The said lords . . . in most solemne manner proclaimed the new queene, by this name and title: *Elizabeth by the grace of God queene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith*," &c.

The old interpretation of the "treble sceptre" as that of England, Ireland, and Scotland is surely the right one, as a compliment to James I., was evidently intended by Shakspere, and every one knew that the kingship of France was a mere fiction.

F. J. F.

APPENDIX II.

Dr. Forman's account of the performance of *Macbeth* at which he was present at the Globe Theatre, on the 20th., April, 1610.

[*Ashm. MS.* 208 *art. X, leaf* 207. *Bodleian Library.* (Not forged.)][1]

The Booke of Plaies and Notes therof *per* formans for Common Pollicie.

In Mackbeth at the glob,[2] 16jo, the 20 of Aprill, ther was to be obserued, firste, howe Mackbeth and Bancko, 2 noble me*n* of Scotland, Ridinge thorowe a wod, the[r] stode before them 3 women feiries or Nimphes,[3] And saluted Mackbeth, sayinge, 3 tyms vnto him, haille mackbeth, king of Codon; for thou shalt be a kinge, but shalt beget No kinge, &c. then said Bancko, what all to mackbeth And nothing to me. Yes, said the nimphes,[4] haille to thee Banko, thou shalt beget king*es*, yet be no kinge. And so they dep*ar*ted & cam to the courte of Scotland to Dunkin king of Scot*es*, and yt was in the dais of Edward the Confessor. And Dunkin bad them both kindly wellcome, And made Mackbeth forth with Prince of Northumberland, and sent him hom to his own castell, and appointed mackbeth to prouid for him, for he wold Sup with him the next dai at night, & did soe. And mackbeth contrived to kull Dunkin,[5] & thorowe the p*er*suasion of his wife did that night Murder the kinge in his own Castell, beinge his gueste. And ther were many prodigies seen that night & the dai before. And when MackBeth had murdred the kinge, the blod on his hand*es* could not be washed of by any means, nor from his wiues hand*es*, w*hi*ch handled the bloddi daggers in hiding them, By w*hi*ch means they became both moch amazed & affronted. the murder being knowen, Dunkins 2 sonns fled, the on[6] to England, the [other to] Walles,[7] to saue them selues. They beinge fled, they were supposed guilty of the murder of their father, which was nothinge so. Then was Mackbeth crowned kinge, and then he for feare of Banko, his old companion, that he should beget king*es* but be no kinge him selfe, he contriued the death of Banko, and caused him to be Murdred on the way as he Rode. The next night, beinge at supper with his noble men whom he had bid to a feaste to the w*hi*ch also Banco[8] should haue com, he began to speake of Noble Banco, and to wish that he wer ther. And as he thus did, standing vp to drincke a Carouse to him, the ghoste of Banco came and sate down in his cheier be-hind him. And he turninge A-bout to sit down Again sawe the goste of banco, which fronted him so, that he fell in-to a great passion of fear and fury. Vtteringe many[9] word*es* about his murder, by w*hi*ch, when they hard[10] that Banco was Murdred they Suspected Mackbet.

Then MackDove fled to England to the king*es* sonn, And soe they Raised an Army, And cam into scotland, and at dunston Anyse overthrue Mackbet. In the mean[11] tyme whille macdouee was in England, Mackbet slewe Mackdoues wife & children, and after in the battelle mackdoue slewe mackbet.

Obserue Also howe mackbetes quen did Rise in the night in her slepe, & walke and talked and confessed all, & the doctor noted her wordes.

APPENDIX III.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Tenth Series. - Volume VII.

January-June, 1907.

"Macbeth": The Three Witches.—In the 'Calendar of Ormonde MSS.,' N.S. iv. 140, is the following curious parallel of three Scottish witches:—

[1] *New Shakspere Society's Transactions*, 1875-6. [2] MS. glod. [3] and [4] the *im* has 5 strokes. [5] MS. Dumkin. [6] one. [7] leaf 207, back. [8] MS. Bamco. [9] MS. mamy. [10] heard. [11] MS. meam.

1678. "My Lord of Montrose and the Earl of Argyle, and my Lord Lauderdale and one who is now Master of the Rolls for Scotland, did meet three women fortune tellers, whom they thought witches, and had each his fortune told—Montrose that he should be hanged on a very high tree, Argyle that he should be beheaded, and Lauderdale torn to pieces of the people, and the last that he should live to see all this come to pass. This Master of the Rolls, being sick like to die, sent every moment to see whether my Lord Lauderdale was well, but, after recovering, my Lord Lauderdale asked him how he came to send to him so often? He reminded his Grace of the speech the witches made them, and that as long as he was sure his Lordship was out of danger, he could not but hope to live."

Montrose was hanged in 1650, and Argyll beheaded in 1661.

W. C. B.

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The Tempest

Written. Uncertain. According to modern critics the close of the year 1610 or the early part of 1611 saw its composition.

Published. 1623.

Sources of the Plot. The source of *The Tempest* is even more doubtful than its exact date. It is said to be based upon an account of a shipwreck on the Bermudas in 1609. A fleet of nine vessels under the command of Sir George Sommers set out for Virginia carrying settlers and provisions for the new colony. Being overtaken by storm in the Atlantic the fleet was scattered, and Sir George Sommers' vessel, the *Sea Adventure*, was driven ashore on the Bermudas. The crew were saved, but remained on the island for some months, and when all hope of them had been abandoned they appeared in Virginia in 1610 in two vessels built by them while on the Bermudas. News of the disaster reached England, and it was thought that the admiral's ship had been lost, but in the autumn of 1610 some of the survivors arrived in England, and brought news of the safety of the *Sea Adventure*. The escape from the wreck had been miraculous, for not a single man had perished. In the autumn of the same year an account of the experiences on the island was written by Silvester Jourdan who had been on board the *Sea Adventure*. This was entitled *A Discovery of the Barmvdas, otherwise called the Ile of Divels*.[1] The thoughts of the nation being naturally drawn to the incident, it is probable that Shakespeare read the tract, and then wrote *The Tempest*. It is possible that from Jourdan's Pamphlet, the dramatist drew his title, his account of the storm [Act I. Scene i.], and the stranding of the ship on a desert island [Act I. Scene ii.] His mention in Act I. Scene ii. 229 of the "still-vex'd Bermoothes"—the older name of the islands—seems to furnish further evidence that the play was based upon the account of the shipwreck. Therefore these incidents serve to fix the date of the play as at the end of the year 1610, or more probably the early part of 1611.

In the plot there is also a striking resemblance to that of an old German play *Die schöne Sidea*,[2] by the German dramatist, Jacob Ayrer. Professor Dowden says: "In both appear a magician, his only daughter, and an attendant spirit—in both the son of his enemy becomes the magician's prisoner—his sword being rendered powerless by magic—and is made the bearer of logs for his mistress, and in both the story ends with the reconciliation and the happiness of the lovers." It is possible that Shakespeare may have received an account of Ayrer's Play from a company acting in Germany.

There is also a resemblance in a poem entitled *Search for the Island of Lampedusa* from Harington's *Ariosto*,[3] 1591; and the well-known passage, IV. i. 152-156:

[1] See Appendixes I. and VII. [2] See Appendix II. [3] See Appendix III.

> The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,
> The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
> Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,
> And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,
> Leave not a rack behind,

bears a close resemblance to a stanza in the Earl of Stirling's *Tragedy of Darius*,[1] published in 1603.

Gonzalo's picture of an ideal commonwealth, II. i. 147-164:

> I' the commonwealth I would by contraries
> Execute all things; for no kind of traffic
> Would I admit; no name of magistrate;
> Letters should not be known; riches, poverty,
> And use of service, none; contract, succession,
> Bourn, bound of land, tilth, vineyard, none;
> No use of metal, corn, or wine, or oil;
> No occupation; all men idle, all;
> And women too, but innocent and pure;
> No sovereignty;
>
> . . . . . .
>
> All things in common nature should produce
> Without sweat or endeavour: treason, felony,
> Sword, pike; knife, gun, or need of any engine,
> Would I not have; but nature should bring forth,
> Of it own kind, all foison, all abundance,
> To feed my innocent people.

was undoubtedly inspired by a passage in Florio's translation of Montaigne's *Essays*. This translation was published in 1603. Possibly Shakespeare read Montaigne in the original French, but it is more probable he used Florio's English translation of the *Essays*. The description is borrowed from the *Essay* entitled *Of the Caniballes*,[2] which may have also supplied the dramatist with the name of his Caliban. From this inference it is assumed that *The Tempest* could not have been written earlier than 1603.

It is recorded—though the evidence is somewhat doubtful—that *The Tempest* was one of the plays which formed part of the court festivities in 1613 on the occasion of the marriage of the Lady Elizabeth, daughter of James the First, and Prince Frederick, Elector Palatine. It is said that Prince Frederick performed the part of Ferdinand; the Lady Elizabeth representing Miranda. By some it is considered that the Play was specially written for this occasion.

The following passage from Ben Jonson's Induction to his *Bartholomew Fair*—a play written between 1612-1614—undoubtedly refers to *The Tempest:*

> If there be never a servant-monster [III. ii. 3 *seq.*] in the fair, who can help it, he says, nor a nest of antiques? he is loth to make nature afraid in his plays, like those that beget tales, tempests, and such like drolleries, to mix his head with other men's heels;

This passage is again in agreement with the later date of the play, *i.e.*, 1610-1611.

The names Alonso, Prospero, Antonio, and Ferdinand, may probably have been derived from Thomas' *Historye of Italye*, 1561,[3] while the name of Miranda is considered to have been suggested by the story of Virginia Dare, granddaughter of Captain John White, the first child born in America of English parents.[4]

[1] See Appendix IV. [2] See Appendix V. [3] See Appendix VI. [4] See Appendix VII.

The names Alonso, Antonio, Ferdinand, Sebastian, Gonzalo and Setebos also occur in Eden's *History of Travaille*, 1577; the names Prospero and Stephano appear in Ben Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour*, published in 1596, which, revised, was acted at the Globe Theatre in 1598, while the name Trinculo is considered to be original.

Outline of the Play. In the City of Milan dwelt two brothers, Prospero the rightful Duke of Milan, and Antonio. Prospero being of an intellectual turn of mind finding more pleasure in the pursuit of his studies than in the affairs of his dukedom, determines to leave the management of it to Antonio. Antonio on the other hand, being of an ambitious nature is desirous of becoming the real ruler, so with the aid of the King of Naples he puts Prospero and his beautiful daughter Miranda into a leaky boat, has it towed out some distance from the shore, and left to the mercy of the wind and waves.[1] The boat drifts to an enchanted island, whose sole inhabitants are Caliban—half man, half monster—and a sprite named Ariel, who has for some years been confined by Caliban's mother, Sycorax, in the rift of a tree, because he had refused to carry out her wicked commands. He is however liberated by Prospero.

Prospero and Miranda live on the enchanted island until the latter reaches maidenhood. As Miranda came to the island so young, she has no recollection of seeing any other human face except her father's. They live in a cave hewn out of a rock, and here Prospero pursues his studies—chiefly the art of magic, a study followed by most learned men of the time, and which proves to be of future use to him.

The King of Naples, his son Ferdinand, Antonio,—Prospero's brother,—and others are returning from Tunis where they have been attending the wedding of the king's daughter, when Prospero by magic art causes a violent tempest to arise, with the result that the ship with all hands is apparently wrecked, and cast upon the island.

Prospero shows Miranda a large ship in the midst of a violent storm, full of living things like themselves, each struggling with the wild sea waves. The first words of Miranda explain the riddle of the wreck:

> If by your art, my dearest father, you have
> Put the wild waters in this roar, allay them.

The sight of the disaster is too much for her womanly tenderness:

> O, I have suffer'd
> With those that I saw suffer! a brave vessel,
> Who had, no doubt, some noble creature in her,
> Dash'd all to pieces. O, the cry did knock
> Against my very heart! Poor souls, they perish'd!

She attributes this wanton destruction to her father:

> Had I been any god of power, I would
> Have sunk the sea within the earth, or ere
> It should the good ship so have swallow'd and
> The fraughting souls within her.

[1] Perhaps Shakespeare got this idea from Holinshed "After this, was Edwin, the king's brother, accused of some conspiracie by him begun against the king: whereupon he was banished the land; and sent out in an old rotten vessel, without rowers or mariner, onlie accompanied with one esquier, so that being launched forth from the shore, through despaire, Edwin leapt into the sea, and drowned himself."

Prospero however relieves the fears of Miranda, and assures her that he has so ordered that no one in the ship shall come to any harm:

> No harm.
> I have done nothing but in care of thee,
> Of thee, my dear one, thee, my daughter,

[This passage is inconsistent with I ii. 437-438: "the Duke of Milan and his brave son being twain." Nobody was lost in the wreck, yet we find no such character as the son of the Duke of Milan.]

He now examines Miranda to see how much she remembers of her early life, and laying aside his magic robe he narrates the story of the past twelve years of their life, how he had been deprived of his dukedom and cast adrift, and had it not been for the kindness displayed by Gonzola,—a lord of the court who had no part in the treachery but had provided them with food and water, apparel and books,—they must have perished.

Now, continued Prospero—in answer to Miranda's repeated question concerning the raising of the storm—by means of this storm my enemies, the King of Naples and my cruel brother Antonio, with others of their train are cast ashore on this island.

Prospero now shows his magic power. Ariel the sprite appears to give an account of the storm, and how he has disposed of the ship's company. As Prospero does not wish Miranda to hear his conversation with what to her would appear to be the empty air—for the spirits to Miranda are always invisible—he touches her with his magic wand and sends her to sleep.

Ariel now gives a detailed description of his management of the storm, and the terror of all on board:

> Not a soul
> But felt a fever of the mad, and play'd
> Some tricks of desperation. All but mariners
> Plunged in the foaming brine, and quit the vessel,
> Then all afire with me: the king's son, Ferdinand,
> With hair up-staring,—then like reeds, not hair,—
> Was the first man that leap'd; cried, "Hell is empty,
> And all the devils are here."

By Prospero's contrivance all are landed safely, but by the cunning of Ariel all are scattered into different parties, and the ship brought safely in harbour, though invisible to them. Ferdinand, the king's son, is however alone, but as Prospero intends that he shall be Miranda's future husband he commands Ariel to bring him to their abode.

Ariel now relates to Prospero how he left the usurping Duke of Milan and Alonso searching for Ferdinand, and that each one of the ship's company thinks himself the only one saved. As Ariel thinks he has now faithfully performed his duties he reminds Prospero that he has promised him his liberty:

> Is there more toil? Since thou dost give me pains,
> Let me remember thee what thou hast promised,
> Which is not yet perform'd me.
> *Pros.* How now? moody?
> What is 't thou canst demand?
> *Ariel.* My liberty.

whereupon Prospero asks Ariel to recall the torment from which he had freed him. Ariel seems ashamed of his ingratitude and agrees to carry out the further commands of Prospero,—Prospero promising that in two days he will set him free.

Miranda now throws off her magic sleep, and with her father visits Caliban his slave. During Prospero's conversation with Caliban, Ariel sets out to discover Ferdinand, whom he finds in the same melancholy state of mind as when he left him. He invites Ferdinand to follow him, and begins to sing:

Come unto these yellow sands,
And then take hands:
Courtsied when you have and kiss'd
The wild waves whist:
Foot it featly here and there:
And, sweet sprites, the burthen bear.
Hark, hark!

Burthen [dispersedly.] *Bow-wow.*

Ari. *The watch dogs bark:*

Burthen [dispersedly.] *Bow-wow.*

Ari. *Hark, hark! I hear*
The strain of strutting chanticleer
Cry, Cock-a-diddle-dow.

and

Full fathom five thy father lies;
Of his bones are coral made;
Those are pearls that were his eyes:
Nothing of him that doth fade,
But doth suffer a sea-change
Into something rich and strange,
Sea-nymphs hourly ring his knell:

Burthen: *Ding-dong.*

Ari. *Hark! now I hear them—Ding-dong, bell.*

When Ferdinand hears the news of his father he unconsciously follows the sound of the music until at last it leads him into the presence of Prospero and Miranda, who are sitting under the shade of a large tree.

As Miranda has never before seen any human form save that of her father's, she imagines Ferdinand to be a spirit, while Ferdinand seeing such a lovely lady in a deserted island, thinks the island to be enchanted, and Miranda a goddess. Their admiration of one another greatly delights Prospero, and in order to prove his constancy he determines to put certain difficulties in the path of the lovers, and immediately accuses the prince of visiting the island with treacherous motives. To his daughter he remarks:

Speak not you for him: he 's a traitor. Come;
I 'll manacle thy neck and feet together:
Sea-water shalt thou drink; thy food shall be
The fresh-brook muscles, wither'd roots, and husks
Wherein the acorn cradled. Follow.

Ferdinand refuses to follow Prospero, and draws his sword, whereupon Prospero waves his magic wand fixing him to the spot where he stands. At a further call from Prospero Ferdinand follows and is confined in a cell.

In other parts of the island Alonso the king, with Sebastian, Antonio, Adrian, Francisco, and Gonzalo an old lord, are wandering about in a miserable state. Alonso, almost worn out with fatigue and the supposed loss of his son Ferdinand, falls into a heavy sleep, during which Sebastian and Antonio try to murder him, along with Gonzalo his trusty counsellor, but Ariel, acting under Prospero's instructions, appears in an invisible form, and awakes Gonzalo at the critical moment. He sings in his ear:

While you here do snoring lie,
Open-eyed conspiracy
His time doth take.
If of life you keep a care,
Shake off slumber, and beware:
Awake, Awake!

The king also awakes, wondering:

Wherefore this ghastly looking?

The search for Ferdinand the king's son is now resumed, for according to Gonzalo:

'Tis best we stand upon our guard,
Or that we quit this place: let 's draw our weapons.

Alonso answering:

Lead off this ground; and let 's make further search
For my poor son.

They are unconsciously led by Ariel into the king's presence.

The story of the play now turns to Caliban — a strange mis-shapen creature found in the woods by Prospero, who brought him to his cell, and taught him to speak. He is Prospero's slave, his daily task being wood carrying. Ariel has charge of him, and compels him to perform the most wearying offices. Like a true savage he attributes all his adversity to his master. If he stumbles in the bog, if an ape chatters at him from a tree, or if a hedgehog lies tumbling in his way, and comes into contact with his naked foot, he thinks it a punishment from Prospero for some neglect of his duty.

Trinculo a jester is blown by the storm on the island, and is immediately taken by Caliban for one of Prospero's spirits. Caliban falls to the ground hoping to escape notice. Finding him in this position Trinculo mistakes him for some unknown animal or a strange fish, but on further examination remarks:

this is no fish, but an islander,
that hath lately suffered by a thunderbolt.
. . . . . .
misery
acquaints a man with strange bed-fellows.

He creeps under Caliban's gaberdine for shelter from the storm:

I will here shroud till the dregs of the storm be past.

and is here discovered by Stephano a drunken butler, who has escaped the shipwreck, having made his way to shore upon a butt of his own wine. Having provided himself with a bottle of wine he makes a survey of the island. To Trinculo and Caliban he gives some of the liquor, and Caliban in drunken gratitude

mistakes Stephano for a god, kneels to him and says:

> I 'll swear, upon that bottle, to be thy true
> subject; for the liquor is not earthly.

He also promises the sovereignty of the island to Stephano, leading him to believe that Prospero has robbed him of its possession.

The story of the play again turns to Ferdinand,—who earlier in the play is confined in a cell by Prospero. To test Ferdinand's constancy towards Miranda, Prospero resolves to beset their path with certain difficulties. He commands Ferdinand to pile up some heavy logs of wood, and is careful to acquaint his daughter with the imposition, while he secretly watches them both. Miranda offers help to Ferdinand, and before they have spent three hours together they have, in accordance with Prospero's magic art, pledged their faith to one another.

Caliban now proposes to his new master that they murder Prospero while he sleeps, and burn his books pertaining to magic. The plot is agreed upon, Stephano, Trinculo, and Caliban setting out for Prospero's cell:

> Why, as I told thee, 'tis a custom with him
> I' th' afternoon to sleep: there thou mayst brain
> him,
> Having first seized his books;

Meanwhile Alonso, with Sebastian, Gonzalo, and other of their train continue their fruitless search for the lost prince. All are overtaken with extreme weariness, Gonzalo remarking:

> By 'r lakin, I can go no further, sir;
> My old bones ache: here 's a maze trod, indeed,
> Through forth-rights and meanders! By your
> patience,
> I needs must rest me.

Sebastian and Antonio resolve to take advantage of Alonso's weariness, and hope that they will soon have another chance of carrying out their proposed plot.

Prospero now entrusts Ariel to carry out his plans for the subjection of Alonso and his train. Several strange shapes—among whom is Prospero, though invisible—set a delicious feast before the weary courtiers. They dance about it with gentle actions of salutation, and inviting the king, and his courtiers to eat, they depart. In the midst of thunder and lightning Ariel appears like a harpy, claps his wings upon the table, and, with a quaint device, the banquet vanishes.[1] The speech of the seeming harpy is to them both striking and solemn. They are reminded of their former cruelty to Prospero and his infant daughter, and for this cause these terrors afflict them. The one condition of forgiveness is repentance. *See* Ariel's speech, III. iii. 53-82.

Ariel vanishes in thunder. To the sound of soft music the spirits again appear, dance, and carry out the table. Ariel's speech has such a terrifying effect on Alonso, that he contemplates suicide.

[1]This circumstance is taken from the Æneid of Virgil. [Phaer's translation]:

> "Fast to meate we fall.
> But sodenly from down the hills with grisly fall to syght,
> The harpies come, and beating wings with great noys out thei shright,
> And at our meate they snatch, and with their clawes," &c.—*Knight.*

Ariel now tells his master of the sincerity of their repentance, and is instructed by Prospero to summon the king and all his courtiers to his presence. To the sound of solemn music they enter Prospero's cell, and await the sentence which Prospero,—once their victim now their judge,—is to pronounce upon them.

With the assistance of Ariel, Prospero divests himself of the mantle of a wizard, and appears in the hat and rapier of the one time Duke of Milan. While Ariel helps to attire Prospero he sings the now well-known song:

Where the bee sucks, there suck I:
In a cowslip's bell I lie;
There I couch when owls do cry.
On the bat's back I do fly
After summer merrily.
Merrily, merrily shall I live now
Under the blossom that hangs on the bough.

In the guise of the Duke of Milan he thus addresses the King, Gonzalo, Sebastian, and Antonio. To Alonso the king:

Behold, sir king,
The wronged Duke of Milan, Prospero:
For more assurance that a living prince
Does now speak to thee, I embrace thy body;
And to thee and thy company I bid
A hearty welcome.

To Gonzalo:

First, noble friend,
Let me embrace thine age, whose honour cannot
Be measured or confined.

To Sebastian and Antonio aside:

But you, my brace of lords,
were I so minded,
I here could pluck his highness' frown upon you,
And justify you traitors: at this time
I will tell no tales.

and to Antonio:

For you, most wicked sir, whom to call brother
Would even infect my mouth, I do forgive
Thy rankest fault,—all of them; and require
My dukedom of thee, which perforce, I know,
Thou must restore.

Alonso undertakes to restore the dukedom to Prospero, and Prospero besides forgiveness, promises to Alonso:

My dukedom since you have given me again,
I will requite you with as good a thing;
At least bring forth a wonder, to content ye
As much as me my dukedom.

Opening a door he shows Alonso his lost son Ferdinand playing a game of chess with Miranda. The discovery of Ferdinand removes the only trace of unhappiness remaining to the party.

The master and the boatswain are now ushered by Ariel into Prospero's presence. The ship has been re-fitted, and is ready to bear them across the seas

to Naples. Caliban is to be discharged from his servitude, and Ariel after completing his last task of providing a favourable wind for the royal ship, is set free to wander where he will.

Prospero buries deep in the earth his magical books and wand, resolving never more to make use of them, and makes preparation to return to his native land.

All assemble in Prospero's cell previous to setting out for Naples to attend the marriage of Ferdinand and Miranda, which according to Alonso is to be celebrated with great splendour. After the wedding Prospero is to be restored to his dukedom.

Scene. A Ship at Sea; an Island.

CHARACTERS, PLACE-NAMES, &c.

Adrian, a Lord. II. i. 27.

One of the lords attendant upon Sebastian and Antonio. He occupies an unimportant part in the play, little mention being made of him, and then only in an incident marked by its foolishness, seeing that it was indulged in at the time of Alonso's grief for the supposed death of his son.

> Which, of he or Adrian, for a good wager, first begins to crow? [II. i. 27-28.]

Antonio, Prospero's brother, made a bet that Adrian would speak before the old lord Gonzalo. The loser, who proved to be Sebastian, paid the wager agreed upon,—"a laughter." [II. i. 32.]

Luce [*Arden Shakespeare*] remarks: "The loser in the bet, who is Sebastian, pays the stake agreed upon, viz., a "laughter." The word "laughter" may have stood for a small coin, common in betting; and if so, Sebastian again quibbles by taking it to mean a "laugh."

Æneas. II. i. 78.

A Trojan prince, son of Anchises, king of Dardanus and Aphroditè, and the hero of Virgil's *Æneid*. When Troy was taken by the Greeks, he fled from that city bearing his aged father on his shoulders. In the hurry of flight his wife Creusa, daughter of Priam and Hecuba, was lost, hence the allusion in II. i. 78 to "widower Æneas." Setting sail for Italy he was driven by a tempest on the coast of Carthage. Here he was sumptuously entertained by Dido the queen of Carthage, to whom he related the story of the wooden horse and the burning of Troy. Dido fell in love with him, but at the command of Jupiter he secretly quitted Africa and Dido committed suicide. After a visit to Sicily he reached Italy, and was entertained by Latinus, who promised him his daughter Lavinia in marriage. She was however already betrothed by her mother to Turnus, king of the Rutuli who raised an army to resist Æneas. In the battle which followed Turnus was slain and Æneas won his bride. Many versions of the Æneas myth have from time to time been produced. *See* Carthage.

Afric. II. i. 68.

= Africa.

Alonso. III. iii. 75; V. i. 72.

King of Naples, a powerful prince and enemy of Prospero; father of Ferdinand and brother of Sebastian.

With Antonio, Prospero's false younger brother, he was successful in dispossessing Prospero of his dukedom of Milan. In order to be rid of Prospero and his young daughter Miranda, they set them adrift in a small boat without either sails or mast,—leaving them as they thought to perish. Fortunately the boat reached an enchanted island where Prospero and Miranda lived until the latter reached maidenhood.

As Alonso, Ferdinand and Antonio were returning from Tunis after attending the wedding of Claribel, Alonso's daughter, Prospero by means of his magic art raised a sea-storm, which caused them to be shipwrecked, and cast ashore on the island. Ariel gave Prospero a lively description of the storm, and the terror of all on board, and how not one of the ship's company was missing, though each thought himself the only one saved.

When alone on the island, fatigued with wandering and hunger, Ariel caused Alonso and his courtiers to be almost out of their senses with fear at the strange things they saw and heard. Setting a delicious feast before them he suddenly appeared in the shape of a monster with wings, and the feast vanished. To the great surprise of Alonso and all present the seeming monster reminded them of their former cruelty to Prospero and his daughter.

Alonso, though one of the least guilty in the former misdoing, alone asked Prospero for pardon:

> Thy dukedom I resign, and do entreat
> Thou pardon me my wrongs. [V. i. 118-119.]

The supposed loss of his son Ferdinand, and the speech of Ariel had such an effect on his mind that he began to think his many troubles were the result of his former wrongs to Prospero, and suicide seemed to him to be the only way of escape:

> Methought the billows spoke, and told me of it;
> The winds did sing it to me; and the thunder,
> That deep and dreadful organ-pipe, pronounced
> The name of Prosper: it did bass my trespass.
> Therefore my son i' th' ooze is bedded; and
> I 'll seek him deeper than e'er plummet sounded,
> And with him there lie mudded. [III. iii. 96-102.]

He was, however, saved by Ariel, who led him into Prospero's presence. Besides receiving pardon he was received into favour, and Prospero removed from him his one last trace of unhappiness—the supposed death of his son Ferdinand. Opening a door he shewed him his son Ferdinand playing a game of chess with Miranda.

In place of his daughter Claribel, Alonso now received a new daughter—Miranda. Provision was now made for the safe return to Naples, where Ferdinand and Miranda were married, and in course of time crowned king and queen of Naples.

Antonio. I. ii. 66, 129; V. i. 264.

The usurping Duke of Milan, brother of Prospero the rightful heir. To him Prospero entrusted the management of his estates—himself devoting his time to his studies. Of this Antonio took advantage determining to be the real possessor and using any base means to satisfy his growing ambition. With the aid of the King of Naples he made himself Duke of Milan, and cast Prospero and Miranda adrift—to the mercy of the waves.

Of Alonso, Sebastian, and Antonio, Antonio proved the basest villain of the three. In casting adrift Prospero and Miranda his plans were little removed from murder, and thoughts of murder again filled his mind when he found himself alone awake with Sebastian, while Alonso and his courtiers lay sleeping the magical sleep cast upon them by Ariel.

He incited Sebastian to slay Alonso, but avoided coming straight to the point. Sebastian was also determined to make no first hint of treachery, and in feigning to misunderstand the meaning of Antonio's ingenious plan, he forced him to speak out plainly thus fully revealing his wicked intentions:

> Say, this were death
> That now hath seized them; why, they were no worse

Than now they are. There be that can rule Naples
As well as he that sleeps; lords that can prate
As amply and unnecessarily
As this Gonzalo; [II. i. 260-265.]

and

O, that you bore
The mind that I do! what a sleep were this
For your advancement! Do you understand me?
[II. i. 266-268.]

The opportunity for the murder however was lost, Ariel giving the signal for the awakening of Alonso. Antonio and Sebastian were called upon by the king to explain the meaning of their drawn swords. Their excuse was somewhat lame:

Why, how now? ho, awake!—Why are you drawn?
Wherefore this ghastly looking? [II. i. 308 *et seq.*]

Like Sebastian he displayed his callous feelings in his jesting after the shipwreck.

It is thought that Gonzalo in his words to Alonso concerning Ferdinand and his son:

Heavens keep him from these beasts!
For he is, sure, i' th' island. [II. i. 324-325.]

was probably referring to Antonio and Sebastian whom he had no doubt begun to suspect.

When by the aid of Prospero's magic all were brought to his cell, Antonio, unlike the others, still remained defiant, uttering no word of repentance though Prospero's mercy had been extended to him. His suffering had hardened his heart. In the following lines Prospero states his opinion of him:

For you, most wicked sir, whom to call brother
Would even infect my mouth, I do forgive
Thy rankest fault,—all of them; and require
My dukedom of thee, which perforce, I know,
Thou must restore. [V. i. 130-134.]

Thus was Antonio forgiven, but not received into Prospero's favour.

Arabia. III. iii. 22.

that in Arabia
There is one tree, the phœnix' throne;
[III. iii. 22-23.]

Probably Shakespeare had in mind the following passage from Lyly's *Euphues and his England:* "For as there is but one Phœnix in the world, fo is there but one tree in Arabia, where-in fhe buyldeth." *See* Phœnix. Cf. *Phœnix and Turtle* 1-2:

Let the bird of loudest lay,
On the sole Arabian tree.

Argier. I. ii. 261, 265.

The old name for Algiers, a famous Moorish city of North Africa, and the birthplace of Sycorax. Theridamas, King of *Argier*, is a character in both parts of *Tamburlaine the Great*, by Christopher Marlowe.

Ariel. I. ii. 188, 193, 217, 237, 317, 441, 494; III. iii. 84; IV. i. 33, 49, 57, 164; V. i. 30, 83, 95, 316.

A gay spirit of the air obedient to the will of Prospero, a magician and the one time Duke of Milan. He was able to assume any shape or even to become invisible.

Verity remarks: "*Ariel*; a Hebrew name: 'lion of God'; see *Isaiah* xxix. 1-7, where it is applied to Jerusalem. It is supposed by some that in choosing the name and the attributes of his spirit Shakespeare was influenced by this passage. . . . The name also occurs in treatises on demonology such as Heywood's *Hierarchie of the Blessed Angels*,[1] 1635, which were read much in the Elizabethan times; and Shakespeare may have come across it in one of these."

He was formerly a slave to the foul witch Sycorax—mother of Caliban—who for disobedience imprisoned him for twelve years in the rift of a pine tree, from which he was liberated by Prospero. In gratitude for his deliverance he served Prospero for sixteen years:

On the hearth the lighted logs are glowing,
And like Ariel in the cloven pine-tree
For its freedom
Groans and sighs the air imprisoned in them.
Longfellow: *Golden Mile-stone.*

---

1 Others there be that do not doubt to say
That the foure Elements are forc'd t' obey
Foure severall Angels: *Seraph* reigns o're Fire;
Cherub the Aire; and *Tharsis* doth aspire
Ouer the Water: and the Earth's great Lord,
Ariel. The Hebrew Rabbins thus accord.

Ariel's function in the play is to execute Prospero's magic. He is a personification of the qualities of air in his lightness, his quick and restless motion, more especially in his ever present desire for freedom.

"According to the system of witchcraft or magic, which formed an article of popular creed in Shakespeare's day, the elementary spirits were divided into six classes by some demonologists, and into four—those of the *Air*, of the *Water*, of the *Fire*, and of the *Earth*—by others. In the list of characters appended to *The Tempest* in the first folio, Ariel is called "an ayrie spirit." Burton [Anatomy of Melancholy] tells us Aerial spirits or devils, are such as keep quarter most part in the air, cause many tempests, thunder, and lightnings, tear oaks, fire steeples, houses, strike men. and beasts, make it rain stones, as in Livy's time, wool, frogs, etc. . . . They cause whirlwinds on a sudden, and tempestuous storms." But at the behest of the all-powerful magician Prospero, or by his own influence and potency, the airy spirit in a twink becomes not only a spirit of fire—one of those, according to the same authority, which "commonly work by blazing stars, firedrakes, or *ignes fatui*; . . . counterfeit suns and moons, stars oftentimes, and sit on ship masts"—but a *naiad*, or spirit of the water also: in fact, assumes any shape, and is visible or unseen at will.

Ariel has in every thing the airy tint which gives the name; and it is worthy of remark that Miranda is never directly brought into comparison with Ariel, lest the natural and human of the one and the supernatural of the other should tend to neutralize each other. Coleridge: *Essays and Lectures on Shakespeare.*

Prospero speaks of him as "delicate" [I. ii. 272] "my quaint Ariel" [I. ii. 317] "that's my dainty Ariel" [V. i. 95] "my tricksy spirit" [V. i. 226], and makes him repeated promises of his freedom, for to Ariel all service proved irksome. He cries out "my liberty," Prospero replying:

> Thou shalt be as free
> As mountain winds: [I. ii. 498-499.]

In the execution of the various tasks allotted to him stands out the true character of Ariel. It was he who managed the storm which caused Alonso and his party to be wrecked and dispersed throughout the island. He seemed to be full of glee when he gave an account to Prospero of the actions of the party on board, and how he had afterwards led them up and down the island in despair, each one thinking himself the only survivor of the wreck. He was also the spirit of mischief. His invisible appearance during the formation of a plot against Prospero's life led to words and finally to blows between Trinculo and Stephano. He again befooled them when he led them up and down the island through:

> Tooth'd briers, sharp furzes, pricking goss, and
> thorns, [IV. i. 180.]

and left them:

> I' the filthy-mantled pool beyond your cell,
> There dancing up to the chins, that the foul lake
> O'erstunk their feet. [IV. i. 182-184.]

By the aid of his elfin music he lured Ferdinand to Prospero's cell. Appearing invisible, with Ferdinand following, he sang:

> *Come unto these yellow sands,*
> *And then take hands:*
> *Courtsied when you have and kiss'd*
> *The wild waves whist;*
> *Foot it featly here and there:*
> *And, sweet sprites, the burthen bear.*
> *Hark, hark!*
>
> Burthen [dispersedly.] *Bow-wow.*
>
> Ari. *The watch dogs bark:*
>
> Burthen [dispersedly.] *Bow-wow.*
>
> Ari. *Hark, hark! I hear*
> *The strain of strutting chanticleer*
> *Cry, Cock-a-diddle-dow.* [I. ii. 376-386.]

the burthen in each case being taken up by the attendant sprites. Ferdinand remarked:

> Sitting on a bank,
> Weeping again the king my father's wreck,
> This music crept by me upon the waters,
> Allaying both their fury and my passion
> With its sweet air: thence I have follow'd it,
> Or it hath drawn me rather. But 'tis gone.
> No, it begins again. [I. ii. 389-395.]

Ariel again sang to the weeping prince:

> *Full fathom five thy father lies;*
> *Of his bones are coral made;*

Those are pearls that were his eyes:
Nothing of him that doth fade,
But doth suffer a sea-change
Into something rich and strange.
Sea-nymphs hourly ring his knell:

Burthen: *Ding-dong.*

Ari. *Hark! now I hear them,—Ding-dong, bell.*
[I. ii. 396-404.]

Ariel also made use of a song when he appeared invisible to awaken the sleeping Gonzalo when Sebastian and Antonio were plotting against Alonso's life. He sang in his ear:

While you here do snoring lie,
Open-eyed conspiracy
His time doth take.
If of life you keep a care,
Shake off slumber, and beware:
Awake, Awake! [II. i. 300-305.]

Ariel's last song is his expression of delight when Prospero set him free. While helping to attire Prospero in the hat and rapier of the one time Duke of Milan, Ariel sang:

Where the bee sucks, there suck I:
In a cowslip's bell I lie;
There I couch when owls do cry.
On the bat's back I do fly
After summer merrily.
Merrily, merrily shall I live now
Under the blossom that hangs on the bough.
[V. i. 88-94.]

One of the features of *The Tempest* is the number of passages set to music, the two of special interest being the two songs of Ariel—"Full fathom five thy father lies"; and "Where the bee sucks, there suck I."

Though a spirit, Ariel at times displayed human affection. "Mine would, sir, were I human" this being probably due to the influence of Prospero. He was touched by the distress of Prospero's enemies, for to him Prospero entrusted the subjection of Alonso and his courtiers. In his account of their sorrow he shows tender pity for them:

"The good old lord,
Gonzalo";
His tears run down his beard, like winter's drops
From eaves of reeds. Your charm so strongly
works 'em,
That if you now beheld them, your affections
Would become tender. [V. i. 15-19.]

Ariel's last task was to provide a favourable wind for the royal ship sailing for Naples to celebrate the marriage of Ferdinand and Miranda. This being done he was set free to wander where he willed:

My
Ariel, chick,
That is thy charge: then to the elements
Be free, and fare thou well! [V. i. 316-318.]

Ruskin: [*Munera Pulveris*] says: "Ariel is the spirit of generous and free-hearted service, in early stages of human society oppressed by ignorance and wild tyranny: venting groans as fast as mill-wheels strike; in shipwreck of states, dreadful; so that 'all but mariners plunge in the brine, and quit the vessel, then all afire with *me*.'"

At one time he appears as a sea-nymph, swimming and careering on the sea; then as a fire-spirit, who sets the ship on fire and climbs like licking flames up the mast; then as a spirit of earth, buried for Prospero in the frozen veins of the earth; his ruling nature, however, as his name intimates, is that of a sylph, a spirit of the air. In this character he is called a bird and appears in the form of a harpy, he flies and rides on the winds and "curled clouds," fetches dew at night from the spirit land Bermuda, etc. Gervinus: *Shakespeare Commentaries.*

'Ban, 'Ban, Cacaliban. II. ii. 197.

'Ban, 'Ban, Cacaliban
Has a new master:—get a new man.
[II. ii. 197-198.]

Caliban in a state of intoxication endeavours to pronounce his own name.

Barnacles. IV. i. 250.

And all be turn'd to barnacles, or to apes
With foreheads villanous low. [IV. i. 250-251.]

The Barnacle goose which was popularly supposed to have grown from the bernacle or barnacle, shell-fish often found adhering to the timbers of ships. In the North of Scotland the belief was there grew a Goose Tree on which grew shell-fish, which fell into the water, opened and out of them came young geese.

Hudson [*Windsor Shakespeare*] says: "Caliban's barnacle is the *clakis* or *tree-goose*, as it was called, which was thought to be produced from the shell-fish, *lepas antifera*, also called barnacle. Gerard's *Herbal* has the following account of the matter: 'There are in the north parts of Scotland certain trees whereon do grow

shell-fishes, which, falling into the water, do become fowls, whom we call *barnakles*, in the north of England *brant-geese*, and in Lancashire *tree-geese*.' Perhaps the old notion of the barnacle-goose being produced by the barnacle-fish grew from the identity of name. As Caliban prides himself on his intellectuality, he naturally has a horror of being turned into anything so stupid as a goose," and Sir John Mandeville in his Voyages, says: "In my country there are trees that do bear fruit that become birds flying, and they are good to eat, and that which falls in the water lives, and that which falls on the earth dies."

Bermoothes. I. ii. 229.

> Thou call'd'st me up at midnight to fetch dew
> From the still-vex'd Bermoothes, there she 's hid :
> [I. ii. 228-229.]

The Bermudas, so-called from Bermudez, the discoverer; also known as Somers' Islands from their English coloniser. Were popularly called by sailors the "Isle of Devils" on account of the boisterous nature of the sea round them, hence Shakespeare's epithet of "still-vex'd Bermoothes."

Tymme in his *Silver Watch Bell*, 1596, calls the Bermudas the "Island of Devils," for "to such as approach near the same, there do not only appear fearful sights of devils and evil spirits, but also mighty tempests, with most terrible and continual thunder and lightning; and the noise of horrible cries, with screeching, does so afright and amaze those that come near that place, that they are glad, with all might and main, to fly and speed them thence with all possible haste they can."

Bosola in Webster's *Duchess of Malfi* (III. ii.) says:

> I would sooner swim to the Bermoothes on
> Two politicians' rotten bladders,

and Fletcher in *Women Pleased* (I. ii.) writes of:

> The devil should think of purchasing that egg-shell,
> To victual out a witch for the Burmoothees :

So, in Decker's *If this be not a good Play, the Devil is in it*, 1612: "Sir, if you have made me tell a lye, they'll send me on a voyage to the island of Hogs and *Devils*, the *Bermudas*." *Steevens.*

In the additions to Stow's *Annals* by Howes we are told that "Sir George Sommers, sitting at the stern, seeing the ship desperate of relief, looking every minute when the ship would sink, espied land which, according to his and Captain Newport's opinion, they judged it should be that dreadful coast of the Bermoodes, which islands were of all nations said and supposed to be enchanted and inhabited with witches and devils, which grew by reason of accustomed monstrous thunderstorm and tempest near unto those islands; also for that the whole coast is so wondrous dangerous of rocks, that few can approach them but with unspeakable hazard of shipwreck," and Sir Walter Raleigh in his *Discoverie of the Large, Rich, and Beautifull Empire of Guiana* [Hakluyt's Voyages] says: "The rest of the Indies for calmes, and diseases very troublesome, and the sea about the Bermudas a hellish sea for thunder, lightning, and stormes." Cf. Heywood: *The English Traveller* II. ii.:

> 1*st Gal.* Whence is your ship—from the Bermoothes?
> *Reig.* Worse, I think from Hell :
> We are all lost, split, shipwrecked, and undone.

Boatswain. I. i. p. 1, p. 36; V. i. p. 216.

A petty officer on board ship who has charge of the sails, rigging, etc., and who calls the seamen to their duties.

While the king and his courtiers displayed fear and terror, and in an officious manner interfered with the duties of the crew:

> Good boatswain, have care. Where 's the
> master? Play the men. [I. i. 9-10.]

the boatswain was all energy, and his language at times was almost sublime:

> What cares
> these roarers for the name of king? To
> cabin : silence! trouble us not. [I. i. 16-18.]

"Good, yet remember whom thou hast aboard," cried out Gonzalo; but the boatswain, fully aware of the approaching danger, pushed him aside, remarking:

None that I love more than myself. You are a counsellor; if you can command these elements to silence, and work the peace of the present, we will not hand a rope more; use your authority: if you cannot, give thanks you have lived so long, and make yourself ready in your cabin for the mischance of the hour, if it so hap. Cheerly, good hearts! Out of our way, I say. [I. i. 20-28.]

When the boatswain was brought into Prospero's cell by Ariel to receive pardon, he described to Alonso how he came to be wrecked:

We were dead of sleep,
And—how we know not—all clapp'd under hatches;
Where, but even now, with strange and several noises
Of roaring, shrieking, howling, jingling chains,
And mo [more] diversity of sounds, all horrible,
We were awaked; straightway, at liberty;
Where we, in all her trim, freshly beheld
Our royal, good, and gallant ship; our master
Capering to eye her:—on a trice, so please you,
Even in a dream, were we divided from them,
And were brought moping hither. [V. i. 230-239.]

Caliban. I. ii. 284, 285, 308, 313, 479; IV. i. 140, 166, 219; V. i. 252.

A savage, and the deformed slave of Prospero, the rightful Duke of Milan. A monster generated by a devil, and a witch, with a sensual nature.

Caliban, . . . is all earth, all condensed and gross in feelings and images; he has the dawnings of understanding without reason or the moral sense, and in him, as in some brute animals, this advance to the intellectual faculties, without the moral sense, is marked by the appearance of vice. Coleridge: *Essays and Lectures on Shakespeare.*

He was the "freckled whelp," a misshapen knave," with not even a human shape—of the witch Sycorax whose birthplace was Algiers, but who "for mischiefs manifold, and sorceries terrible" was banished from Algiers and turned loose upon the then uninhabited island, and on whose death Caliban had become the sole inhabitant, but now had fallen under the authority of Prospero:

This damn'd witch Sycorax,
For mischiefs manifold, and sorceries terrible
To enter human hearing, from Argier,
Thou know'st, was banish'd: for one thing she did
They would not take her life. Is not this true?
[I. ii. 263-267.]

He was addressed by Prospero as:

Thou earth, thou! [I. ii. 314.]

therefore representing the element earth—the earth spirit—and also the other element "water," for he is according to Trinculo, a fish or fish-like:

What have we here? a man or a fish? dead or alive? A fish: he smells like a fish; a very ancient and fish-like smell; a kind of not of the newest Poor-John. A strange fish!
[II. ii. 25-29.]

and

Legged like a man!
and his fins like arms! [II. ii. 36-37.]

Antonio says of him:

Very like; one of them
Is a plain fish, and, no doubt, marketable.
[V. i. 265-266.]

At the opening of the play he is represented as a slave:

We 'll visit Caliban my slave, who never
Yields us kind answer. [I. ii. 308-309.]

and

he does make our fire,
Fetch in our wood, and serves in offices
That profit us. What, ho! slave! Caliban!
[I. ii. 311-313.]

As a slave he hated his master and also his work. To Prospero he owed the faculty of speech, and boasted that the profit of the gift was, that he knew how to curse:

You taught me language; and my profit on 't
Is, I know how to curse. The red plague rid you
For learning me your language! [I. ii. 363-365.]

In return for Prospero's kindness his only gratitude was that of seeking to dishonour his daughter Miranda, and in spite of all his master's teaching he was only moved by fear, and still remained:

A devil, a born devil, on whose nature
Nurture can never stick; on whom my pains,
Humanely taken, all, all lost, quite lost;
And as with age his body uglier grows,
So his mind cankers. [IV. i. 188-192.]

Stephano, a drunken butler who took shelter on the island from the storm, administered wine to Caliban, who in return —or rather out of drunken gratitude—promised Stephano the sovereignty of the island and swore to be his subject, telling him that Prospero had robbed him of the possession of the island. In plotting to

punish Prospero by murdering him as he slept, Caliban showed that he possessed some understanding and displayed great cunning in the matter. Stephano agreed to his proposed plan, and together they set out for Prospero's cell with the full intention of murder. Prospero however, was aware of their plans, and as they were on their way to execute their designs he instructed Ariel to lead them up and down the island through:

> Tooth'd briers, sharp furzes, pricking goss, and thorns,
> Which enter'd their frail shins: at last I left them
> I' the filthy-mantled pool beyond your cell,
> There dancing up to the chins, that the foul lake
> O'erstunk their feet. [IV. i. 180-185.]

Caliban's determination of purpose is shown by his manner in dealing with Stephano and Trinculo who were covetous concerning the fine clothes which the wily Ariel had put in their path. He expressed almost contempt for them, being more eager to carry out the proposed murder of Prospero:

> The dropsy drown this fool! what do you mean
> To dote thus on such luggage? Let 's alone,
> And do the murder first: if he awake,
> From toe to crown he 'll fill our skins with pinches,
> Make us strange stuff. [IV. i. 231-235.]

His speech:

> the isle is full of noises,
> Sounds and sweet airs, that give delight, and hurt not.
> Sometimes a thousand twangling instruments
> Will hum about mine ears; and sometime voices,
> That, if I then had waked after long sleep,
> Will make me sleep again: and then, in dreaming,
> The clouds methought would open, and show riches
> Ready to drop upon me; that, when I waked,
> I cried to dream again. [III. ii. 144-152.]

is considered to be one of the most beautiful passages in the play. It shows Caliban —not as a slave, a low immoral creature— but as a lover of nature. Having grown up amid the loveliness of the enchanted island he—though perhaps unconsciously— must have observed the ways of nature. When Prospero first came to the island he displayed the same interest, for he remarked to Prospero:

> and then I loved thee,
> And show'd thee all the qualities o' th' isle,
> The fresh springs, brine-pits, barren place and fertile: [I. ii. 336-338.]

His repentance at the last was only one of regret that he had misused his power, and he promised to "seek for grace" in order to escape punishment:

> Ay, that I will; and I 'll be wise hereafter,
> And seek for grace. [V. i. 294-295.]

When all wrongs had been righted, Prospero ordered Caliban to prepare food and set his cave in order, then afterwards he discharged him from servitude.

When the royal party had left the island Caliban became again his own king, and was probably happier than living in a civilised state.

Stopford A. Brooke in his comments on Browning's *Caliban upon Setebos; or, Natural Theology in the Island*, speaks of Caliban as "that philosophic savage who makes his God out of himself. . . . Caliban, with the instincts and intelligence of an early savage has, in an hour of holiday, set himself to conceive what Setebos, his mother's god, is like in character. He talks out the question with himself, and because he is in a vague fear lest Setebos, hearing him soliloquise about him, should feel insulted and swing a thunderbolt at him, he not only hides himself in the earth, but speaks in the third person, as if it was not he that spoke; hoping in that fashion to trick his God."

Caliban. I. ii. 480.

> To the most of men this is a Caliban. [I. ii. 480.]

Prospero refers to Ferdinand. Miranda is Ferdinand's champion, but her father tries to dissuade her speaking of Ferdinand as being, to the majority of mankind, little better than Caliban.

Carthage. II. i. 81, 83, 84, 85.

An ancient city in northern Africa founded by Phœnicians. It was a great commercial centre, and at the height of its power in a series of struggles, known as the Punic wars, under Hannibal, threatened to overthrow the power of Rome. In B.C. 156 after a siege of two years it was taken and destroyed by Publius Cornelius Scipio and became a Roman city under the Cæsars. In A.D. 698 it was destroyed by the Saracens. A few miles to the north-west of Carthage now stands the city of Tunis.

According to Rollin, Carthage was a

colony from Tyre, the most renowned city at that time for commerce in the world. Tyre had long before transplanted into that country another colony which built Utica, made famous for the death of the second Cato, who for this reason is generally called Cato Uticensis. Authors disagree very much with regard to the era of the foundation of Carthage.[1] . . . Carthage existed a little above seven hundred years. It was destroyed under the consulate of Cn. Lentulus and L. Mummius, the 608th year of Rome, 3,859th of the world, and 145 B.C. The foundation of it may therefore be fixed at the year of the world 3,158, when Joash was king of Judah, 98 years before the building of Rome, and 846 before the birth of Christ.

The foundation of Carthage is ascribed to Elisa, a Tyrian princess, better known by the name of Dido. Ithobal, king of Tyre, and father of the famous Jezebel, was her great-grandfather. She married her near relation Acerbas, called otherwise Sicharbas and Sichæus, an extremely rich prince, and Pygmalion, king of Tyre, was her brother. This prince having put Sichæus to death, in order that he might have an opportunity to seize his immense treasures, Dido eluded the cruel avarice of her brother, by withdrawing secretly with all her dead husband's possessions. After having long wandered, she at last landed on the coast of the Mediterranean, in the gulf where Utica stood, distant almost fifteen miles from Tunis, so famous, at this time, for its corsairs; and there settled with her followers, after having purchased some lands from the inhabitants of the country.

The citizens of Utica, considering them as their countrymen, and as descended from the same common stock, deputed envoys with very considerable presents, and exhorted them to build a city in the place where they had first settled. The natives of the country, from the esteem and respect frequently shown to strangers, made them the like offers. Thus all things conspiring with Dido's views, she built her city, which was appointed to pay an annual tribute to the Africans for the ground it stood upon, and called it Carthada, or Carthage, a name that in the Phœnician and Hebrew tongues (which have a great affinity) signifies the New City. It is said that, when the foundations were dug, a horse's head was found, which was thought a good omen, and a presage of the future warlike genius of that people.

> The Tyrians, landing near this holy ground,
> And digging here, a prosp'rous omen found:
> From under earth a courser's head they drew,
> Their growth and future fortune to foreshew;
> This fated sign, their foundress Juno gave,
> Of a soil fruitful, and a people brave.
> Virgil: Æneis i. 618-623 (Dryden's translation).

This princess was afterwards courted by Iarbas, king of Getulia, and threatened with a war in case of refusal. Dido, who had bound herself by an oath not to consent to a second marriage, being incapable of violating the faith she had sworn to Sichæus, desired time for deliberation, and for appeasing the manes of her first husband by sacrifice. Having, therefore, ordered a pile to be raised, she ascended it; and drawing out a dagger she had concealed under her robe, stabbed herself with it.

Virgil had made a great alteration in this history, by supposing that Æneas, his hero, was contemporary with Dido, though there was an interval of near three centuries between the one and the other; the era of the building of Carthage being fixed three hundred years lower than the destruction of Troy. This liberty is very excusable in a poet, who is not tied to the scrupulous accuracy of an historian; we admire with great reason, the judgment he has shown in his plan, when, to interest the Romans the more (for whom he wrote) in his subject, he has the art of introducing into it the implacable hatred which subsisted between Carthage and Rome, and ingeniously deduces the original of it from the very remote foundation of those two rival cities.

[1] Howel says the town consisted of three parts, viz., Cothon, or the port and buildings adjoining to it, which he supposes to have been first built; Megara, built next, and in respect of Cothon, called the New Town, or Karthada; and Byrsa, or the citadel, built last of all, and probably by Dido.

Cat o' mountain. IV. i. 263.

A name given to the leopard tribe; a wild cat.

Ceres. IV. i. 60, 75, 117, 125, 167.

A personification of the fruits of harvest. In Roman mythology the goddess of agriculture and all the fruits of the earth, and represented as riding in a chariot drawn by dragons, and crowned with poppies, or ears of corn.

One of the characters of the masque who was invoked to bring her gifts of wealth and prosperity to the newly betrothed pair.

Ceres is also identified with the Greek goddess "Demeter—Mother Earth." To Iris she remarked:

> *And with each end of thy blue bow dost crown*
> *My bosky acres and my unshrubb'd down,*
> *Rich scarf to my proud earth;* [IV. i. 80-82.]

She sang the following song in blessing Miranda and Ferdinand:

> *Earth's increase, foison plenty,*
> *Barns and garners never empty;*
> *Vines with clustering bunches growing;*
> *Plants with goodly burthen bowing;*
> *Spring come to you at the farthest*
> *In the very end of harvest!*
> *Scarcity and want shall shun you;*
> *Ceres' blessing so is on you.* [IV. i. 110-117.]

Claribel. II. i. 69, 245, 258; V. i. 209.

Daughter of Alonso, King of Naples, and married to the King of Tunis.

Malone says: "Shakespeare might have found this name in the *History of George Lord Faukonbridge*, a pamphlet that he probably read when he was writing *King John*. Claribel is there the concubine of King Richard I. and the mother of Lord Falconbridge."

Dido. I. ii. 75, 77; II. i. 80, 100, 101.

Queen of Carthage, daughter of Belus, King of Tyre. Her husband Sichæus, having been put to death by her brother Pygmalion, she fled to Africa and founded Carthage. There she was, according to Virgil, visited by Æneas, a Trojan prince, with whom she fell in love, but because he did not requite her she stabbed herself with a sword given her by him. The story of her relations with Æneas, of his desertion, and her consequent suicide is told by Virgil in his Æneid.

She is the heroine of numerous tragedies, among the most famous being *The Tragedy of Dido, Queen of Carthage*, by Christopher Marlowe, and *Dido and Æneas*, by Thomas Nashe. A ballad of *Queen Dido* is in the Pepysian collection, and is also printed in Percy's *Reliques*. This ballad, which was at one time a great favourite, is inscribed in the common printed copies, *Eneas, wandering Prince of Troy*. *See* Carthage.

Dis. IV. i. 89.

> Since they did plot
> The means that dusky Dis my daughter got,
> [IV. i. 88-89.]

= Pluto, the lord of Hades, and brother of Jove. He carried off Persephonè—Ceres daughter—while gathering flowers in Enna. Cf. Milton: *Paradise Lost*, iv. 268-272:

> Not that fair field
> Of Enna, where Proserpin in gathering flowers,
> Herself a fairer flower, by gloomy Dis
> Was gathered—which cost Ceres all that pain
> To seek her through the world—

Duke of Milan. I. ii. 437.

= Antonio (q.v.)

Duke of Milan. I. ii. 54, 58, 438; V. i. 107, 192.

= Prospero (q.v.) The Duchy of Milan was one of the states of the Holy Roman Empire.

England. II. ii. 30.

> A strange fish! Were
> I in England now, as once I was, and had but
> this fish painted, [II. ii. 29-31.]

Knight remarks: "It was usual for the Master of the Revels to license all public

shows; and in 1632 there is an entry in the office-book of Sir Henry Herbert, 'to James Seale to show a *strange fish* for half a year.' " The fish was painted on a board hung outside some booth at a fair. In 1604, according to the books at Stationers' Hall, was published "A strange reporte of a monstrous fish, that appeared in the form of a woman from her waist upward, seene in the sea."

Europe. II. i. 124.

Sir, you may thank yourself for this great loss,
That would not bless our Europe with your
daughter,
But rather lose her to an African; [II. i. 123-125.]

The reference is to the marriage of Claribel to the King of Tunis.

Ferdinand. I. ii. 212; II. i. 244; III. iii. 92; IV. i. 8; V. i. 139, 210.

Son to Alonso, King of Naples. Was one of the party shipwrecked on the desert island when returning from Tunis after attending the marriage of his sister Claribel.

By the aid of his magic Prospero arranged for each member of the party to be separated from the rest, and Ferdinand alone to discover his dwelling—he being intended by Prospero for Miranda's husband. Ferdinand being alone was almost given to despair, but by the aid of Ariel's music he was led from "his odd angle to the isle" to Prospero's presence where Miranda's beauty at once enslaved his heart. She says of him:

I might call him
A thing divine; for nothing natural
I ever saw no noble. [I. ii. 417-419.]

and Ferdinand of Miranda:

Most sure, the goddess
On whom these airs attend! [I. ii. 421-422.]

and in less time than three hours in each other's company Miranda made her avowal of love to Ferdinand. The course of true love was interrupted by Prospero who seized the opportunity to accuse Ferdinand of treachery when he heard his words concerning his claim to the crown of Naples:

thou dost here usurp
The name thou owest not; and hast put thyself
Upon this island as a spy, to win it
From me, the lord on 't. [I. ii. 453-456.]

The accusation against Ferdinand made Miranda his champion:

There 's nothing ill can dwell in such a temple:
If the ill spirit have so fair a house,
Good things will strive to dwell with 't.
[I. ii. 457-459.]

Thus the spell which Prospero had arranged to unite the two houses worked well, but to test the constancy of Ferdinand, Prospero spoke rudely to him, confined him in a cell, and set him to do such laborious work as was imposed upon Caliban his slave, afterwards telling him that such work was but a trial of his love for Miranda, and he had nobly stood the test. He therefore gave his paternal sanction to their betrothal, and furnished a masque for their entertainment enacted by Ariel and his fellows. Thus the blessings of Ceres, Iris, and Juno, were brought down upon the happy lovers:

Then, as my gift, and thine own acquisition
Worthily purchased, take my daughter:
[IV. i. 13-14.]

Alonso thought that his son Ferdinand had perished in the wreck. Antonio, Prospero's brother, too thought him dead, and in plotting for Alonso's death, and assuming the death of Ferdinand, thought that Sebastian would probably be the next heir of Naples.

Thus while Ferdinand was happy with Miranda, Alonso's grief at the supposed death of his son was more than he could bear. This, together with the effects of Prospero's speech, led him to contemplate committing suicide. He was however led by Ariel into Prospero's presence, and to his great astonishment was shown Ferdinand and Miranda at a game of chess.

When Prospero had forgiven his enemies, all assembled in his cell previous to setting out for Naples to witness the marriage of Prince Ferdinand and Miranda.

Yet oft to Fancy's chapel she would go
To pay her vows, and count the rosary o'er
Of her love's promised graces:—haply so
Miranda's hope had pictured Ferdinand
Long ere the gaunt wave tossed him on the strand.
Lowell; *Legend of Brittany*, xii.

Francisco. II. i. p. 1; III. iii. p. 1; V. i. p. 58.

One of the lords attendant upon Sebastian and Antonio. Little mention is made of him in the play. Luce [*Arden Shakespeare*] speaks of him as the "mysterious character."

He offered words of comfort to Alonso in his grief for the supposed loss of his son:

> Sir, he may live:
> I saw him beat the surges under him,
> And ride upon their backs; he trod the water,
> . . . . . .
> I not doubt
> He came alive to land. [II. i. 113-122.]

Luce [*Arden Shakespeare*] says: "Some think this speech should be Gonzalo's, who "almost persuaded . . . the king his son's alive (lines 234-236), and again says (line 325): "For he is, sure, i' th' island."

Throughout the remainder of the play only three more words are assigned to him:

> They vanish'd strangely. [III. iii. 39.]

Fury. IV. i. 259.

> Fury, Fury! there, Tyrant, there! hark, hark!
> [IV. i. 259.]

The name of a dog. *Hark, hark!* = a cry to set on dogs.

Gonzalo. I. ii. 161; II. i. 169, 265, 296, 316; V. i. 15, 62, 68, 204.

An honest old counsellor of Alonso, King of Naples; a witty and loyal old courtier. He is one of the pleasantest characters of the play.

Though he did not actually refuse to carry out Antonio's plans concerning Prospero and his daughter, he was in no way responsible for the treacherous action, and his natural kindness of heart caused him to render all assistance which lay in his power, furnishing Prospero with food, and clothing, and what he prized most "his books." Prospero says of him:

> A noble Neapolitan, Gonzalo,
> Out of his charity, who being then appointed
> Master of this design, did give us, with
> Rich garments, linens, stuffs and necessaries,
> Which since have steaded much; so, of his gentleness,
> Knowing I loved my books, he furnish'd me
> From mine own library with volumes that
> I prize above my dukedom. [I. ii. 161-168.]

In his efforts to comfort Alonso in his grief for Ferdinand's supposed death he again displayed the same kindly spirit. His inability to soothe Alonso caused him much discomfort, particularly as this discomfort was the subject of mockery between Antonio and Sebastian:

> Beseech you, sir, be merry; you have cause,
> So have we all, of joy; for our escape
> Is much beyond our loss. [II. i. 1-3 *et seq.*]

Antonio spoke of him as the visitor:

> The visitor will not give him o'er so. [II. i. 11.]

Johnson remarks: "Gonzalo gives not only advice, but comfort [to Alonso] and is therefore properly called *The Visitor*, like others who visit the sick or distressed to give them consolation."

To Alonso his loyalty was in striking contrast to the baseness of Antonio and Sebastian, who out of greed for power, plotted murder.

His picture of an ideal commonwealth was no doubt inspired by a passage in Florio's translation of Montaigne's *Essays*. *See* **Appendix V.**

In the face of danger he was particularly calm and composed. When the ship was driven ashore his calm half-serious comment was:

> The wills above be done! but
> I would fain die a dry death. [I. i. 69-70.]

When all the enemies of Prospero appeared before his cell to receive sentence from him as their judge, he spoke to Gonzalo in most endearing terms mentioning his loyalty both to himself and also to Alonso:

> O good Gonzalo,
> My true preserver, and a loyal sir
> To him thou follow'st! I will pay thy graces
> Home both in word and deed. [V. i. 68-71.]

In V. i. 13-17, Ariel also made particular mention to Prospero of Gonzalo's sorrow and dismay, and his true repentance for past misdeeds:

> but chiefly
> Him that you term'd, sir, "The good old lord, Gonzalo";
> His tears run down his beard, like winter's drops
> From eaves of reeds.

Johnson remarks: "It may be observed of Gonzalo, that, being the only good Man that appears with the King, he is the only Man that preserves his Cheerfulness in the wreck, and his Hope on the Island."

Hymen's lamps. IV. i. 23, 97.

Hymen. In Greek mythology the god of marriage. Originally a song sung at a Greek wedding. *Lamps.* The torches at the marriage procession. According to classical mythology, Hymen had but one lamp, or, properly speaking, torch. Cf. IV. i. 96-97:

Whose vows are, that no bed-right shall be paid
Till Hymen's torch be lighted:

and Milton: *L'Allegro*, 125-128:

There let Hymen oft appear
In saffron robe, with taper clear,
And pomp, and feast, and revelry,
With mask and antique pageantry;

Ind. II. ii. 64.

A common form of India in poetry.

Indian. II. ii. 36.

when they will not give a doit
to relieve a lame beggar, they will lay out ten
to see a dead Indian. [II. ii. 34-36.]

A North American Indian. North American Indians were brought to England in 1577 by the explorer Sir Martin Frobisher. In his History of the First Voyage for the Discovery of Cataya, we have the following account of a savage taken by him: "The captaine notwithstanding desirous to bring some token from thence of his being there, was greatly discontented that he had not before apprehended some of them: . . . for knowing wel how they greatly delighted in our toyes, and specially in belles, he rang a pretty lowbell, making signes that he would giue him the same that would come and fetch it. . . . so that in the end one of them came nere the ship side to receiue the bel; which when he thought to take at the captaines hand, he was thereby taken himselfe: . . . Whereupon when he found himselfe in captiuity, for very choler and disdaine he bit his tongue in twaine within his mouth: notwithstanding, he died not thereof, but liued vntill he came in England, and then he died of cold which he had taken at sea."

In the original instructions given by Queen Elizabeth to Frobisher concerning his voyage to Cataya, occurs the following: "You shall not bring aboue iii or iiii persons of that countrey, the which shall be of diuers ages, and shall be taken in such sort as you may best avoyde offence of that people."

Iris. IV. i. p. 60.

One of the characters of the masque arranged by Prospero for the entertainment of Miranda and Ferdinand after he had given his paternal sanction to their betrothal. The characters of the masque usually represented one of the deities of classical mythology. The goddess Iris was the messenger of the gods, especially of the goddess Juno and the "Goddess of the Rainbow," being usually represented in a rainbow coloured robe. Cf. *2 Henry VI.* iii. ii. 406-407:

For wheresoe'er thou art in this world's globe,
I 'll have an Iris that shall find thee out.

Luce [*Arden Shakespeare*] remarks: "Meissner draws attention to a similarity between the Masque of *The Tempest* and a Festival performance at Stirling Castle on the occasion of the baptism of Prince Henry in 1594—'The representation of happiness by the three figures Ceres, Iris, and Juno . . . ,'"

She was greeted by Ceres as:

Hail, many-colour'd messenger, that ne'er
Dost disobey the wife of Jupiter; [IV. i. 76-77.]

and:

with each end of thy blue bow dost crown
My bosky acres and my unshrubb'd down,
[IV. i. 80-81.]

Island, The.

The scene of the action of the play. The island is supposed to have been uninhabi-

ted. It has been suggested that Shakespeare referred to the island of Lampedusa, a small island lying between Malta and the coast of Africa; thus its geographical situation would be in agreement with the references in the Play to Tunis, Algiers, and Naples. Among sailors in the Mediterranean it was known as the "Enchanted Island." Thus it would be a fitting home for Prospero, the magician.

Hunter says: "It lies midway between Malta and the African coast;"—"In its dimensions Lampedusa is what we may imagine Prospero's island to have been; in circuit thirteen miles and a half;"—it is "situated in a stormy sea;"—it is "a deserted island;" it has the reputation of "being enchanted." "What I contend for is the absolute claim of Lampedusa to have been the island in the poet's mind when he drew the scenes of this drama." "In the rocks of Lampedusa there are hollows;"—Caliban is styled in the "hard rock:" in Lampedusa there was a Hermit's cell—"this cell is surely the origin of the cell of Prospero:" Caliban's employment was collecting firewood;—"Malta is supplied with firewood from Lampedusa." *Knight.*

The Bermudas are also supposed to be the scene of the Play, the idea being taken from Ariel's speech:

> Thou call'dst me up at midnight to fetch dew
> From the still-vex'd Bermoothes,[1] [I. ii. 228-229.]

The island is also supposed to be purely imaginary. From an old ballad entitled *The Enchanted Island*, which is based on *The Tempest* may be gathered the more appropriate words concerning the locality of the island. When the magician, at whose enchantment it rose from the waters, broke his magic wand, the island sank, and the sailors sailed away from their place of banishment:

> From that daie forth the Isle has beene
> By wandering sailors never seene.
> Some say 'tis buryed deepe
> Beneath the sea, which breakes and rores
> Above its savage rockie shores,
> Nor ere is knowne to sleepe.

"Franz Horn asks whether Prospero left Caliban to govern the island? We believe the island sunk into the sea, and was no more seen, after Prospero broke his staff and drowned his book." *Knight.*

Italy. II. i. 110.

Jack. IV. i. 198.

> Monster, your fairy, which you say is a harmless fairy, has done little better than played the Jack with us. [IV. i. 196-198.]

Acted like a knave; alluding to the Will-o'-the-wisp, or Jack-o-lantern. In myth Jack-o-lantern is a personification of *ignis fatuus*, a phosphorescent light that appears in the night in marshy places, occasioned by the decomposition of vegetable matter.

"He has played *Jack with a lantern;* has led us about like an *ignis fatuus*, by which travellers are decoyed into the mire." *Johnson.*

Jove's lightnings . . . thunder-claps. I. ii. 201.

> Jove's lightnings, the precursors
> O' the dreadful thunder-claps, [I. ii. 201-202.]

Probably an expression for the phenomenon called *St. Elmo's Fire, i.e.*, electric lights seen playing about the masts of ships in stormy weather. The phenomenon is more frequent in north than south latitudes.

Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* furnishes an interesting account of this meteor, as seen during *The voyage of Robert Tomson Marchant, into Nova Hispania* in the yeere 1555: "I do remember that in the great and boysterous storme of this foule weather, in the night, there came upon the toppe of our maine yarde and maine maste, a certaine little light, much like unto the light of a little candle, which the Spaniards called the Cuerpo santo, and saide it was S. Elmo, whom they take to bee the advocate of Sailers. At the which sight the Spaniards

[1] *See* J.B.S., *Notes and Queries*, Seventh Series—Volume First, January—June, 1886; and Rev. J. B. McGovern: Ninth Series—Volume Three, January—June, 1899.

fell downe upon their knees and worshipped it, praying God and S. Elmo to cease the torment. . . . This light continued aboord our ship about three houres, flying from maste to maste, and from top to top: and sometime it would be in two or three places at once. I informed my selfe of learned men afterward what that light should be, and they said, that it was but a congelation of the winde and vapours of the Sea congealed with the extremitie of the weather, which flying in the winde many times doeth chance to hit on the masts and shrowds of the ships that are at sea in foule weather. And in trueth I do take it to be so: for that I have seen the like in other ships at sea, and in sundry ships at once."

While the English lay at the Bermudas, in their way to Virginia [that is, in the year 1609 and part of 1610, when they were shipwrecked there] says Harris from the memoirs of Smith, Norwood and Strachie, "there was an extraordinary halo seen, and the thunder and lightning that followed upon it, was such as almost frighted them out of their wits." *Malone.*

Douce remarks: "It has been called by the several names of the fire of *Saint Helen*, *Saint Elm*, *Saint Herm*, *Saint Clare*, *Saint Peter*, and *Saint Nicholas*. Whenever it appeared as a single flame it was supposed by the ancients to be *Helena*, the sister of Castor and Pollux, and in this state to bring ill luck, from the calamities which this lady is known to have caused in the Trojan war. When it came double it was called Castor and Pollux, and accounted a good omen. It has been described as a little blaze of fire, sometimes appearing by night on the tops of soldiers' lances, or at sea on masts and sail-yards whirling and leaping in a moment from one place to another. Some have said, but erroneously, that it never appears but *after* a tempest."

In Roman mythology Jove was the lord of heaven and was worshipped as the god of rain, storms, thunder and lightning.

Jove's stout oak. V. i. 45.

to the dread rattling thunder
Have I given fire, and rifted Jove's stout oak
With his own bolt: [V. i. 44-46.]

The oak was sacred to Jove. *Bolt* = the thunder-bolt.

The speech of Prospero [V. i. 33-57] containing the above quotation is founded upon the invocation of Medea in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, vii. 265-281 [Golding's translation]:

Ye Ayres and windes: ye Elves of Hilles, of Brookes, of Woods alone,
Of standing Lakes, and of the Night approche ye everychone.
Through helpe of whom (the crooked bankes much wondring at the thing)
I have compelled streames to run cleane backward to their spring.
By charmes I make the calme Seas rough, and make ye rough Seas plaine
And cover all the Skie with Cloudes, and chase them thence againe.
By charmes I rayse and lay the windes, and burst the Vipers jaw,
And from the bowels of the Earth both stones and trees doe drawe.
Whole woods and Forestes I remove: I make the Mountaines shake,
And even the Earth it selfe to grone and fearfully to quake.
I call up dead men from their graves: and thee O lightsome Moone
I darken oft, though beaten brasse abate thy perill soone
Our Sorcerie dimmes the Morning faire, and darkes ye Sun at Noone.
The flaming breath of firie Bulles ye quenched for my sake.
And caused there unwieldie neckes the bended yoke to take.
Among the Earthbred brothers you a mortall war did set
And brought a sleepe the Dragon fell whose eyes were never shet.

Juno. IV. i. 102, 109, 125, 131.

The queen of the sky, wife of Jupiter, chief of the gods:

Hail, many-colour'd messenger, that ne'er
Dost disobey the wife of Jupiter; [IV. i. 76-77.]

In mythology peacocks are sacred to Juno, and draw her carriage.

As a character of the masque her allegorical force was to grant happiness. She spoke as the patroness of marriage. Accompanied by Ceres "bounteous sister" she goes to "bless this twain"; she to pronounce a

marriage-blessing on Ferdinand and Miranda, and Ceres, wealth and prosperity. With Ceres she sang:

Honour, riches, marriage-blessing,
Long continuance, and increasing,
Hourly joys be still upon you!
Juno sings her blessings on you.
[IV. i. 106-109.]

"She was the queen of the heavens; she protected cleanliness, and presided over marriage and child-birth. . . . She is represented sitting on a throne with a diadem on her head and a golden sceptre in her right hand. Some peacocks generally sat by her, . . . while Iris behind her displayed the thousand colours of her beautiful rainbow. She is sometimes carried through the air in a rich chariot drawn by peacocks." *Classical Dictionary.*

Whalley considers the passage:

High'st queen of state,
Great Juno comes; I know her by her gait.
[IV. i. 102.]

a remarkable instance of Shakespeare's knowledge of ancient poetic story: and that the hint was furnished by the *Divum incedo Regina* of Virgil.

Jupiter. IV. i. 77.

The chief god of the Romans.

Kate. II. ii. 54.

The name of the ill-tempered and sharp-tongued heroine of *The Taming of the Shrew.*

King of Naples. I. ii. 112.

So dry he was for sway, wi' the King of Naples
To give him annual tribute, do him homage,
Subject his coronet to his crown, and bend
The dukedom, yet unbow'd,— [I. ii. 112-115.]

= Alonso. Antonio agreed to pay an annual tribute and to do homage to the King of Naples, on condition that Alonso assisted him to secure the Dukedom of Milan.

King of Naples. I. ii. 121, 431.

= Alonso (q.v.)

King of Tunis. II. i. 7.

= King of Carthage, married to Claribel, daughter of the King of Naples.

King Stephano. IV. i. 223, 227.

O King Stephano! O peer! O worthy
Stephano! look what a wardrobe here is for thee!
[IV. i. 223-224.]

An allusion to the old ballad printed in Percy's *Reliques*, entitled *Take thy old cloak about thee*, two stanzas of which are given in *Othello* II. iii. 91-98:

King Stephen was a worthy peere,
His breeches cost him but a crowne,
He held them sixpence all too deere;
Therefore he calld the taylor lowne.
He was a wight of high renowne,
And thouse but of a low degree:
Itt's pride that putts this countrye downe,
Man, take thine old cloake about thee.

Margery. II. ii. 53.

Marian. II. ii. 53.

Mariners. I. i. p. 5, p. 53.

= the sailors; the crew who displayed every readiness of resource when in imminent danger of shipwreck owing to the storm of thunder and lightning. Although their skill was all that could be desired, yet something seemed to frustrate their every aim. The first words of Miranda to her father explained the cause of this:

If by your art, my dearest father, you have
Put the wild waters in this roar, allay them.
[I. ii. 1-2.]

Mars's hot-minion. IV. i. 98.

Mars's hot-minion is return'd again; [IV. i. 98.]

= hot-blooded darling, *i.e.*, Venus.

Master of a Ship. I. i. p. 1; V. i. p. 216.

The captain or commander of a merchant-vessel. The play opens with a ship in a storm at sea, and the various orders exchanged between the ship master and the boatswain.

The following observations on the mari-

time technicalities in Act I., Scene i. are extracted from an article by Lord Mulgrave, which will be found at length in Boswell's Variorum edition of Shakespeare, 1821:

"The first scene of *The Tempest* is a very striking instance of the great accuracy of Shakespeare's knowledge in a professional science, the most difficult to attain without the help of experience. He must have acquired it by conversation with some of the most skilful seamen of that time. No books had then been published on the subject.

"The succession of events is strictly observed in the natural progress of the distress described; the expedients adopted are the most proper that could have been devised for a chance of safety: and it is neither to the want of skill of the seamen, or the bad qualities of the ship, but solely to the power of Prospero, that the shipwreck is to be attributed.

"The words of command are not only strictly proper, but are only such as point the object to be attained, and no superfluous ones of detail. Shakespeare's ship was too well manned to make it necessary to tell the seamen how they were to do it, as well as what they were to do.

"He has shown a knowledge of the new improvements, as well as the doubtful points of seamanship; one of the latter he has introduced, under the only circumstance in which it was indisputable.

"The events certainly follow too near one another for the strict time of representation: but perhaps, if the whole length of the play was divided by the time allowed by the critics, the portion allotted to this scene might not be too little for the whole. But he has taken care to mark intervals between the different operations by exits:

1*st Position.* Fall to 't yarely, or we run ourselves aground.	1*st Position.* Land discovered under the lee; the wind blowing too fresh to hawl upon a wind with the topsail set. —Yare is an old sea-term for briskly, in use at that time. This first command is therefore a notice to be ready to execute any orders quickly.
2*d Position.* Yare, yare! Take in the top-sail! Blow, till thou burst thy wind, if room enough!	2*d Position.* The topsail is taken in. —'Blow till thou burst thy wind, if room enough.' The danger in a good sea-boat, is only from being too near the land: this is introduced here to account for the next order.
3*d Position.* Down with the topmast! * Yare; lower, lower! Bring her to try with the main-course!	3*d Position.* The gale encreasing, the topmast is struck, to take the weight from aloft, make the ship drive less to leeward, and bear the mainsail under which the ship is laid-to.
4*th Position.* Lay her a-hold, a-hold! set her two courses! off to sea again; lay her off!	4*th Position.* The ship, having driven near the shore, the mainsail is hawled up; the ship wore, and the two courses set on the other tack, to endeavour to clear the land that way.
5*th Position.* We split! we split!	5*th Position.* The ship, not able to weather a point, is driven on shore."

In Act V. Scene i. the Master and the Boatswain were, with Alonso and his courtiers, brought into Prospero's cell to receive forgiveness.

Mediterranean flote. I. ii. 234.

> and for the rest o' the fleet,
> Which I dispersed, they all have met again,
> And are upon the Mediterranean flote,
> [I. ii. 232-234.]

An inland sea, enclosed east by Asia, south by Africa, and north by Europe. *Flote* = sea.

Hudson [*Windsor Shakespeare*] remarks: "*Flote*, like the French *flot*, is *flood*, *wave*, or *sea*. This passage shows that the scene

*The striking the top masts was a new invention in Shakespeare's time, which he here very properly introduces. Sir Henry Manwaring says, "It is not yet agreed amongst all seamen whether it is better for a ship to hull with her topmast up or down." In the Postscript to the Seaman's Dictionary, he afterwards gives his own opinion: "If you have sea-room, it is never good to strike the topmast." Shakspeare has placed his ship in the situation in which it was indisputably right to strike the topmast, when he had not sea-room.

of the play is *not* laid in the Bermudas, as there has not been time for the rest of the fleet to sail so far. And Ariel's trip to fetch the dew mentioned above [I. ii. 228] was a much greater feat than going from one part of the Bermoothes to another."

Ford, the dramatist, in his *Love's Sacrifice* uses the word in two instances:

Fern. Traitor to friendship, whither shall I run,
That lost to reason, cannot sway the float
Of the unruly faction in my blood! Act I. Scene ii.
though
the float
Of infinite desires swell to a tide
Too high so soon to ebb, yet by this hand,
Act II. Scene iii.

Meg. II. ii. 53.

An abbreviation for 'Mârgaret.'

Milan, Absolute. I. ii. 109.

To have no screen between this part he play'd
And him he play'd it for, he needs will be
Absolute Milan. [I. ii. 107-109.]

= the actual Duke of Milan, without any restrictions.

Milan. I. ii. 115, 126; II. i. 279, 291; III. iii. 70; V. i. 160, 310.

Should presently extirpate me and mine
Out of the dukedom, and confer fair Milan,
With all the honours, on my brother:
[I. ii. 125-127.]

= the dukedom of Milan.

Milan. V. i. 205.

Was Milan thrust from *Milan*, that his issue
Should become kings of Naples? [V. i. 205-206.]

= dukedom of Milan.

Milan. I. ii. 130; II. i. 132.

= the City of Milan.

Milan. II. i. 112.

O thou mine heir
Of Naples and of Milan, what strange fish
Hath made his meal on thee? [II. i. 111-113.]

= Ferdinand (q.v.)

Milan. V. i. 86.

I will disease me, and myself present
As I was sometime Milan: [V. i. 85-86.]

Prospero is arrayed in his robes by Ariel and now appears as the one time Duke of Milan.

Milan. V. i. 205.

Was *Milan* thrust from Milan, that his issue
Should become kings of Naples? [V. i. 205-206.]

= Prospero (q.v.)

Miranda. I. ii. 48, 53; III. i. 36, 37, 60.

The heroine of the play. Daughter of Prospero the exiled Duke of Milan, and niece of Antonio the usurping duke. When Prospero was driven from his dukedom she was with him placed in a "rotten carcass of a boat" which was driven by the wind and waves on a desert island. Her sole companions were her aged father—the princely magician—and Ariel and his attendant sprites who hovered over her, ministering to her needs. Prospero speaks of Miranda as "a cherubim that did preserve him." [I. ii. 152.]

Of her origin and fellow men she knew nothing. She had never seen one of her own sex, but had lived among the rocks and woods on the enchanted island:

Of thee, my dear one, thee, my daughter, who
Art ignorant of what thou art, nought knowing
Of whence I am, nor that I am more better
Than Prospero, master of a full poor cell,
And thy no greater father. [I. ii. 17-21.]

When first she appears in the play, she displayed a true womanly sympathy for those whom she saw suffering from the effects of the shipwreck:

O, I have suffer'd
With those that I saw suffer! a brave vessel,
Who had, no doubt, some noble creature in her,
Dash'd all to pieces.
. . . . . .
Poor souls, they perish'd!
Had I been any god of power, I would
Have sunk the sea within the earth, [I. ii. 5-11.]

Prospero too makes mention of her compassion for the sufferers:

The direful spectacle of the wreck, which touch'd
The very virtue of compassion in thee,
[I. ii. 26-27.]

and tried to calm her mind in assuring her that in reality there "was no harm done."

The same tender compassion is again evident when her father related to her the troubles of his early life; the loss of his dukedom, his expulsion from Milan, and finally the dangers experienced during the voyage:

Alack, for pity!
I, not remembering how I cried out then,
Will cry it o'er again: [I. ii. 132-134.]

As Prospero wished to converse in secret with Ariel concerning the wreck, he touched Miranda with his magic wand causing her to sleep. On awakening she first saw Ferdinand, Alonso's son, and being unfamiliar with creatures of her own kind, she supposed him from his beauty to be a spirit:

I might call him
A thing divine; for nothing natural
I ever saw so noble. [I. ii. 417-419.]

while Ferdinand on the other hand thought her, from her refined beauty and natural simplicity to be celestial, and fell in love with her at first sight.

"it is love at first sight:—

At the first sight
They have changed eyes. [I. ii. 440-441.]

and it appears to me, that in all cases of real love, it is at one moment that it takes place. That moment may have been prepared by previous esteem, admiration, or even affection,—yet love seems to require a momentary act of volition, by which a tacit bond of devotion is imposed,—a bond not to be thereafter broken without violating what should be sacred in our nature. Coleridge: *Essays and Lectures on Shakespeare.*"

In her love making with Ferdinand she displayed the same charm of a simple and modest nature, and an ignorance of any association with the conventional laws of society. She says of Ferdinand:

I have no ambition
To see a goodlier man. [I. ii. 482-483.]

In its portrayal of mutual love and affection of an innocent and modest nature the meeting between Ferdinand and Miranda in III. i. 15-92, is probably unrivalled in literature.

After the close of this scene very little is heard of Miranda. She appears with Ferdinand in front of Prospero's cell during the masque furnished by her father for their entertainment after he had given his sanction and blessing to their betrothal.

In conclusion she was introduced to the astonished Alonso, engaged in a game of chess with Ferdinand whom he had thought was "i' the ooze bedded."

Eventually Prospero forgave his brother and all set out for Naples where Ferdinand and Miranda were married:

and in the morn
I'll bring you to your ship, and so to Naples,
Where I have hope to see the nuptial
Of these our dear-beloved solemnized;
[V. i. 306-309.]

Miranda is described as a beautiful, modest, and tender woman, and delicately refined:

"The character of Miranda resolves itself into the very elements of womanhood. She is beautiful, modest, and tender, and she is these only; they comprise her whole being, external and internal. She is so perfectly unsophisticated, so delicately refined, that she is all but ethereal. Let us imagine any other woman placed beside Miranda—even one of Shakespeare's own loveliest and sweetest creations—there is not one of them that could sustain the comparison for a moment; not one that would not appear somewhat coarse and artificial when brought into immediate contact with this pure child of nature, this Eve of an enchanted Paradise." Jameson: *Shakespeare's Heroines.*

Verity remarks: "No attribute, in fact, of Miranda's character is inappropriate. She is precisely what under the circumstances she ought to be, what Shakespeare alone could make her: unique among his heroines[1] as the conditions of her life have been unique. In her elemental simplicity (one must use the word often because it expresses her character better than any other) she is to be compared with the yet sinless Eve of *Paradise Lost* and the ideal 'child of nature' whom Wordsworth loved to paint

1 Perhaps Perdita in *The Winter's Tale* comes nearest to her.

in poems like 'Three Years She Grew' and 'She was a Phantom of Delight.' "

Moll. II. ii. 53.

An abbreviation for "Mary."

Monsieur Monster. III. ii. 21.

he 's no standard.
We 'll not run, Monsieur Monster. [III. ii. 20-21.]

Standard = Standard-bearer. Trinculo puns on the word, intimating that Caliban is reeling-drunk and unable to stand.

Mountain. IV. i. 257.

Hey, Mountain, hey! [IV. i. 257.]

The name of a dog.

Naiads. IV. i. 128.

You nymphs, call'd Naiads, of the windring brooks, [IV. i. 128.]

In Greek mythology, the Naiads were goddesses of fresh-water fountains and streams, and were endowed with prophetic power.

In the 20th Song of Drayton's *Polyolbion*, the Naiads are represented as making chaplets with all the tribe of aquatic flowers:

Then *Drymo* for the Okes that fhaddow euery banke,
Phylodice, the boughs for Garlands frefh and ranke,
Which the cleare *Naiades* make them Anadems withall,
When they are cald to daunfe in *Neptunes* mightie hall.

Naples. I. ii. 235; II. i. 132, 247, 259, 262; II. ii. 76; III. iii. 27; V. i. 149, 206, 307; Epilogue 5.

= City of Naples.

Naples. I. ii. 433, 434.

A single thing, as I am now, that wonders
To hear thee speak of Naples. He does hear me;
And that he does I weep: myself am Naples,
[I. ii. 432-434.]

Ferdinand believes that his father Alonso has perished in the wreck, and therefore believes himself and the King of Naples to be one and the same person.

Naples. II. i. 112.

O thou mine heir
Of Naples and of Milan, what strange fish
Hath made his meal on thee? [II. i. 111-113.]

= Ferdinand (q.v.)

Naples. II. i. 245.

= King of Naples.

Naples. II. i. 256, 292.

= The crown of Naples.

Neptune. I. ii. 204; V. i. 35.

the fire and cracks
Of sulphurous roaring the most mighty Neptune
Seem to besiege, and make his bold waves tremble,
Yea, his dread trident shake. [I. ii. 203-206.]

The old god of the sea, represented with a trident in his hand.

So Milton in his *Comus; a Masque presented at Ludlow Castle*, 1634, 896-897:

Whilst from off the waters fleet
Thus I set my printless feet
O'er the cowslip's velvet head,

The speech of Prospero V. i. 33-57 containing:

And ye that on the sands with printless foot
Do chase the ebbing Neptune, and do fly him
When he comes back; [V. i. 34-36.]

is founded upon the invocation of Medea in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, vii., 265-281 [Golding's translation.] *See* Jove's stout oak.

Nymphs. IV. i. p. 134.

The Nymphs represented the band of masquers. In mythology they represent a number of inferior female divinities.

The Naides were certain inferior deities who presided over rivers, springs, wells, and fountains. The Naides generally inhabited the country, and resorted to the woods or meadows near the stream over which they presided, whence the name. *Classical Dictionary.*

Their dresses were made of sedge—the

usual adornment for river gods—and were therefore emblematic of their abode.

They were commanded by Iris—bearing Juno's message—to attend the masque:

You nymphs, call'd Naiads, of the windring brooks,
With your sedged crowns and ever-harmless looks,
Leave your crisp channels, and on this green land
Answer your summons; Juno does command:
Come, temperate nymphs, and help to celebrate
A contract of true love; be not too late.
[IV. i. 128-133.]

With the reapers they engaged in a graceful dance, towards the end of which Prospero started suddenly, spoke, and they with a strange, hollow, and confused noise vanished:

Well done!
avoid; no more! [IV. i. 142.]

On a ship at Sea.

The Scene of Act I. Scene i. The opening scene of the Play represents a ship at sea in the midst of thunder and lightning. Prospero, who by the aid of his magic could command the wind and the waves, had raised the storm as a punishment to Alonso and his train for their former cruelty to himself and his daughter Miranda. The ship was wrecked on the return journey from Tunis, after the wedding of Alonso's daughter, Claribel.

Other Spirits attending on Prospero. III. iii. p. 20, p. 83; IV. i. p. 257.

Act III., Scene iii., preceding 20. The strange shapes who set a banquet before the weary Alonso and his courtiers, danced about it with gentle actions of salutation, and inviting the King, and his attendants to eat, departed.

Act III., Scene iii., preceding 83. To the sound of soft music they again appeared, danced, and carried out the banqueting table.

Act IV., Scene i., preceding 257. When Caliban, Trinculo, and Stephano crept towards Prospero's cell, with the object of murdering him, they were hunted about by divers Spirits in the shape of dogs and hounds, set on by Prospero and Ariel. Grey considers that Shakespeare might have had in view "*Arthur's Chace*, which many believe to be in France, and think that it is a kennel of black dogs followed by unknown huntsmen with an exceeding great sound of horns, as if it was a very hunting of some wild beast."

This legendary belief in spectral hunters is also alluded to by Boccaccio in the *Decameron*, Fifth Day, Novel VIII.

Paphos. IV. i. 93.

I met her deity
Cutting the clouds towards Paphos, [IV. i. 92-93.]

A town in Cyprus the birthplace of Aphroditè, the Greek goddess of love, and a favourite haunt of Venus, hence she is frequently called the Paphian goddess. *Dove-drawn.* Venus was represented as being drawn in her chariot by doves. Cf. *Merchant of Venice*, II. vi. 5-6:

O, ten times faster Venus' pigeons fly
To seal love's bonds new-made,

Phœbus' steeds. IV. i. 30.

or Phœbus' steeds are founder'd,
Or Night kept chain'd below. [IV. i. 30-31.]

In Greek mythology Phœbus was called the sun-god because he drove the chariot of the sun. A similar train of ideas occur in the 23rd Book of Homer's *Odyssey*, thus translated by Chapman:

who th' extended night
Withheld in long date, nor would let the light
Her wing-hooved horse join (Lampus, Phaeton)
Those ever colts that bring the morning on
To worldly men;

Cf. Baggorre: *Alcestis* 4-5:

Straight he sought him, and Apollo, having heard his story,
Said—"Alceste you shall gain,
"Steeds and chariot I 'll obtain
"And you shall have the glory."
To his chariot of the sun Phoebus yoked the creatures,
Broke and trained them in a trice
By driving round Olympus twice;
Rare such skilful teachers!

Hudson [*Windsor Shakespeare*] says: "The 'foundering' of a horse is explained

by Cotgrave as 'heating of his feet by over much travell' "; and Topsell says (*The Historie of Foore Footed Beastes, 1608*): "It cometh when a horse is heated . . . the horse cannot go, but wil stand cripling with al his foure legs together."

Phœnix. III. iii. 23.

that in Arabia
There is one tree, the phœnix' throne; one phœnix
At this hour reigning there. [III. iii. 22-24.]

This idea seems to have been taken from a passage in Pliny's *Natvrall Historie* [Holland's translation] Book XIII., chapter IV.: "I my felfe verily haue heard ftrange things of this kind of tree, and namely in regard of the bird Phœnix, which is fuppofed to haue taken that name of this Date tree, for it was affured to me, that the faid bird died with that tree, and reuiued of it felfe as the tree fprung againe." *See* Arabia.

The Phœnix is said to have four times appeared in Egypt, first under Sesostris, next under Amasis, again under Ptolemy III. and once more in 34 A.D. It is mentioned by Ovid, Athenæus, Tacitus and other ancient writers.

See Phœnix, *As You Like It*, page 51.

Picture of Nobody. III. ii. 136.

This is the tune of our catch, played by the picture of Nobody. [III. ii. 135-136.]

The allusion is to the print of *Nobody*, a ludicrous figure of a head, arms and legs, sometimes represented on sign-boards of inns, and streets, and of which a representation is prefixed to the comedy of *No-body and Some-body*, 1600.[1]

Westward for Smelts, a book which Shakespeare appears to have read, was printed for John Trundle, and are to be sold at his shop in Barbican, at the *signe* of the *No-body*, 1620.

The following verses form the beginning of a popular old ballad, called *The Well-spoken Nobody*, the unique copy of which, in the Miller collection at Britwell-house, supplied Mr. Halliwell with a curious engraving, showing a floor all bestrewed with domestic utensils and implements broken to pieces, and a fantastic figure in the midst bearing a scroll with the words:

"Nobody is my name
that beyreth every bodyes blame."

"Many speke of Roben Hoode that never shott in his bowe,
So many have layed faultes to me, which I did never knowe;
But now beholde here I am,
Whom all the worlde doeth diffame
Long hath they also skorned me,
And locked my mouthe for speking free.
As many a Godly man they have so served,
Which unto them Gods truth hath shewed;
Of such they have burned and hanged some,
That unto their ydolatrye wold not come:
The ladye Truthe they have locked in cage,
Sayeng that of her Nobody had knowledge,
For as much nowe as they name Nobodye,
I think verilye they speke of me:
Wherfore to answere I nowe beginne,—
The locke of my mouthe is opened with ginne,
Wrought by no man, but by Gods grace,
Unto whom be prayse in every place."

Poor-John. II. ii. 29.

A fish: he smells like a fish; a very ancient and fish-like smell; a kind of not of the newest Poor-John. [II. ii. 27-29.]

A dried hake. Cf. *Romeo and Juliet* I. i. 32-33:

'Tis well thou art not fish; if thou hadst, thou hadst been poor John.

Prosper. II. ii. 2.

All the infections that the sun sucks up
From bogs, fens, flats, on Prosper fall, and make him
By inch-meal a disease! [II. ii. 1-3.]

= Prospero.

Prosper. II. ii. 88.

Thou dost me yet but little hurt; thou wilt anon, I know it by thy trembling: now Prosper works upon thee. [II. ii. 87-89.]

A reference to Prospero and his magic powers which, according to Caliban, are influencing Stephano.

1 *See Notes and Queries.* Fifth Series.—Volume First. January—June, 1874.

Prosper. III. iii. 99.

Methought the billows spoke, and told me of it;
The winds did sing it to me; and the thunder,
That deep and dreadful organ-pipe, pronounced
The name of Prosper: [III. iii. 96-99.]

Here the burthen which the thunder bore throughout to the song of the billows and winds was the name 'Prospero.' Luce: [*Arden Shakespeare.*]

Prospero. I. ii. 20, 72; II. i. 271, 326; III. ii. 155; III. iii. 70; V. i. 107, 119, 134, 159, 211.

The rightful Duke of Milan who was deposed by his brother Antonio, aided by the King of Naples. With his daughter Miranda he was cast out to sea "in a rotten carcass of a boat" which finally drifted to a desert island. Here Prospero practised magic:

In few, they hurried us aboard a bark,
Bore us some leagues to sea; where they prepared
A rotten carcass of a butt, not rigg'd,
Nor tackle, sail, nor mast; [I. ii. 144-147.]

He was a man of many intellectual pursuits, but his devotion to his secret studies caused him to forget his duties as a ruler and a father. He handed over the duty of government to his brother Antonio and his neglect cost him his dukedom, for Antonio usurped his power. His child too was thus deprived of her inheritance.

His misfortunes however were the means of bringing to his mind a keener sense of his duty to his daughter. He now devoted himself to her education, putting to the best possible use the powers which he had gained by intermittent study, in order to restore her to her rightful position.

Circumstances placed his enemies in his power, for after living sixteen years on the island, he raised a tempest by the means of his magic and caused the shipwreck of Antonio and others of his train. In his dealing with his enemies we see the nobility of his character and particularly his power of self control. With the aid of his magic power he could bring down upon them a terrible revenge, but his strong reasoning power told him that forgiveness was ever more noble than revenge, so he kept his personal feelings in check punishing them only in an indirect manner for their own good, not for any direct interests of his own:

Yet with my nobler reason 'gainst my fury
Do I take part: the rarer action is
In virtue than in vengeance: they being penitent,
The sole drift of my purpose doth extend
Not a frown further. [V. i. 26-30.]

Alonso he nobly pardoned, and showered down a blessing upon him in giving to his son Ferdinand a "third of his own life":

for I
Have given you here a third of mine own life,
Or that for which I live; [IV. i. 2-4.]

His mercy was also extended to the base Antonio and Sebastian, though they were not received into his affection. Of Antonio, Prospero says:

For you, most wicked sir, whom to call brother
Would even infect my mouth, I do forgive
Thy rankest fault,— [V. i. 130-132.]

"It is in these closing scenes, that the grave serenity of Prospero's character—his elevation above ignoble passion—shines forth most radiantly; and the fact (says Dowden) that this spirit characterises all Shakespeare's last plays is one of the reasons why Prospero has come to be associated so closely with the poet himself."

"The name seems to be allegorical of his beneficent character. He is the 'happy-making' Providence of the play; Latin, *prosper*, fortunate." *Verity.*

"Prospero—with his magical powers, his superhuman wisdom, his moral worth and grandeur, and his kingly dignity, is one of the most sublime visions that ever swept with ample robes, pale brow, and sceptred hand, before the eye of fancy. He controls the invisible world, and works through the agency of spirits; not by any evil and forbidden compact, but solely by superior might of intellect—by potent spells gathered from the lore of ages, and abjured when he mingles again as a man with his fellow men. He is as distinct a being from the necromancers and astrologers celebrated in Shakespeare's age as can well be imagined: and all the wizards of poetry and fiction, even Faust and St. Leon, sink into common-

places before the princely, the philosophic, the benevolent Prospero."

Jameson: *Shakespeare's Heroines.*

Prospero's speech at the conclusion of the masque is one of many frequently quoted in Shakespeare's writings, the following lines of which are inscribed on his monument in Westminster Abbey:

The Cloud capt Tow'rs,
The Gorgeous Palaces,
The Solemn Temples,
The Great Globe itſelf,
Yea all which it Inherit,
Shall Diſsolve;
And like the baſeleſs Fabrick of a Viſion
Leave not a wreck behind.[1]

Parts of the Play are enacted before Prospero's cell.

The character of Prospero seems to have been suggested to Shakespeare from circumstances recorded in the life of Gian Galeazzo Visconti, Duke of Milan, a patron of Petrarch, the founder of Milan Cathedral, and a man much addicted to books and studious retirement.

Prospero's cell, Before.

The cell or cave of Prospero which was hewn out of a rock. Here Prospero lived with his daughter Miranda. The cell was divided into several apartments in one of which—called the study—Prospero kept his books, dealing with magic. The sole servant of the cell was Caliban—a monster whom Prospero found in the woods, and succeeded in teaching him to speak.

Queen of Naples. I. ii. 449.

O, if a virgin
And your affection not gone forth, I 'll make you
The queen of Naples. [I. ii. 447-449.]

Ferdinand's reference to Miranda, as a possible future Queen of Naples.

Queen of Tunis. II. i. 246, 255.

= Claribel.

[1] There is a slight variation in this passage in modern editions.

Reapers. IV. i. p. 139.

With the Nymphs they represented the band of masquers. According to the Stage Directions they attended the masque "properly habited" and with the Nymphs joined in a graceful dance. When Prospero started, and spoke suddenly they vanished. To them Prospero said:

Well done!
avoid; no more! [IV. i. 141.]

Sebastian. II. i. 136, 205, 215, 260; V. i. 74, 76.

Brother to Alonso, King of Naples, and with whom he was shipwrecked and cast on a desert island, when returning from Tunis after attending the wedding of the king's daughter.

With the king, Antonio and others of the shipwreck he spent a miserable time wandering wretchedly about the island. While Gonzalo tried to console Alonso in his grief concerning the shipwreck and the supposed loss of his son Ferdinand, Sebastian with Antonio made the king's trouble the subject of mockery, and displayed his lack of feeling, hard heartedness and ill-manners, in the cruel jests made after the wreck, and the discussion of the marriage between Claribel, Alonso's daughter, and the Prince of Tunis, a Moor. Yet though he displayed such ill manners and such lack of feeling every word uttered by him was perfectly true:

He receives comfort like cold porridge. [II. i. 10.]

In allowing himself to fall under the influence of the sly Antonio whose object was to murder Alonso and advance Sebastian to the kingdom, he displayed his weakness of character rather than evil.

Antonio supposed Ferdinand, the king's son, to be dead—Claribel his daughter too far distant to take part in any action—therefore Sebastian yielded to the project—that of murder—though before doing so he consulted Antonio as to what his feelings were when he made himself Duke of Milan by a similar crime:

But, for your conscience. [II. i. 275.]

and

> Thy case, dear friend,
> Shall be my precedent; as thou got'st Milan,
> I 'll come by Naples. Draw thy sword: one stroke
> Shall free thee from the tribute which thou payest;
> And I the king shall love thee. [II. i. 290-294.]

Constant suffering on the island had hardened his heart, for when he was summoned into the presence of Prospero and received his pardon and forgiveness, he uttered no word of repentance or gratitude. In addressing Sebastian and Antonio, Prospero showed plainly his opinion of them, though he forgave them in order that no note of discord should now mar his new happiness:

> But you, my brace of lords, were I so minded,
> I here could pluck his highness' frown upon you,
> And justify you traitors: at this time
> I will tell no tales. [V. i. 126-129.]

to which Sebastian replied [aside]:

> The devil speaks in him. [V. i. 129.]

Servant-monster. III. ii. 3, 5, 9.

= Trinculo. "Drink, servant-monster, when I bid thee: thy eyes are almost set in thy hand." *Trin.* "Where should they be set else? he were a brave monster indeed, if they were set in his tail." Probably an allusion to a story in Stowe's *Summary*; a whale cast ashore near Ramsgate in 1574. "A monstrous fish, but not so monstrous as some reported; for his eyes were in his head, and not in his back."

Setebos. I. ii. 373; V. i. 261.

> [Aside] I must obey: his art is of such power,
> It would control my dam's god, Setebos,
> And make a vassal of him. [I. ii. 372-374.]

A Patagonian god as worshipped by the witch Sycorax. "Setebos was the name of an American god, or rather devil, worshipped by the Patagonians." In Eden's *Hystorye of Travayle*, published in 1577, is an account of Magellan's voyage to the South Pole, containing a description of this god and his worshippers: "When they felte the shackels faste about theyr legges, they began to doubt; but the captayne dyd put them in comfort, and bad them stand still. In fine, when they sawe how they were deceived, they roared lyke bulles, and cryed uppon theyr *great devill, Setebos*, to helpe them. . . . They say, that when any of them dye, there appeare X or XII devils, *leaping and daunsing* about the bodie of the dead, and seeme to have their bodies paynted with divers colours, and that among other there is one seene bigger then the residue, who maketh great mirth and rejoysing. This great devyll they call Setebos."

Silver. IV. i. 258.

> Silver! there it goes, Silver! [IV. i. 256.]

The name of a dog.

Sir Prudence. II. i. 286.

> To the perpetual wink for aye might put
> This ancient morsel, this Sir Prudence, who
> Should not upbraid our course. [II. i. 285-287.]

Used contemptuously. Cf. *Merchant of Venice*, I. i. 93-94:

> "I am Sir Oracle,
> And when I ope my lips let no dog bark!"

and *King John*, IV. iii. 143:

> From forth this morsel of dead royalty.

Song.

> *Come unto these yellow sands,*
> *And then take hands:*
> *Courtsied when you have and kiss'd*
> *The wild waves whist:*
> *Foot it featly here and there:*
> *And, sweet sprites, the burthen bear.*
> *Hark, hark!*
> Burthen [dispersedly.] *Bow-wow.*
> Ari. *The watch dogs bark:*
> Burthen [dispersedly.] *Bow-wow.*
> Ari. *Hark, hark! I hear*
> *The strain of strutting chanticleer*
> *Cry, Cock-a-diddle dow.* [I. ii. 376-386.]

The above song was sung by Ariel when luring Ferdinand to Prospero's cell. Ariel invited his fellow ministers to "Come into these yellow sands, join in a dance, and take up the burthen of his song." The burthen "Bow-wow" is mixed up with the song, as "the watch dogs bark" is heard in several places at the same time.

Hudson: [*Windsor Shakespeare*] remarks: "Here the burthen appears to the 'Bow-wow,' to which Ariel calls attention by his 'Hark, hark.' In the second stanza it is 'Ding-dong' [I. ii. 403] which he again prepares us for, and then begins or accompanies it. The burthen in each case is taken up by the 'sprites'—his meaner ministers—who imitated the barking of dogs or the ringing of a bell at different parts of the stage. But it is further probable that 'Cock-a-diddle dow' is also a burthen, either introduced by Ariel when he uses the word 'cry'; or taken up independently by the sprites, in which case 'cry' should be regarded as a stage-direction."

This song was first set to music by Robert Johnson, a contemporary of Shakespeare.

Song.

Earth's increase, foison plenty,
Barns and garners never empty;
Vines with clustering bunches growing;
Plants with goodly burthen bowing;
Spring come to you at the farthest
In the very end of harvest!
Scarcity and want shall shun you;
Ceres' blessing so is on you. [IV. i. 110-117.]

The song of Ceres "bounteous sister of Juno." She is one of the characters of the masque, and in blessing Ferdinand and Miranda sang the above song.

Song.

Farewell, master; farewell, farewell!
. . . . . .
No more dams I'll make for fish;
Nor fetch in firing
At requiring;
Nor scrape trencher, nor wash dish:
'Ban, 'Ban, Cacaliban
Has a new master:—get a new man.
[II. ii. 191-198.]

The song of Caliban, who, suffering from the effects of the wine given him by Stephano, sings of his future freedom. *Get a new man* = get a new servant, this is supposed to be addressed by Caliban to Prospero, and that he turned towards the enchanter's cell.

Song.

Flout 'em and scout 'em,
And scout 'em and flout 'em;
Thought is free. [III. ii. 130-132.]

This song was sung by Stephano, Caliban remarking, "That's not the tune," whereupon Ariel played the tune on a tabor and pipe.

The third line *Thought is free* is probably the burden of a song quoted by Maria in *Twelfth Night*, I. iii. 70-71:

> Now, sir, "thought is free": I pray you, bring your hand to the buttery-bar and let it drink.

Song.

Full fathom five thy father lies;
Of his bones are coral made;
Those are pearls that were his eyes:
Nothing of him that doth fade,
But doth suffer a sea-change
Into something rich and strange.
Sea-nymphs hourly ring his knell:
Burthen: *Ding-dong.*
Ari. *Hark! now I hear them,—Ding-dong, bell.*
[I. ii. 396-404.]

In the above song Ariel addresses himself to Ferdinand, who, to his great astonishment, unconsciously hears news of his father. Ariel calls Ferdinand's attention to the nymphs, who, acting on the instructions of Ariel, take up the burthen of the song. This song was first set to music by Robert Johnson, a contemporary of Shakespeare.

Song.

Honour, riches, marriage-blessing,
Long continuance, and increasing,
Hourly joys be still upon you!
Juno sings her blessings on you.
[IV. i. 106-109.]

The above song was sung by Juno, one of the characters of the masque arranged by Prospero in honour of Miranda's betrothal to Ferdinand. As the patroness of marriage her allegorical force is to create happiness.

Song.

I shall no more to sea, to sea,
Here shall I die a-shore,—
. . . . . .

The master, the swabber, the boatswain, and I,
The gunner, and his mate,
Loved Moll, Meg, and Marian, and Margery,
But none of us cared for Kate;
For she had a tongue with a tang,
Would cry to a sailor, Go hang!
She loved not the savour of tar nor of pitch;
Yet a tailor might scratch her where'er she did itch.
Then, to sea, boys, and let her go hang!
[II. ii. 47-59.]

Luce [*Arden Shakespeare*] says: "These two fragments of songs are profoundly interesting; their savour is of the sea; and Shakespeare probably adapted them from some that he had heard sung."

Song.

Where the bee sucks, there suck I:
In a cowslip's bell I lie;
There I couch when owls do cry.
On the bat's back I do fly
After summer merrily.
Merrily, merrily shall I live now
Under the blossom that hangs on the bough.
[V. i. 88-94.]

This song was sung by Ariel while assisting to robe Prospero in his robes of the one time Duke of Milan. It is one of the many songs from the plays now set to music.

The second line of the above song "In a cowslip's bell I lie"; is supposed to have been borrowed from Michael Drayton's *Nymphidia:*

"At midnight the appointed hour,
And for the Queen a fitting bower,"
Quoth he, "is that fair cowslip flower
On Hipcut hill that bloweth":

but some doubt however exists as to this, as *Nymphidia*, which was printed in 1627, is considered to have been written subsequently to *The Tempest*, probably in 1612.

Cf. the last line "Under the blossom that hangs on the bough" with Tasso's *Gierusalemme Liberata* (Fairfax's translation), Book IV. st. 18:

The goblins, fairies, feends, and furies mad,
Ranged in flowrie dales, and mountaines hore,
And under everie trembling leafe they sit.

Knight remarks: "There are probably more persons familiar with this song in association with the music of Dr. Arne than as readers of Shakspere. The first line is invariably sung,

Where the bee sucks, there *lurk* I.

It is perfectly clear that *lurk* is not the word which Ariel would have used; and it is equally clear that the poet meant to convey the notion of a being not wholly ethereal; who required some ailment, although the purest and the most delicate:

Where the bee sucks, *there suck* I.

. . . Steevens, with his own real ignorance, says that Shakspere might, through his ignorance of natural history, have supposed the bat to be a bird of passage. He inclines, however, to the opinion, not that Ariel *pursues summer* on a bat's wing, but that *after summer is past* he rides upon the warm down of a bat's back. Excellent naturalist! Why, the bat is torpid after summer. That Ariel is flying in pursuit of summer when he sings "*after* summer," is supported by Mr. Walker in the following quotations: Cf. *Midsummer Night's Dream*, IV. i. 97-98; 380-383:

in silence sad,
Trip we after nightës shade;
. . . . . .
we fairies, that do run
By the triple Hecate's team,
From the presence of the sun,
Following darkness like a dream,

As Milton: *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity:* XXVI. 235-236:

And the yellow-skirted fays
Fly after the night-steeds, leaving their moon-loved maze,

and Dryden: *Flower and the Leaf*, 490-491:

At other times we [the fairies] reign by night alone,
And posting through the skies pursue the moon;

Song.

While you here do snoring lie,
Open-eyed conspiracy
His time doth take.
If of life you keep a care,
Shake off slumber, and beware:
Awake, Awake! [II. i. 300-305.]

The song sung by Ariel to wake the sleeping Gonzalo when Sebastian and Antonio were plotting the murder of Alonso.

Spongy April. IV. i. 65.

Thy banks with pioned and twilled brims,
Which spongy April at thy hest betrims,
To make cold nymphs chaste crowns; [IV. i. 64-66.]

The 'wet' or 'rainy' month of April. Cf. *Cymbeline*, IV. ii. 349:

From the spongy south to this part of the west,

Hudson remarks: "April has the epithet *spongy*, probably because at that season the earth or the air *sponges* up so much water. So, in *Cymbeline*, IV. ii., we have 'the *spongy* south,' referring to the south or south-west *wind*, which is apt to be densely charged with moisture; that is, *foggy;* elsewhere called 'the foggy south.'" And Knight: "Spongy April betrims these banks at the command of Ceres; not with peonies and lilies,—not with the flowers of the garden and the flowers of the valley, mingled together without regard to season or character,—but with her own pretty hedge-flowers. The poet himself has described what flowers April scatters:

When daisies pied and violets blue
And lady-smocks all silver-white
And cuckoo-buds of yellow hue
Do paint the meadows with delight,
Love's Labour's Lost. V. ii. 883-886.

Stephano. II. ii. 68, 105, 109, 118, 122, 143; III. ii. 161; IV. i. 223, 224; V. i. 277, 285, 286.

A drunken butler, and one of the attendants upon Alonso, King of Naples. It was he who discovered Trinculo taking refuge from the storm under Caliban's long coat. Stephano had the good fortune to escape from the storm by making his way to the shore upon a butt of his own wine.

Entering with a bottle in his hand he sang:

I shall no more to sea, to sea,
Here shall I die a-shore,—
. . . . . .
The master, the swabber, the boatswain, and I,
The gunner, and his mate,
Loved Moll, Meg, and Marian, and Margery,
But none of us cared for Kate;
For she had a tongue with a tang,
Would cry to a sailor, Go hang!
She loved not the savour of tar nor of pitch;
Yet a tailor might scratch her where'er she did itch.
Then, to sea boys, and let her go hang!
[II. ii. 46-59.]

To Trinculo and Caliban he afterwards administered wine, and the monster being in a state of intoxication promised sovereignty of the island to Stephano, at the same time persuading him that Prospero had robbed him of his possession, and urging him to murder Prospero while he slept.

To this Stephano agreed, but their plans were frustrated by Ariel acting under instructions from Prospero. A number of spirits in the form of hounds were sent against them, and they were hunted up and down the island, and finally driven into a stagnant pond.

Stephano with Trinculo and Caliban was brought to Prospero's cell, and received forgiveness.

Sycorax. I. ii. 258, 263, 290, 331, 340; III. ii. 109, 110.

A foul hag who was banished from Algiers to a desert island afterwards inhabited by Prospero; mother of Caliban, a savage and deformed slave. She was the mistress of the airy sprite Ariel, whom she imprisoned for twelve years in a pine tree. Ariel was liberated by Prospero, the "rightful Duke of Milan."

In I. ii. 269 she is called "blue-eyed," *i.e.*, having blue rings round the eyes. Cf. Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Chances*, Act IV. Scene ii.:

Get me a conjurer;
Inquire me out a man that lets our devils.
. . . . . .
Any blear-eyed people,
With red heads, and flat noses, can perform it:

and *Honest Man's Fortune*, Act V. Scene iii.:

or bring in rotten pippins
To cure blue eyes, and swear they came from China.

Ruskin [*Munera Pulveris*] remarks: "Prospero ('for hope') a true governor, is opposed to Sycorax, the mother of slavery, her name 'Swine-raven' indicating at once brutality and deathfulness."

In Master Dionise Settle's Report of *The second voyage of Master Martin Frobisher*, 1577 [Hakluyt's Voyages] we read: "The old wretch, whom diuers of our Saylers supposed to be eyther a deuill, or a witch, had her buskins plucked off, to see if she were clouen footed, and for her ougly hew and deformity we let her goe."

Temperance was a delicate wench. II. i. 42.

It was usual for the Puritans to baptise their children from the titles of religious and moral virtues. So, Taylor, the water-poet, in his description of a strumpet:

Though bad they be, they will not bate an ace,
To be call'd Prudence, *Temperance*, Faith, or Grace.

Trinculo. II. ii. 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 187, 189; III. ii. 39, 47, 55, 76, 116, 117, 129; IV. i. 228; V. i. 279.

A jester, and one of the attendants upon the King of Naples, described as the "poor jester of the Neapolitan court."

It is Trinculo and Stephano who furnish such a striking description of Caliban as he really is. *See* II. ii. 18 *et seq.*

Being on the island with the shipwrecked party Trinculo sought shelter from the thunderstorm. Caliban, seeing him, mistook him for a spirit, and fell flat on the ground in the hope of not being seen. As there was no available shelter Trinculo crept under Caliban's gaberdine remarking:

misery
acquaints a man with strange bed-fellows.
[II. ii. 43-44.]

He was here discovered by his old friend Stephano who was engaged upon a drunken survey of the island.

With Stephano and Caliban he took part in the plot against Prospero. Prospero however was aware of their plans and instructed Ariel to lead them up and down the island through:

Tooth'd briers, sharp furzes, pricking goss, and thorns, [IV. i. 180.]

Then they were left:

I' the filthy-mantled pool beyond your cell,
There dancing up to the chins, that the foul lake
O'erstunk their feet. [IV. i. 181-183.]

They were finally brought into Prospero's cell to receive their sentence, which proved a very merciful one—to prepare the cell in readiness to receive Alonso and others of their company.

Tunis. II. i. 73, 82, 83, 97, 259; V. i. 209.

Adr. "Widow Dido" said you? you make me study of that: she was of Carthage, not of Tunis.
Gon. This Tunis, sir, was Carthage.
Adr. Carthage?
Gon. I assure you, Carthage. [II. i. 80-85.]

This seems to be an error. Tunis lies several miles from the ruins of ancient Carthage. In the First Punic War, Regulus, in his march upon Carthage, took the city of Tunis, and encamped his army there, and later the mercenaries who revolted against Carthage made it their place of arms, and thereby held Carthage in a kind of blockade. Prior to the taking of the city, we are given an account of the combat near the river Bagrada of Regulus and his army with a huge serpent, whose skin was so tough that they had to bring up the artillery in order to destroy it. The story of this serpent was written by Livy, but unfortunately lost. Valerius Maximus, however, in his first book, gives us this account of this monster from Livy himself:

He [Livy] says, that on the banks of Bagrada, (an African river) lay a serpent of so enormous a size, that it kept the whole Roman army from coming to the river. Several soldiers had been buried in the wide caverns of its belly, and many pressed to death in the spiral volumes of its tail. Its skin was impenetrable to darts; and it was with repeated endeavours that stones, slung from military engines, at last killed it. The serpent then exhibited a sight that was more terrible to the Roman cohorts and legions, than even Carthage itself. The streams of the river were dyed with its blood, and the stench of its putrified carcase infected the adjacent country, so that the Roman army was forced to decamp. Its skin, one hundred and twenty feet long, was sent to Rome; and, if Pliny may be credited, was to be seen, (together with the jaw-bone of the same monster, in the temple where they were first deposited) as low as the Numantine war.

Tyrant. IV. i. 259.

Fury, Fury! there, Tyrant, there! hark, hark! [IV. i. 259.]

The name of a dog.

Venus. IV. i. 87.

If Venus or her son, as thou dost know, [IV. i. 87.]

Venus: the god of love; *her son:* her blind boy, Cupid.

APPENDIX I.

A Discovery of the Barmvdas, otherwise called the Ile of Divels: By Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Sommers, and Captayne Newport, with diuers others. Set forth for the loue of my country, and also for the good of the Plantation in Virginia. Sil. Iourdan. London: Printed by Iohn Windet, and are to be sold by Roger Barnes in S. Dunstanes Church-yard in Fleete-Streete, vnder the Diall. 1610.[1]

To the
Right Worshipfull
Master Iohn Fitz-Iames, Esquire,
one of His Maiesties Chiefe Iustices of Peace
within the
Countie of Dorset.

Sir, amongst all the sinnes, that humane nature doth stand possest with, ingratitude doth challenge a propertie in man, although it bee a thing repugnant to reason, and disagreeing with all mutuall societie. To free myselfe from this vitium naturæ, I am bold in these fewe lines to dedicate my loue to you: for it were too tedious to vse many wordes, where good wil is the bond of loue. This smal gift I would intreate you to accept, if not for the quantitie, yet for the qualitie. From London the thirteenth of October, 1610.

Your Worships to commaund
Sil. Iourdan.

I Being in ship called the seauenture,[2] with Sir Thomas Gates, our Gouernour, Sir George Sommers, and Captaine Newport, three most worthy honoured Gentlemen, (whose valour and fortitude the world must needes take notice off, and that in most honourable designes) bound for Virginia, in the height of thirty degrees of northerly latitude, or thereabouts: we were taken with a most sharpe and cruell storme vpon the fiue and twentieth day of Iuly, Anno 1609, which did not only separate vs from the residue of our fleete, (which were eight in number) but with the violent working of the Seas, our ship became so shaken, torne, and leaked, that shee receiued so much water, as couered two tire of hogsheads aboue the ballast; that our men stoode vp to the middles, with buckets, baricos,[3] and kettles, to baile out the water, and continually pumped for three dayes and three nights together, without any intermission; and yet the water seemed rather to increase, then[4] to diminish: in so much that all our men, being vtterly spent, tyred, and disabled for longer labour, were euen resolued, with-

1 Hakluyt's *Collection of the Early Voyages, Travels, and Discoveries, of the English Nation.* 1812. Vol. V. 2 *Sea Venture.* 3 small casks. 4 than.

out any hope of their liues, to shut vp the hatches, and to haue committed themselues to the mercy of the sea, (which is said to be mercilesse) or rather to the mercy their mighty God and redeemer, (whose mercies exceed all his works) seeing no helpe, nor hope, in the apprehension of mans reason, that any mothers child could escape that ineuitable danger, which euery man had proposed and digested to himselfe, of present sinking. So that some of them hauing some good and comfortable waters in the ship, fetcht them, and drunke one to the other, taking their last leaue one of the other, vntill their more ioyfull and happy meeting, in a more blessed world; when it pleased God out of his most gracious and mercifull prouidence, so to direct and guide our ship, (being left to the mercy of the sea) for her most aduantage; that Sir George Sommers (sitting vpon the poope of the ship), where he sate three dayes and three nights together, without meales meate, and little or no sleepe, coursing the shippe to keepe her as vpright as he could, (for otherwise shee must needes instantly haue foundred) most wishedly happily discryed[1] land; whereupon he most comfortably encouraged the company to follow their pumping, and by no meanes to cease bayling out of the water with their buckets, baricos, and kettles; whereby they were so ouer wearied, and their spirits so spent with long fasting, and continuance of their labour, that for the most part they were fallen asleepe in corners, and wheresoeuer they chanced first to sit or lie: but hearing news of land, wherewith they grew to bee somewhat reuived, being carried with wil and desire beyond their strength, euery man busled vp, and gathered his strength and feeble spirits together, to performe as much as their weake force would permit him: through which weake meanes, it pleased God to worke so strongly as the water was staide for that little time, (which as we all much feared, was the last period of our breathing) and the ship kept from present sinking, when it pleased God to send her within halfe an English mile of that land that Sir George Sommers had not long before discryed: which were the Ilandes of the Barmudas. And there neither did our ship sincke, but more fortunately in so great a misfortune, fell in betweene two rockes, where shee was fast lodged and locked, for further budging: whereby we gayned, not only sufficient time, with the present helpe of our boate, and skiffe, safely to set, and conuey our men ashore (which were one hundred and fifty in number) but afterwards had time and leasure to saue some good part of our goodes and prouision, which the water had not spoyled, with all the tackling of the ship, and much of the yron about her, which were necessaries not a little auaileable, for the building and furnishing of a new ship and pinnis,[2] which we made there, for the transporting and carrying of vs to Virginia. But our deliuery was not more strange in falling so opportunely, and happily vpon the land, as our feeding and preseruation, was beyond our hopes, and all mens expectations most admirable. For the Ilands of the Barmudas, as euery man knoweth that hath heard or read of them, were neuer inhabited by any Christian or heathen people, but euer esteemed and reputed, a most prodigious and inchanted place, affording nothing but gusts, stormes, and foule weather; which made euery Nauigator and Mariner to auoide thē, as Scylla and Charibdis; or as they would shunne the Deuill himselfe; and no man was euer heard, to make for the place, but as against their wils, they haue by stormes and dangerousnesse of the rocks, lying seauen leagues into the sea, suffered shipwracke; yet did we finde there the ayre so temperate and the Country so aboundantly fruitful of all fit necessaries, for the sustentation and preseruation of mans life, that most in a manner of all our prouisions of bread, beare, and victuall, being quite spoyled, in lying long drowned in salt water, notwithstanding we were there for the space of nine monethes (few dayes ouer or vnder) not only well refreshed, comforted, and with good satiety contented, but of the aboundance thereof, prouided vs some reasonable quantity and proportion of prouision, to carry vs for Virginia, and to maintaine ourselues, and that company we found there, to the great releefe of them, as it fell out in their so great extremities, and in respect of the shortnesse of time, vntill it pleased God, that by my Lords comming thither, their store was better supplyed, and greater, and better prouisions wee might haue made, if we had had better meanes for the storing and transportation thereof. Wherefore my opinion sincerely of this Island is, that whereas it hath beene, and is, still accounted, the most dangerous, infortunate, and most forlorne place of the world, it is in truth the richest, healthfullest, and pleasing land, (the quantity and bignesse thereof considered) and meerely naturall, as euer set foote vpon: the particular profits and benefits whereof, shal be more especially inserted, and hereunto annexed, which euery man to his owne priuate knowledge, that was there, can auouch and iustifie for

[1] discovered, espied. [2] pinnace.

a truth. Vpon the eight and twentieth day of Iuly, 1609, (after the extremity of the storme was something qualified) we fell vpon the shore at the Barmudas; where after our generall Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Sommers, and Captaine Newport, had by their prouident carefulnesse landed all their men, and so much of the goods, and prouisions out of the ship, as was not vtterly spoyled, euerie man disposed and applyed himselfe, to search for, and to seeke out such releefe and sustentation, as the Country afforded: and Sir George Sommers, a man inured to extremities, (and knowing what thereunto belonged) was in this seruice, neither idle nor backward, but presently by his careful industry, went and found out sufficient, of many kind of fishes, and so plentifull thereof, that in halfe an houre, he tooke so many great fishes with hookes, as did suffice the whole company one day. And fish is there so aboundant, that if a man steppe into the water, they will come round about him; so that men were faine to get out for feare of byting. These fishes are very fat and sweete, and of that proportion and bignesse, that three of them will conueniently lade two men: those we called rock fish. Besides there are such aboundance of mullets that with a seane[1] might be taken at one draught one thousand at the least, and infinite store of pilchards, with diuers kindes of great fishes, the names of them vnknowne to me: of crayfishes very great ones, and so great store as that there hath beene taken in one night with making lights, euen sufficient to feede the whole cõpany a day. The Country affordeth great aboundance of Hogs, as that there hath beene taken by Sir George Sommers, who was the first that hunted for them, to the number of two and thirty at one time, which he brought to the company in a boate, built by his owne hãds. There is fowle in great nũmber vpon the Ilands, where they breed, that there hath beene taken in two or three houres, a thousand at the least; the bird being of the bignesse of a good Pidgeon, and layeth egges as bigge as Hen egges vpon the sand, where they come and lay them dayly, although men sit downe amongst them; that there hath beene taken vp in one morning, by Sir Thomas Gates men, one thousand of egges: and Sir George Sommers men, comming a little distance of time after them, haue stayed there whilst they came and layed their eggs amongst them, that they brought away as many more with them; with many young birds very fat and sweet. Another Sea fowle there is that lyeth in little holes in the ground, like vnto a cony-hole, and are in great numbers, exceeding good meate, very fat and sweet (those we had in the winter) and their eggs are white, and of that bignesse, that they are not to be knowne from Hen egges. The other birds egges are speckled, and of a different colour: there are also great store and plenty of Herons, and those so familiar and tame, that wee beate them downe from the trees with stones and staues, but such were young Herons: besides many White Herons, without so much as a blacke or gray feather on them; with other small birds so tame and gentle, that a man walking in the woods with a sticke, and whistling to them, they wil come and gaze on you, so neare that you may strike and kill many of them with your sticke; and with singing and hollowing you may doe the like. There are also great store of Tortoses, (which some call Turtles) and those so great, that I haue seene a bushel of egges in one of their bellies, which are sweeter then any Henne egge: and the Tortose it selfe, is all very good meate, and yeeldeth great store of oyle, which is as sweete as any butter; and one of them will suffice fifty men a meale, at the least: and of these hath been taken great store, with two boates, at the least forty in one day. The Country yeeldeth diuers fruits, as prickled peares, great aboundance, which continue greene vpon the trees all the yeare; also great plenty of Mulberries, white and red: and on the same are great store of silke-wormes, which yeeld tods of silke, both white and yellow, being some course, and some fine. And there is a tree called a Palmito tree, which hath a very sweet berry, vpon which the hogs doe most feede; but our men finding the sweetnesse of them, did willingly share with the hogs for them, they being very pleasant and wholsome, which made them carelesse almost of any bread with their meate; which occasioned vs to carry in a manner all that store of flower and meale, we did or could saue for Virginia. The head of the Palmito tree is very good meate, either raw or sodden, it yeeldeth a head which waigheth about twenty pound, and is farre better meate, then any cabbidge. There are an infinite number of Cedar trees, (the fairest I thinke in the world) and those bring forth a very sweet berry and wholsome to eate. The Country (for as much as I could find my selfe, or heare by others) affords no venimous creature or so much as a Rat or Mouse, or any other thing vnwholsome. There is great store of Pearle, and some of them very faire, round and

[1] a fishing net.

Orientall; and you shall finde at least one hundred seede of Pearle in one Oyster; there hath beene likewise found, some good quantity of Amber Greece,[1] and that of the best sort. There are also great plenty of Whales, which I conceaue are very easie to be killed, for they come so vsually, and ordinarily to the shore, that we heard them oftentimes in the night a bed; and haue seene many of them neare the shore, in the day time. There was borne vpon the Barmudas, at the time of our being there two children, the one a man child, there baptised, by the name of Barmudas: and a woman child, baptised by the name of Barmuda: as also there was a marriage betweene two English people vpon that Iland. This Iland, I meane the mayne Iland, with all the broken Ilandes adiacent, are made in the forme of a half Moone, but a little more rounder and diuided into many broken Ilands, and there are many good harbours in it, but wee could finde one especiall place to goe in, or rather to goe out from it, which was not altogether free from some danger, and that lyeth on the South-east side, where there is three fathoms water, at the entrance thereof, but within sixe, seauen, or eight fathoms at the least, where you may safely lie land-locked, from the danger of all winds and weathers, and more to the trees. The cõming into it, is so narrow and straight betweene the rocks, as that it will with small store of munition be fortified, and easily defended, with all aduantage the place affords, against the forces of the Potentest King of Europe. There are also plenty of Haukes, and very good Tobacco, as I thinke, which through forgetfulnesse, I had almost omitted: now hauing finished and rigged our ship, and pinnis, the one called the Deliuerance, the pinnis the Patience, wee prepared and made our selues ready, to ship for Virginia, hauing powdred some store of hogs flesh, for prouision thither, and the company thereof, for some reasonable time: but were compelled to make salt there for the same purpose, for all our salt was spent and spoyled, before wee recouered the shore. Wee carryed with vs also a good portion of Tortose oyle, which either for frying or baking did vs very great pleasure, it being very sweete, nourishing, and wholsome: the greatest defects we found there, was tarre and pitch for our ship, and pinnis, in steede whereof wee were forced to make lime there of a hard kinde of stone, and vse it: which for the present occasion and necessity, with some wax we found cast vp by the Sea, from some shipwracke, serued the turne to pay the seames of the pinnis Sir George Sommers built, for which hee had neither pitch nor tarre: so that God in the supplying of all our wants, beyond all measure, shewed himselfe still mercifull vnto vs, that we might accomplish our intended voyage to Virginia, for which I confidently hope, hee doth yet reserue a blessing in store, and to the which I presume, euery honest and religious heart will readily giue their amen. When all thinges were made ready, and commodiously fitted, the winde comming fair, wee set saile and put off from the Barmudas, the tenth day of May, in the yeare 1610, and arriued at Iames towne in Virginia, the foure and twentieth day of the same Moneth: where wee found some threescore persons liuing. And being then some three weeks or thereabouts passed, & not hearing of anye supply, it was thought fitting by a generall consent, to vse the best meanes for the preseruation of all those people that were liuing, being all in number two hundred persons. And so vpon the eight of Iune one thousand six hundred and ten, wee vnbarked at Iames Towne: not hauing aboue fourteene dayes victaile, and so were determined to direct our course for New-found-land, there to refresh vs, and supply our selues with victaile, to bring vs home: but it pleased God to dispose otherwise of vs, and to giue vs better meanes. For being all of vs shipped in foure pinnices, and departed from the towne, almost downe half the Riuer, wee met my Lord De La Warre comming vp with three ships, well furnished with victaile, which reuiued all the company, and gaue them great content. And after some few dayes, my Lord vnderstanding of the great plenty of hogges and fish, was at the Barmudas, and the necessity of them in Virginia, was desirous to send thither, to supply himselfe with those things, for the better comforting of his men, and the plantation of the Country. Whereupon Sir George Sommers being a man best acquainted with the place, and being willing to doe seruice vnto his Prince and Country: without any respect of his owne priuate gaine: And being of threescore yeares of age at the least, out of his worthy and valiant minde, offered himselfe to vndertake to performe with Gods help that dangerous voyage for the Barmudas, for the better releefe and comfort of the people in Virginia, and for the better plantation of it, which offer my Lord De La Warre, very willingly and thankfully accepted: and so vpon the nineteenth of Iune, Sir George Sommers imbarked himself at Iames towne in a small barge of thirty

[1] Ambergris.

tonne, or thereabout, that he built at the Barmudas: wherein he laboured from morning vntill night, as duelie as any workeman doth labour for wages, and built her all with Cedar, with little or no yron worke at all: hauing in her but one boult, which was in the Kilson: notwithstanding thanke be to God, shee brought vs in safety to Virginia, and so I trust he will protect him, and send him well backe againe, to his hearts desire, and the great comfort of all the company there.

The Barmudas lyeth in the height of two and thirty degrees and a halfe, of Northerly latitude, Virginia bearing directly from it, West, North West, two hundred and thirty leagues.

FINIS.

APPENDIX II.

Ayrer's Comedy of the Beautiful Sidea.[1]

We give this piece complete in the German Original with an English translation annexed, not merely to promote the knowledge of Ayrer through one of his best pieces, but still more for the purpose of placing more easily within the students reach the only drama extant, which points to the origin of the plot of Shakespeare's 'Tempest.' Since Tieck directed attention to this piece in 1817, his conjecture that it is based upon an old English piece now lost, which Shakespeare also made use of in the 'Tempest,' has been quoted by all the commentators, but according to all appearances none of them have become acquainted with the complete piece itself. English critics have probably been deterred by the difficulties of the old German style. The piece is now offered in an accessible form, and every one is able to judge for himself of the extent of its affinity to the 'Tempest.' That this affinity cannot be purely accidental, must be admitted at once by every attentive reader who is acquainted with the manner in which Shakespeare used the crude elements of his sources, but whether the common source of both authors is a drama, a legend, or a tale, will remain unsettled until the source itself has been discovered. Ayrer's piece has a thoroughly legendary character. The apparently historical personages are not to be met with in history. A Prince Ludolff of Lithuania has existed just as little as a Prince Leudegast of the Wiltau. The Wiltau is a fabulous name; the nearest approach to it is Wilna, but it does not appear that the latter has ever been so denominated. History has no record of any Polish Princess (Julia) who was engaged to be married to a son of a Prince of Wiltau (Engelbrecht). Ludolff says to Sidea 'May Jove, &c.' and also in other passages the heathen gods are introduced. 'Heathen clothes' are expressly prescribed for Ludolff and Sidea, a direct proof that Ayrer placed the action in an ante-christian period. We thus find ourselves entirely on fabulous ground, while on the other hand, in the comic scenes, the tone and style of his contemporaries and a spirit of narrow-minded localism are found to predominate, quite in the manner of the old German dramatists.

Ayrer is not the inventor of this subject: he has had either a legend or a play before him. A proof of this is to be found in the first Act, where Leudegast says of Prince Ludolff:

Weil der zenkisch Herzog Leupold	Duke Leupold so loves strife and brawl,
Den Krieg und Zank hat also holt, &c.	That now he 's challenged us to fall, &c.

No Duke Leupold appears throughout the whole piece, and the mention of one in this passage is a confusion of names which can only be explained by the supposition of a somewhat careless use of the original sources. It is true, in the introduction of humorous scenes and episodes this piece has many points of resemblance with the old English Theatre. But we have seen that all Ayrer's dramatic compositions after a certain date were under this influence, and this resemblance alone therefore is not sufficient

[1] *Cohn's Shakespeare in Germany in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.*

to enable us to conclude, as Tieck has done, the existence of an old English Drama with the same subject. A circumstance of far greater importance is the fact, that the ideal arrangement as well as the single scenes and passages in both pieces display a most unmistakeable resemblance. Ayrer's removal of the action into the region of fable is a feature to which we have already alluded. In both pieces then we have two hostile princes, of whom the one (Prospero or Ludolff) practises the arts of magic to get the son of the other into his power, in both pieces this prince has a spirit in his service, through whose power the enemy's arms are rendered innocuous, and lastly, in both pieces an attachment is formed between the only daughter of the one prince, and the captive son of the other, which is eventually the means of bringing about a reconciliation between the hostile families. Both pieces are based on the idea of a retributory justice. If these points of resemblance in the fundamental structure of the two pieces are in themselves sufficient to exclude all possibility of an accidental coincidence, the numerous external points of agreement in the course of the two pieces must remove the last shadow of a doubt. In the one piece as in the other, the captive son of the prince is obliged to pile up logs of wood, and in both pieces this scene leads to the attachment of the lovers. In the 'Tempest,' Act III. Sc. i., Ferdinand says:

> My mistress, dearest,
> And I thus humble ever.

To which Miranda answers:

> My husband then?

Again in the 'Beautiful Sidea,' Act III., we find:

Engelbrecht.	*Engelbrecht.*
Ja dasselbe solt ihr trauen mir	Thou mayst place all thy trust in me,
Und ihr solt auch mein Gemahl sein.	And thou as consort soon be mine.
Sidea.	*Sidea.*
Bistu denn mein?	Art thou then mine?
Engelbrecht.	*Engelbrecht.*
Ja.	Yes.
Sidea.	*Sidea.*
So bleib ich dein.	Then I 'm thine.

In the 'Tempest,' Act I. Scene ii., Ferdinand says to Miranda:

> O! if a virgin,
> And your affection not gone forth, I 'll make you
> The Queen of Naples.

and similarly in the 'Beautiful Sidea,' Act III.:

Engelbrecht.	*Engelbrecht.*
Ja ich wolt mich eur Lieb ergeben	I would to thee my service give,
Zu dienst mit Leib vnd auch Leben	And ever love thee while I live;
Vnd euch zu einer Fürstin machen.	Thou shouldst a royal station grace.

Again we may compare the same scene in the 'Tempest,' where Ferdinand draws his sword to defend himself against Prospero, and in which he "is charmed from moving" with the passage in the 'Beautiful Sidea' Act II., in which Ludolff disarms Engelbrecht and his attendant by magic, and the latter is obliged to confess,

Mein Wehr kan ich nicht herauss bringen	My sword, sir, in its scabbard sticks;
Ich glaub das sie bezaubert sey.	I think it must enchanted be.

In the same manner, the scene in the fourth act of the 'Beautiful Sidea,' in which the devils dance, reminds us forcibly of the 'Tempest,' Act III. Sc. iii. in which the spirits with dance and mops and mowes carry out the table.—In Runzifall the devil, we have in spite of all dissimilarities, the counterpart to Caliban, who indeed is not the evil one himself, but one of his progeny:

Prospero. Thou poisonous slave, got by the devil himself. Upon thy wicked dam, come forth! (Tempest, Act i., sc. 2).

Just as Alonso institutes a search for Ferdinand in the 'Tempest,' so does Prince Leudegast in the 'Beautiful Sidea' for his lost son, Engelbrecht.

We will, however, not anticipate any further, but will rather refer the reader to the piece itself for the numerous points of resemblance which we have not yet mentioned. "The origin of the plot of the 'Tempest' is for the present a Shakespearian mystery," are the words with which Mr. Hunter begins his dissertation upon that play. "That mystery I consider as solved," is Mr. W. J. Thoms'[1] assurance after having read Ayrer's 'Beautiful Sidea.' For our own part we cannot speak with so much confidence, for although in the 'Sidea,' we possess the only link of connection between such source and the 'Tempest,' we have not yet arrived at any certainty respecting the source itself. If we agree with most of the commentators that the 'Tempest' is one of Shakespeare's later works, there cannot be the slightest doubt that Ayrer's piece was written long before the 'Tempest.' In all those cases in which we are acquainted with the sources from which Ayrer derived his plots, we see that he almost always retains the original names for his principal persons; and as it is highly improbable that these, for the most part purely German, names should have occurred in an English drama of the sixteenth century, we cannot place much confidence in the suggestion that any such work was the common source of the two plays in question. Ayrer appears rather to have worked after some German original, and this may have come to light in England in the form of some metamorphosis or other. Neither is it impossible, or even improbable, that Ayrer's piece itself may have come to Shakespeare's knowledge through the medium of comedians who had returned to England,[2] a conjecture which would only become utterly untenable, if an earlier English composition of the same or very similar contents should ever be discovered.

Persons represented:

Ludolff, Prince of Lithuania.
Sidea, his daughter.
Leudegast, Prince of the Wiltau.
Franciscus, } his two counsellors.
Elemaus, }
Engelbrecht, the Prince's son.
Famulus, his boy.
Julia, the Prince in the Wiltau's foreign lady[3]
John Molitor, the miller.
Rollus, the peasant.
Dietrich, the shoemaker.
Finelia, his wife.
Agnes, the shoemaker's daughter.
Ela, the peasant's daughter.
Ruprecht, the postman.
Runcifall, the devil.

APPENDIX III.

Search for the Island of Lampedusa.[4]

[From Harington's *Ariosto*, 1591, Canto XLI.]

A Frendly gale at first their iourney fitted,
And bare them from the shore full farre away:
But afterward within a little season,
The wind discouerd his deceipt and treason.

[1] *On the connexion between the Early English and Early German Drama.* *New Monthly Magazine*, 1841, January, p. 26.

[2] Edward Cellius, among others, speaks of such English Comedians returning to England, in his description of the festivities which took place at the Court of Stuttgart in the year 1603, on the occasion of the already mentioned English Embassy. "Paucis ab hinc annis in Germaniam nostram Anglicani musici dictum ob finem expaciati, et in magnorum Principum aulis aliquandiu versati, tantum ex arte musica, histrionicaque; sibi favorem conciliarunt, ut largiter remunerati domum inde auro et argento onusti sint reversi." *Eques auratus Anglo-Wirtembergicus.* 4to. Tubingae 1605, p. 229.

[3] A Princess of Poland. [4] Hazlitt's *Shakespeare's Library.* Part I. Vol. IV.

First from the poop, it changed to the side,
Then to the prore, at last it wherled round,
In one place long it neuer would abide,
Which doth the Pilots wit and skill confound:
The surging waues swell still in higher pride,
While Proteus flocke did more and more abound,
And seeme to them as many deaths to threaten,
As that ships sides with diuers waues are beaten.

Now in their face the wind, straight in their backe,
And forward this, and backward that it blowes,
Then on the side it makes the ship to cracke,
Among the Mariners confusion growes;
The Master ruine doubts, and present wracke,
For none his will, nor none his meaning knowes,
To whistle, becken, crie, it nought auailes,
Somtime to strike, somtime to turne their sailes.

But none there was could heare, nor see, nor marke,
Their eares so stopt, so dazeld were their eyes,
With weather so tempestuous and so darke,
And black thick clouds, that with the storme did rise
Frō whence somtime great gastly flames did sparke,
And thunderclaps, that seemd to rend the skies:
Which made them in a manner deafe and blind,
That no man vnderstood the Masters mind.

Nor lesse, nor much lesse fearfull is the sound,
The cruell tempest in the tackle makes,
Yet each one for himselfe some busnesse found,
And to some speciall office him betakes:
One this vntide, another that hath bound,
He the Main bowling, now restraines, now slakes:
Some take an oare, some at the pumpe take paine,
And powre the sea into the sea againe.

Behold a horrible and hideous blast,
That Boreas from his frozen lips doth send,
Doth backward force the sayle against the mast,
And makes the waues vnto the skies ascend:
Then brake their oares and rudder eke at last,
Now nothing left from tempest to defend,
So that the ship was swaid now quite aside,
And to the waues laid ope her naked side.

Then all aside the staggring ship did reele,
For one side quite beneath the water lay,
And on the tother side the verie keele,
Aboue the water plaine discerne you may.
Then thought they al hope past, & down they kneele
And vnto God to take their soules they pray,
Worse danger grew then this, when this was past,
By meanes the ship gan after leake so fast.

The wind, the waues, to them no respite gaue,
But readie eu'rie houre to ouerthrow them,
Oft they wer hoist so high vpon the waue,
They thought the middle region was below them;
Oft times so low the same their vessel draue,
As though that Caron there his boat would show the
Scant had they time and powre to fetch their breath,
All things did threaten them so present death.

Thus all that night they could haue no release,
But when the morning somewhat nearer drew,
And that by course, the furious wind should cease,
(A strange mishap) the wind then fiercer grew,
And while their troubles more and more increase,
Behold a rocke stood plainly in their vew,
And right vpon the same the spitefull blast,
Bare them perforce, which made them all agast.

Yet did the master by all meanes assay,
To steare out roomer, or to keepe aloofe,
Or at the least to strike sailes if they may,
As in such danger was for their behoofe.
But now the wind did beare so great a sway,
His enterprises had but little proofe:
At last with striuing yard and all was torne,
And part thereof into the sea was borne.

Then each man saw all hope of safetie past,
No meanes there was the vessell to direct,
No helpe there was, but all away are cast,
Wherefore their common safetie they neglect,
But out they get the ship-boat, and in hast,
Each man therein his life striues to protect,
Of King, nor Prince no man taks heed or note,
But well was he could get him in the bote.

APPENDIX IV.

Extract from Stirling's *Tragedy of Darius*.[1]

Of glassie scepters let fraile greatnesse vaunt,
Not scepters, no, but reeds, which (rais'd up) break,
And let eye-flatt'ring shows our wits enchant,
All perish'd are, ere of their pomp men speak;
Those golden palaces, those gorgeous halls,
With furniture superfluously faire,
Those stately courts, those skie-encountring walls,
Do vanish all like vapours in the ayre.
O! what affliction jealous greatnesse beares,
Which still must travell to hold others downe,
Whil'st all our guards not guard us from our feares;
Such toile attends the glory of a crowne!

APPENDIX V.

The Origin of the "Speech of Gonzalo," Act II. Scene i.[2]

[In the British Museum there is a copy of the "Essays of Montaigne" translated by Florio, having the autograph **Willm Shakspere.**]

"I am sorie, Lycurgus and Plato had it not: for me seemeth that what in those nations we see by experience, doth not only exceed all the pictures wherewith licentious Poesie hath proudly imbellished the golden age, and all her quaint inventions to

1 Chambers's *Cyclopædia of English Literature*. Vol. I.

2 Florio's *Essayes of Michael Lord of Montaigne*. First Booke. Chap. xxx.

fi[illegible] happy condition of man, but also the conception and desire of Philosophy. T[illegible] could not imagine a genuitie so pure and simple as we see it by experience; n[illegible] ever beleeve our societie might be maintained with so little art and humane combination. It is a nation, would I answer Plato, that hath no kinde of traffike, no knowledge of Letters, no intelligence of numbers, no name of magistrate, nor of politike superioritie; no use of service, of riches or of povertie; no contracts, no successions, no partitions, no occupation but idle; no respect of kindred, but common, no apparell but naturall, no manuring of lands, no use of wine, corne, or mettle. The very words that import lying, falshood, treason, dissimulations, covetousness, envie, detraction, and pardon, were never heard of amongst them. How dissonant would hee finde his imaginarie common-wealth from this perfection?

Hos natura modos primùm dedit.[1]

Nature at first uprise,
These manners did devise.

Furthermore, they live in a country of so exceeding pleasant and temperate situation, that as my testimonies have told me, it is verie rare to see a sicke body amongst them; and they have further assured me, they never saw any man there either shaking with the palsie, toothlesse, with eies dropping, or crooked and stooping through age." And "The other testimonie of antiquitie, to which some will referre this discoverie, is in Aristotle (if at least that little booke of unheard of wonders be his) where he reporteth that certaine Carthaginians having sailed athwart the Atlantike Sea, without the strait of Gibraltar, after long time, they at last discovered a great fertill Iland, all replenished with goodly woods, and watred with great and deepe rivers, farre distant from al land, and that both they and others, allured by the goodnes and fertility of the soile, went thither with their wives, children, and household, and there began to inhabit and settle themselves."

APPENDIX VI.

Of names and facts brought into *The Tempest* which might have been derived from Thomas's *Historye of Italye*, 1561, it will be enough to mention that a Prospero Adorno was lieutenant of the Duke of Milan in 1477, "but he continued scarcely one yeare, tyl by meane of new practises that he held with Ferdinando Kyng of Naples, he was had in suspicion to the Milanese." Eventually this Prospero was deposed, and "then was Antony Adorno made governoure of the citee for the Duke." Also there was an Alonzo, King of Naples, who in 1495 was succeeded by his son Ferdinand; and this Alonzo married the daughter of the Duke of Milan, and thus united the two houses. Lastly, there lived at one time a banished Duke of Milan; at another, a usurping Duke of Milan. But these facts of Italian history are interesting rather as they bear on the lost novel or drama on which *The Tempest* must seem to have been founded.[2]

APPENDIX VII.

Extract from *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation made by sea or over-land to the remote and farthest distant quarters of the earth at any time within the compasse of these 1600 yeeres.* By Richard Hakluyt, Preacher, and sometime Student of Christ-Church in Oxford. Vol. 12, 1905.

There is evidence enough, in well-known passages, of Shakespeare's acquaintance with the discoveries of the voyagers. The name Caliban is almost certainly a distortion of Cannibal, and Setebos is a divinity of the Patagonians, described by Master

[1] Virgil. *Georgics*, ii. 20. [2] Luce.

Francis Fletcher, in his account of Drake's great voyage, as "Settaboth, that is, the Divell, whom they name their great god." But it was the reports brought home by the Virginian adventurers that set Shakespeare's imagination to work. The colony was planted in 1609; and the first Governor, Lord Delaware, was diligent in building towns and forts, and in bringing the Indians under control. Sir George Somers, deputy-Governor, was shipwrecked on the Bermudas, which were in ill repute as the haunt of wicked spirits and foul weather, but were found by the castaways to be temperate, fruitful and pleasant. The tale of these adventures, brought by word of mouth, or published in The Discovery of the Barmudas, otherwise called the Ile of Divels (1610), a tract by Sylvester Jourdain, one of Sir George Somers' company—gave the finest and subtlest wit in the world a theme for a play. The Tempest is a fantasy of the New World. It is too full of the ether of poetry, and too many-sided to be called a satire, yet Shakespeare, almost alone, saw the problem of American settlement in a detached light; and a spirit of humorous criticism runs riot in the lighter scenes. The drunken butler, accepting the worship and allegiance of Caliban, and swearing him in by making him kiss the bottle, is a fair representive of the idle and dissolute men who were shipped to the Virginian colony. The situation of Miranda was perhaps suggested by the story of Virginia Dare, grand-daughter of Captain John White, the first child born in America of English parents. She was born in 1587 and christened along with Manteo, one of the Indians who had visited England with Captains Amadas and Barlow. That same year she was abandoned, along with the other colonists. In 1607, when the settlement was next renewed, it was reported that there were still seven of the English alive among the Indians, "four men, two boys, and one maid." The strange girlhood of this one maid, if she were Virginia Dare, may well have set Shakespeare's fancy working. And the portrait of Caliban, with his affectionate loyalty to the drunkard, his adoration of valour, his love of natural beauty and feeling for music and poetry, his hatred and superstitious fear of his taskmaster, and the simple cunning and savagery of his attempts at revenge and escape, all this is a composition wrought from fragments of travellers' tales, and shows a wonderfully accurate and sympathetic understanding of uncivilised man.

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THE

Tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark.

Written 1601-1602.

Published in an imperfect form in 1603, more perfectly in 1604. Under date 26 July, 1602, the Stationers' Registers has this entry: James Roberts] A booke called *The Revenge of Hamlet, Prince of Denmarke*, as it was latelie acted by the Lord Chamberlain his servantes. The earliest edition of *Hamlet* is the Quarto of 1603, known as the first Quarto, and bears the following title: "*The Tragicall Historie of Hamlet, Prince of Denmarke.* By William Shake-speare. As it hath beene diuerse times acted by his Highnesse seruants in the Cittie of London: as also in the two Vniuersities of Cambridge and Oxford, and else-where. At London, printed for N. L. and Iohn Trundell. 1603." Shakespeare belonged to the Lord Chamberlain's company of actors, who were raised to the dignity of the King's Players on the accession of James the First in 1603, "as having been diuerse times acted by His Highnesse servantes."

Source of the Plot. The Hamlet story is found in the Latin work *Historica Danica* by the Danish historian Saxo Grammaticus (the Lettered). This work was written either at the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century, and the third and fourth books contain the Hamlet story.

In 1570 Francis de Belleforest—a French writer—translated the Hamlet story from Saxo's book into French, and included the tale in his fifth volume of *Histoires Tragiques*. In the translation Belleforest made no material alteration of Saxo's story.

From the French translation the story probably reached England. William Painter, in his *Palace of Pleasure*, translated into English in 1566-1567 the first four volumes of Belleforest's *Histoires Tragiques*, though no English translation was published until 1608. In the translation the story is entitled *The Hystorie of Hamlet, Prince of Denmarke.* As this translation was not thought to be published until 1608 it cannot have been Shakespeare's authority.[1]

In his introduction to *Early English Romances*, Dr. Henry Morley observes: "'The Historie of Hamlet,' is from a book printed by Richard Bradocke for Thomas Pavier in 1608, of which there is only one known copy. Nash's 'Epistle,' prefixed to Green's 'Menaphon,' published in 1589, refers to a play of 'Hamlet' then existing, which was earlier than Shakespeare's. This may have been founded upon the tale as told in the *Histoires Tragiques* of Belleforest, together with tales from the Italian of Bandello, whose novels Belleforest and his fellow-translator, Boiastuau, adopted. If it was taken from the English book, which is translated from Belleforest, then the first edition of the English translation was of earlier date than 1589.

The tale of 'Hamlet' first appears in the third book of the Danish history of Saxo Grammaticus. And who was he? He was a Danish historian, of noble family, who lived in the latter half of the twelfth century, and died soon after the

[1] See Appendix I.

year 1203. He began life as a monastic writer, who for his Latinity was called '*Grammaticus*.' Upon the suggestion of his patron, Absalon, Archbishop of Lund, he wrote a history of Danish kings and heroes, which, till the tenth century, is legendary. The historian delighted in the legends of the people, and reported them with evident fidelity. This gives especial interest to ten books of his Danish history; in the remaining six he is more simply historian. A translation of Saxo Grammaticus into Danish is a popular book among the Danes. . . .

In Saxo's third book we are told how, when Rörik Slyngebond, towards the close of the seventh century, was King of Denmark, Gervendill was chief in Jutland. After the death of Gervendill, his two sons, Horvendill and Fengo, succeeded him. Horvendill won to himself glory as a vikingr, that stirred envy in Koller, King of Norway. Koller hunted the seas for Horvendill, and at last met him, and was killed by him on an island in the spring-time, and fought with him the kind of island duel known as '*Holmgang*.' Horvendill's rich gifts from his booty won the favour of his king, Rörik; so he married Rörik's daughter, Gerutha, and became by her the father of Amleth—Hamlet. All this prosperity of Horvendill stirred envy in his brother Fengo. Fengo fell on Horvendill with open force, slew him, succeeded to his rule, and reigned tyrannically.

He also beguiled the mind of his brother's wife, Gerutha, and married her. Amleth, her son, then simulated madness. It is to be noted also that *Amloda* signified a foolish person. He soiled himself by daily lying in the ashes. He cut little sticks to points and hardened them in fire, and made men laugh by saying that he got them ready to avenge his father. Shrewd minds and guilty minds suspected him. They sought to make him betray himself to a fair woman in a wood, and to certain youths, but a foster-brother took care that he should not be beguiled. Amleth understood the devices, and when offered a horse, mounted with his face looking hindward and took the tail for a bridle. His answers of feigned insanity were always witty. When he was told that the sand by the sea-shore was meal, he said, 'Yes, ground by the storms and the white-crested waves.' In the younger Edda there is a fragment of verse which gives Amlodi's Mill as one of the poetical names for the sea. In other ways Amleth contrived so to tell truth as to seem a fool. But Fengo saw the underlying wit, and as he could not make away with him in Denmark for fear of King Rörik, sent him to England with companions who carried lines which Amleth searched for, found, and altered so that they asked for the killing of their bearers, and that Amleth should be married to the King of England's daughter. So the tale goes on, very much as we have it in the English prose history. There was no place in Danish history for a real Hamlet. His adventures were those of a fable current among the people, which owed its permanence to the fact that Saxo thought it worth recording. It seems to have been a tradition of Jutland, for in Saxo's time Amleth's grave was said to be south of the town of Hald, in the district of Randers.

The story of 'Hamlet' passed from Saxo into the Danish Chronicle rhymed by a monk, Niel of Sorö, about the year 1480, and first printed at Copenhagen in 1495. Fengo is there said to have been slain in his own house at Viborg in Jutland.

Belleforest took his story from the Latin of Saxo, with rhetorical and moral elaborations, and some variation. Thus in the tale as it was told by Saxo, the spy who was to overhear Hamlet's discourse with his mother was hidden under the straw that in old times was strewn upon the floor. Amleth went about crowing like a cock, and stabbed when his feet came upon somebody concealed under the

straw. Belleforest, unaccustomed to such carpeting of royal chambers, translated the word *stramentum* into tapestry; for Belleforest was a *protégé* of Margaret of Navarre, familiar with the houses of French nobles in a time of growing luxury. He died in 1583, aged fifty-three. Margaret of Navarre began her care for him when he was seven years old, and had just lost his father. He was educated by her and bred for the bar, but turned poet and man of letters. Outliving his better days, he wrote much prose of any kind that would earn bread, and among other works the collection of tales which included that showing, 'Avec quelle ruse Amleth, qui depuis fut roy de Dannemarck, vengea la mort de son père Horvendille, occis par Fengon son frère, et autre occurrence de son histoire.'"

In Collier's edition of the *Diary of Philip Henslowe*, the actor, and from 1592 manager of the Rose Theatre of Newington Butts, is found the following entry:

9 of June 1594, Rd at hamlet . . . viij^{s}.

and in Greg's edition of *Henslowe's Diary* we find:

> Performed by the Admiral's and Chamberlain's men, as an old play, 9 (11) June 1594.
>
> This piece, the basis of Shakespeare's work (1601?), is commonly and plausibly assigned to Kyd. It was certainly produced before Aug. 1589, being mentioned in Nashe's preface to *Menaphon* (entered S.R. 23 Aug.), but the upward limit of 29 Mar. 1588 (the date of entry of *Perimines*), suggested by Fleay, is less sure.

thus showing that a play called *Hamlet* was represented at the Newington Theatre.

The play is probably referred to by Lodge in his pamphlet entitled *Wit's Miserie, and the World's Madnesse, discovering the Devils incarnate of the Age.* 1596. Lodge says: "One of the evil spirits is Hate-Virtue, a foul rubber, who looks as pale as the visard of ye Ghost, which cried so miserably at ye Theator, like an oister wife, 'Hamlet, reuenge!'" The above may probably relate to Shakespeare's own *Hamlet* first printed in 1603.

In Decker's *Satiromastix*, Tucca says: "My name's Hamlet, revenge!" and in Decker and Webster's *Westward Ho* V. iv Tenterhook is made to say: "Ay, but when light wives make heavy husbands, let these husbands play mad Hamlet, and cry 'Revenge!'"

Gordon says: "Our knowledge of the play is collected from a passage in a preface, written by Thomas Nash to his friend Robert Greene's story of *Menaphon* in 1589, which contained the following words:

> It is a common practice now a daies amongst a sort of shifting companions, that runne through every arte and thrive by none, to leave the trade of *Noverint* (*i.e.*, of attorney), whereto they were borne, and busie themselves with the indevors of Art, that could scarcelie latinize their necke-verse if they should have neede; yet English *Seneca* (*i.e.* Seneca translated) read by candle light yeeldes manie good sentences, as *Bloud is a begger*, and so foorth; and, if you intreate him faire in a frostie morning, he will afoord you whole *Hamlets*, I should say handfulls of tragical speeches.

There is a German tragedy, entitled: *Tragedy of Fratricide Punished; or, Prince Hamlet of Denmark*,[1] believed to have been based upon the old *Hamlet* Play, by Kyd. This play appears to have been acted in Germany about the year 1603 by English Players.

[1] See Appendix II.

Outline of the Play. The play opens with a representation of the platform before the castle of Elsinore, the residence of the Danish court. The midnight changing of the guard is in progress. The relieving sentry, Bernardo, appears in an agitated manner, and, contrary to custom and the rules of service, challenges Francisco, the sentinel on guard:

Ber. Who 's there?
Fran. Nay, answer me; stand, and unfold yourself.

As Francisco is about to leave, Bernardo seems afraid of being left alone, and urges Francisco to hurry on Horatio and Marcellus, the comrades of his watch:

If you do meet Horatio and Marcellus,
The rivals of my watch, bid them make haste.

Francisco meets the rivals of the watch. The conversation at once turns on the ghost which has been seen on two previous occasions by Marcellus and Bernardo. Horatio appears to be in a jocular mood. He is sceptical, and attributes the story to fancy. Bernardo has hardly begun to retell the story, when at the stroke of one, a figure in the form of the murdered king appears, and crosses the stage:

In the same figure, like the king that 's dead.

The above remark of Bernardo now tells for the first time one of the most important parts of the story—the murder of the late king. The apparition is questioned by Horatio, but as on previous occasions it is speechless, and stalks away:

What art thou that usurp'st this time of night,
Together with that fair and warlike form
In which the majesty of buried Denmark
Did sometimes march? by heaven I charge thee,
speak!

Being now convinced, having seen the vision with his own eyes, Horatio contends that its presence forebodes some evil. With Bernardo and Marcellus he discusses the unsettled state of the country. Marcellus makes mention of preparations for war which are already in progress throughout Denmark, the cause of which he thinks is still unknown:

Good now, sit down, and tell me, he that
knows,
Why this same strict and most observant watch
So nightly toils the subject of the land,
And why such daily cast of brazen cannon,
And foreign mart for implements of war;
Why such impress of shipwrights, whose sore
task
Does not divide the Sunday from the week;
What might be toward that this sweaty haste
Doth make the night joint-labourer with the
day;
Who is 't that can inform me?

Horatio, who is more scholarly than Marcellus, is able to give the reason for these preparations. *See* I. i. 79-107.

The late King (Hamlet) had slain Fortinbras of Norway in a private duel and gained some of his lands, which Fortinbras, his young son, is now trying

to regain—if necessary—by force of arms. Horatio also alludes to the strange happenings in Rome on the eve of the murder of Julius Cæsar. The conversation is still in progress when the ghost reappears. It is again questioned by Horatio, but, without result, and at the crowing of the cock it vanishes, Bernardo remarking:

> It was about to speak when the cock crew.

Horatio in his second speech to the apparition puts forth the superstition of the day, which was regarded as the reason for the disturbed rest of the souls departed:

> If there be any good thing to be done,
> That may to thee do ease and grace to me,
> Speak to me:
> If thou art privy of thy country's fate,
> Which, happily foreknowing, may avoid,
> O, speak!
> Or if thou hast uphoarded in thy life
> Extorted treasure in the womb of earth,
> For which, they say, you spirits oft walk in death,
> [*The cock crows.*
> Speak of it:

Horatio now suggests to his companions that the young Hamlet—the late king's son—be told of the visits of the apparition, for:

> upon my life,
> This spirit, dumb to us, will speak to him.

The scene is now changed to a room of state in the castle where the new king Claudius, with the queen, young Hamlet, and the lords and attendants, are assembled.

Claudius makes a speech, in the opening lines of which the courtiers learn that the new king is brother of the late king, and that shortly after his accession to the throne, he had, with the consent of his ministers, married his brother's widow.

Continuing his address, the king mentions the country's preparation for war against invasion, and also the claim of young Fortinbras, prince of Norway, to certain land lost by his father. Cornelius and Voltimand are sent as ambassadors to arrange matters in Norway.

Laertes, son of Polonius, asks permission to return to France, having come to Denmark to attend the coronation. This being granted, Claudius and his queen now address young Hamlet—who has meanwhile stood gloomily by—concerning his prolonged grief for his father, and beg of him to give up the idea of returning to the Wittenburg university, and stay with them:

> For your intent
> In going back to school in Wittenberg,
> It is most retrograde to our desire;
> And we beseech you, bend you to remain
> Here in the cheer and comfort of our eye,
> Our chiefest courtier, cousin, and our son.

To this request, Hamlet agrees, the king is pleased, and retires with the queen, leaving Hamlet alone. In his solitude he wishes for death—probably contemplates suicide—regretting that:

the Everlasting had not fix'd
His canon 'gainst self-slaughter!

His chief trouble is not in the appearance of the apparition—for as yet Hamlet is in ignorance of the matter—but in the unworthiness of his mother in her hasty marriage to one, who, in comparison with her late husband, is so unworthy of her love. During his moments of soliloquy, Horatio, Marcellus and Bernardo enter, Horatio telling Hamlet: "he saw his father, yesternight." They describe the appearance of the apparition. Hamlet listens attentively, and decides to watch with them during the coming night in order to solve the mystery if possible, but begs them for the present to keep matters secret:

So fare you well:
Upon the platform, 'twixt eleven and twelve,
I 'll visit you.

The scene now turns to a room in the house of Polonius. Laertes is about to set out for Paris. In his farewell message to his sister Ophelia, he, brother-like, warns her to act cautiously in her love affairs with Hamlet, as Hamlet:

is subject to his birth;
He may not, as unvalued persons do,
Carve for himself, for in his choice depends
The safety and health of this whole state;

Polonius enters, and gives his son his parting precepts before he leaves for Paris, afterwards advising Ophelia concerning her lover, Hamlet, to which advice she meekly answers:

I shall obey, my lord.

At midnight on a cold, frosty night, Hamlet, Horatio, and Marcellus keep watch on the platform before the castle. Within is the noise of feasting and merriment. The watchers engage in serious conversation, in the midst of which the apparition appears, and when questioned by Hamlet as to why it:

Revisit'st thus the glimpses of the moon,
Making night hideous;

it beckons him to follow. His comrades of the watch fear for his life, and entreat him to remain, but Hamlet, obeying the second beckoning of the spirit, follows:

Still am I call'd? Unhand me, gentlemen;
[*Breaking from them.*
By heaven, I'll make a ghost of him that lets
me:
I say, away!—Go on; I'll follow thee.

In a distant part of the platform Hamlet alone learns the errand of the ghost, which is, to make known the cruel murder of his father by poisoning, and not, as the country thinks, from the effects of a sting:

I am thy father's spirit;

. . . . . .

The serpent that did sting thy father's life
Now wears his crown.

The ghost repeats how he was poisoned by the present king, who poured the "juice of cursed hebenon" into his ear, as he was taking his afternoon sleep in his orchard. He urges Hamlet to revenge this foul and unnatural murder, but in parting says:

Taint not thy mind, nor let thy soul contrive
Against thy mother aught ; leave her to heaven,
And to those thorns that in her bosom lodge,
To prick and sting her.

On meeting his comrades Hamlet is questioned by them as to what has happened. He refuses to share his secret with them, but assures them that:

It is an honest ghost,

He also succeeds in obtaining from them a promise not to reveal to any one what they had seen that night. The oath is taken upon Hamlet's sword, and its sanctity is made manifest by the fourfold call of the apparition itself—" Swear "—to which Hamlet replies:

Rest, rest, perturbed spirit!

Hamlet begins to think out his plan of revenge, and in order to take action at once, without arousing suspicion, he decides:

To put an antic disposition on,

This plan he confides to his friends of the watch, swearing them to secrecy.

The opening of the second act displays the craft of the old courtier, Polonius, who employs Reynaldo, his servant, to spy upon the movements of his son, Laertes, now in Paris. As Reynaldo is leaving to carry out his mission, Ophelia enters the room in an agitated state, and decribes to her father Hamlet's strange manner towards her—she to whom Hamlet in his despair had looked for help, but in vain:

My lord, as I was sewing in my closet,
Lord Hamlet, with his doublet all unbraced ;
No hat upon his head ; his stockings foul'd,
Ungarter'd, and down-gyved to his ancle ;
Pale as his shirt ;
. . . . . .
He took me by the wrist and held me hard ;
Then goes he to the length of all his arm,
And, with his other hand thus o'er his brow,
He falls to such perusal of my face,
As he would draw it.

Polonius ascribes the strange conduct to his violent love-making towards Ophelia, who according to her father's command:

did repel his letters and denied
His access.

He finally decides to inform Claudius of this unseemly behaviour. Claudius has already noticed Hamlet's strange manner, and hearing the news, appoints Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, two friends of Hamlet's youth, to try and ascertain from Hamlet the cause of his actions:

draw him on to pleasures, and to gather
So much as from occasion you may glean,
Whether aught to us unknown afflicts him thus,
That, open'd, lies within our remedy.

Meanwhile Polonius enters the king's presence, the two courtiers leave, and Polonius proudly announces to the king:

I have found
The very cause of Hamlet's lunacy.

but he delays giving his reason for a short time owing to the arrival of ambassadors from Norway with peaceful news from that country:

Give first admittance to the ambassadors;
My news shall be the fruit to that great feast.

The interview with the ambassadors being concluded, Polonius now addresses the king and queen, and tells them that Hamlet's intense love for Ophelia has driven him out of his mind. This the king secretly considers doubtful, and is anxious to sift the matter further. For this reason he falls in with the agreement of Polonius that they should secrete themselves behind the tapestry hangings of the room, awaiting to hear the conversation between Hamlet and Ophelia, who are brought together for the purpose.

As Hamlet enters the room reading, he is greeted by Polonius, and holds a disconnected conversation with him. His skill in assuming madness is sufficient to convince his hearers of the truth of Polonius's statement. As Rosencrantz and Guildenstern enter, Polonius retires. Hamlet welcomes them heartily, but from their troubled countenances soon suspects their errand. Their efforts to obtain from Hamlet the cause of his strange actions, are as unavailing as those of Polonius, though on the other hand Hamlet succeeds in wresting from them a confession that they have been sent by Claudius and his queen. They leave Hamlet's presence baffled. During the course of the recent conversation, Hamlet had learned of the arrival at the court of a company of actors. It fell to the old courtier Polonius to introduce them to Hamlet, as:

The best actors in the world,

At Hamlet's request they give an exhibition of their histrionic art. Hamlet is well satisfied with the performance. Polonius and the actors leave, with the exception of the first player who is detained by Hamlet, and asked if he can play *The Murder of Gonzago*. Receiving the answer "Ay, my lord," Hamlet makes arrangements for the play. He decides to introduce into it "some dozen or sixteen lines" of his own composition, the theme of which is so chosen as to bear resemblance to the murder of his father, and to test the truthfulness of the ghost's story:

I 'll have these
players
Play something like the murder of my father
Before mine uncle; I 'll observe his looks;
I'll tent him to the quick; if he but blench
I know my course.

The third act opens with Rosencrantz and Guildenstern's account of their useless interview with Hamlet concerning his state of mind. A meeting between Ophelia and Hamlet has been arranged, and the king and Polonius are to be private witnesses of the interview. As they withdraw to their hiding-place Hamlet enters, deeply engrossed in a soliloquy on the mysteries of human life—the whole speech of which has now become proverbial:

To be, or not to be: that is the question:

From the conversation which takes place Ophelia thinks Hamlet mad. Polonius is pleased to think that Hamlet's affection for his daughter has now passed

away; but the king, after overhearing the conversation, doubts Hamlet's madness, thinking that, it is either assumed for some ulterior motive, or Hamlet is brooding for some cause apparently unknown to Claudius. It does not, however, occur to Claudius that his own crime may be known.

It is probable that Hamlet suspects the presence of Polonius, during his interview with Ophelia, for he says:

> Where 's your father?
> *Oph.* At home, my lord.
> *Ham.* Let the doors be shut upon him, that he may
> play the fool no where but in 's own house.

Claudius eventually decides, in view of impending danger either to send Hamlet to England, or subject him to close confinement, for:

> Madness in great ones must not unwatch'd go.

Polonius suggests to Claudius that after the play is acted the queen should question Hamlet, to ascertain the cause of his grief—Polonius being within hearing of the conversation—after which, should it prove useless:

> To England send him, or confine him where
> Your wisdom best shall think.

At the opening of the next scene Hamlet is seen directing the various players as to their parts. Before the play commences he instructs Horatio—who has seen the ghost—to:

> Observe mine uncle; if his occulted guilt
> Do not itself unkennel in one speech,
> It is a damned ghost that we have seen,
> And my imaginations are as foul
> As Vulcan's stithy.

The king and queen, with Polonius, Ophelia, Rosencrantz, Guilderstern, and others enter, Hamlet sitting at the feet of Ophelia. The play so closely resembles the murder of the late king, as related to Hamlet by the ghost, that the king—appearing very much troubled—calls for a light, and with the queen, Polonius, and others, moves away from the look of Hamlet during that part of the play where poison is poured into the ears of the sleeping king.

The king is now aware that Hamlet knows his guilt. He rises from his seat, and, along with his retinue, retires from the room, Hamlet and Horatio only remaining. Hamlet remarks to Horatio:

> Why, let the strucken deer go weep,
> The hart ungalled play;
> For some must watch, while some must sleep;
> So runs the world away.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> O good Horatio, I 'll take the ghost's word
> for a thousand pound. Didst perceive?

Horatio, too, is now fully convinced that Claudius is the murderer of the late king.

Rosencrantz and Guildenstern re-enter, being followed later by Polonius, who requests Hamlet to be present at a private interview with his mother. To this Hamlet agrees, and Polonius secretes himself behind the hangings in her room, in order to be able to report the subject of the interview to the king.

As Hamlet proceeds to his mother's chamber the opportunity to take revenge presents itself. He sees Claudius in a kneeling position—the attitude of prayer—meditating on his own guilt. Claudius cannot pray for forgiveness for the murder, for he says:

> That cannot be, since I am still possess'd
> Of those effects for which I did the murder,
> My crown, mine own ambition, and my queen.

His kneeling posture saves his life for the present, for Hamlet refrains from taking revenge while "he is purging his soul, and fit and season'd for his passage." He determines on revenge at a more opportune moment. The king, who is in entire ignorance of the danger to which he has been exposed, now rises from his knees, and advances, saying:

> My words fly up, my thoughts remain below;
> Words without thoughts never to heaven go.

Having for the present put aside his opportunity for taking revenge, Hamlet proceeds to his mother's chamber, and, as arranged, Polonius conceals himself behind the arras. The queen, being alarmed by Hamlet's wild words and looks, cried out for help. Forgetting himself for a moment, Polonius echoes the cries of the queen, whereupon, Hamlet, hearing the noise, and thinking the king was in hiding, draws his rapier, makes a pass through the arras, stabs, and Polonius (not Claudius as Hamlet suspected) dies instantly. Lifting the arras, and seeing the dead body of Polonius before him, Hamlet says:

> Thou wretched, rash, intruding fool, farewell!
> I took thee for thy better;

The queen speaks to Hamlet of the murder of Polonius as "a rash and bloody deed," to which Hamlet replies:

> A bloody deed! almost as bad, good mother,
> As kill a king, and marry with his brother.

Continuing the conversation Hamlet bitterly censures his mother for her complicity in the murder of the late king. Further he speaks of the murder of his father by Claudius, whom in his heated passion he denounces as "a murderer, a villain, a slave, a vice of kings, a cut-purse of the empire, a king of shreds and patches." The queen is by now penitent, and cries out:

> O Hamlet, speak no more;
> Thou turn'st mine eyes into my very soul,
> And there I see such black and grained spots
> As will not leave their tinct.

During the conversation the ghost enters, and is addressed by Hamlet. As the form is visible only to Hamlet, the queen, on hearing Hamlet's wild form of addressing it, thinks he is mad. The appearance of the ghost is to bring back to Hamlet's mind his resolution for revenge, and to remind him to "spare his mother's feelings." The ghost says:

> Do not forget: this visitation
> Is but to whet thy almost blunted purpose.

The queen chides with Hamlet for holding discourse with the "incorporal air," Hamlet saying "Do you see nothing." Receiving the answer "Nothing at all," he continues:

Why, look you there! look, how it steals away!
My father, in his habit as he lived!
Look, where he goes, even now, out at the portal!

After extorting from the queen a promise that she will not reveal to Claudius his feigning madness, they separate, the queen leaves for her room, Hamlet dragging after him the dead body of Polonius.

At the close of the interview the queen hastens to the king's chamber, and announces the murder of Polonius, but true to her promise made to Hamlet she assures the king that the deed was done in the frenzy of madness, Hamlet being:

Mad as the sea and wind, when both contend
Which is the mightier:

The king appears to believe in the truth of the statement, though in reality he is very much alarmed and tells the queen that, in order "to countenance and excuse this vile deed" Hamlet must leave Denmark and be sent to England at once. Thus Claudius by feigning anxiety for Hamlet's safety, plans to get him sent out of the way.

Meanwhile Rosencrantz and Guildenstern enter the king's chamber. The king tells them of the murder of Polonius, sends them to find Hamlet, and afterwards to bring the body of Polonius into the chapel.

On meeting Rosencrantz and Guildenstern Hamlet again assumes madness, refuses to disclose where he has hidden the body of Polonius, and asks to be brought to the king. Rosencrantz now enters the king's chamber and tells of Hamlet's refusal to make known where the body is. Meanwhile Hamlet enters accompanied by Guildenstern. He still pretends madness, though he tells Claudius his hiding place of the body:

But indeed, if you find
him not within this month, you shall nose
him as you go up the stairs into the lobby.

Claudius now makes known to Hamlet his plan of sending him to England, in order to avoid any evil happenings which may result from the murder of Polonius,—though Hamlet knows that this excuse is false. In all haste he is dispatched with Rosencrantz and Guildenstern. In the king's soliloquy at the close of the scene his plot for Hamlet's destruction is disclosed.

Hamlet prepares to leave Denmark for England, with Rosencrantz, Guildenstern and others of the guard. In crossing a plain in Denmark, to take ship, they meet Fortinbras and some soldiers marching to Elsinore to gain permission from Claudius to march through Denmark against Poland. Hamlet, noticing the eager spirit of young Fortinbras chides with himself for being so slow to revenge "a father kill'd, a mother stain'd."

Within the castle of Elsinore there is much cause for sorrow, for Ophelia has lost her reason, partly caused through grief at her father's sudden and mysterious death, and partly the ill-treatment and loss of her lover (Hamlet). In her fits of madness she wanders through the castle, singing scraps of old songs,—her bewailings at the loss of father and lover. The king remarks to the queen:

Oh, this is the poison of deep grief; it springs
All from her father's death. O Gertrude, Gertrude,
When sorrows come, they come not single spies,
But in battalions!

Meanwhile Laertes, brother to Ophelia, receives news of his father's death, and hastens from France to Denmark, bent on revenge. Gathering together a band of Danes he arrives at the king's palace in a violent rage. With much difficulty Claudius succeeds in calming his anger, by assuring him of his own innocence, and Hamlet's guilt. During the stormy scene Ophelia enters, carrying flowers, and her noticeable insanity is a fountain of fresh grief for Laertes.

In another room in the castle a servant announces to Horatio the arrival of sailors bearing a letter for him from Hamlet, and also one for the king. Hamlet tells Horatio of his capture by pirates after being only two days at sea; and also bids Horatio come to him, "with as much haste as he would fly death." Thus the king's plan for Hamlet's destruction has failed.

While Claudius holds conversation with Laertes and succeeds in convincing him of his innocence concerning the death of his father, and:

> A sister driven into desperate terms,

the messenger enters bearing Hamlet's letters:

> Letters, my lord, from Hamlet;
> This to your majesty; this to the queen.

which announces his return. The king's letter reads thus:

> *High and mighty, you shall know I am set naked on your kingdom. To-morrow shall I beg leave to see your kingly eyes; when I shall, first asking your pardon thereunto, recount the occasion of my sudden and more strange return.* HAMLET.

The letter also bore the postscript "alone."

The news of Hamlet's return startles the king. Bidding the messenger leave he reads the contents of the letter to Laertes, and together they conspire for Hamlet's death.

Claudius urges Laertes to take revenge for his father's death:

> what would you undertake
> To show yourself your father's son in deed
> More than in words?

Laertes replying he would commit the worst of crimes for revenge "To cut his throat i' the church."

A fencing match is to be arranged between Hamlet and Laertes, and in the plot for the murder Laertes proves himself as base a villain as Claudius, when he suggests the dipping of his rapier in poison. *See* IV. vii. 141-149.

To make doubly sure of the successful execution of the plot, the king decides to provide "should Hamlet call for drink":

> A chalice for the nonce; whereon but sipping,
> If he by chance escape your venom'd stuck,
> Our purpose may hold there.

Just as the plan for the plot is complete the queen enters and announces to Laertes Ophelia's death by drowning:

> One woe doth tread upon another's heel,
> So fast they follow.—Your sister's drown'd,
> Laertes.

As Hamlet returns to Elsinore with Horatio, they meet with two clowns who are digging the grave of Ophelia. Hamlet approaches and enters into conversation with the chief grave digger, who tells him that the mad Hamlet has been sent to England to recover his wits.

While conversing, Hamlet looks up, and notices the approach of a funeral procession, with the king, queen, courtiers, and others moving slowly in the train. Hamlet and Horatio stand aside as the cortege passes by, Hamlet noticing Laertes amongst the mourners. The first priest tells Laertes that Ophelia should have been buried in "ground unsanctified," but as the body was lowered into the earth, Hamlet heard the remark of Laertes:

> I tell thee, churlish priest,
> A ministering angel shall my sister be,
> When thou liest howling.

Laertes is so overcome with grief that he leaps into the open grave to clasp Ophelia in his arms once more, saying:

> Now pile your dust upon the quick and dead,

Hamlet also leaps into the open grave, and a violent struggle takes place, Laertes gripping him by the throat. They are parted, however, by the attendants.

The same night Hamlet tells Horatio of his discovery of the plot made by Claudius on his life, and how he wrote other letters with orders that the bearers should be "put to sudden death." Thus Hamlet's life is saved at the expense of Guildenstern and Rosencrantz. At the same time Hamlet expresses to Horatio his sorrow:

> That to Laertes I forgot myself;
> For, by the image of my cause, I see
> The portraiture of his;

Osric the king's messenger enters, requesting Hamlet to take part in a friendly fencing match with Laertes, arranged by Claudius. Hamlet accepts the challenge, and Claudius prepares the poisoned wine, while Laertes anoints his rapier with a deadly poison. The contest takes place immediately in the presence of the king, queen, lords, Osric, and other attendants.

Claudius places Hamlet's hand in that of Laertes, but before the contest commences, Hamlet in an honourable manner expresses his sorrow to Laertes for the part he has played in his father's death, and Laertes declares—such is his honour—

> I do receive your offer'd love like love,
> And will not wrong it.

though the moment has almost arrived for carrying out the wicked plot arranged by himself and Claudius.

According to the terms of the challenge—if Hamlet makes three hits before Laertes makes one, Hamlet has won. Hamlet makes two hits. Claudius appears to be much pleased at his success, and drops a pearl into the wine.[1] The queen also is delighted with her son's success and drinks to his good fortune, not knowing that this is the poisoned cup. Claudius gives her warning, though not until it is too late. The queen swoons and dies:

[1] According to the custom of the age the pearl was intended as a present to the drinker of the wine, though in this case the pearl was the preparation of poison.

It is the poison'd cup! it is too late!

Laertes now wounds Hamlet, and in the scuffle they change foils. Hamlet, enraged by his wound, in return wounds Laértes, who, knowing now that his wound is fatal confesses to Hamlet the treachery of which he and the king are guilty, and urges him to take revenge. Exclaiming:

The point envenom'd too!
Then, venom, to thy work!

Hamlet stabs Claudius who dies of his wound. Laertes and Hamlet also die from the effects of the poison in their wounds. The play ends with the arrival of Fortinbras, prince of Norway, from the Polack wars, his accession to the throne, the carrying off of the dead bodies, and the playing of the dead march, followed by a peal of ordnance shot off.

Scene: Elsinore.

CHARACTERS, PLACE-NAMES, &c.

Adam's profession. V. i. 34, 40.

Come, my spade. There is no ancient gentlemen but gardeners, ditchers, and grave-makers; they hold up Adam's profession.
Second Clo. Was he a gentleman?
First Clo. A' was the first that ever bore arms.
[V. i. 31-36.]

The first gardener. Cf. V. i. 39-40: "The Scripture says Adam digged."

Douce says: This is undoubtedly in ridicule of heraldry. Gerard Leigh, one of the oldest writers on that subject, speaks of 'Jesus Christ, a *gentleman* of great linage, and king of the Jewes.' And again, 'For that it might be known that even anon after the creation of Adam, there was both *gentlenes*, and *ungentlenes*, you shall understand that the second man that was born was a *gentleman*, whose name was Abell. I say a gentleman both of verture and of lignage, with whose sacrifice God was much pleased. His brother Cain was *ungentle*, for he offered God the worst of his fruites,' &c. *Accedence of Armorie*, 1591. Another morsel of satire against the above science lurks in the very ancient proverbial saying:

When Adam delv'd and Eve span,
Where was then the gentleman?

which is found in almost every European language. It was the text on which the rebel priest John Balle preached his sermon during the insurrection of Wat Tyler. Although the first clown afterwards explains why Adam bore arms, by means of a punning allusion to his digging with arms, there is still a concealed piece of wit with respect to the *spade*. Adam's spade is set down in some of the books of heraldry as *the most ancient form of escutcheons*: nor is it improbable that the lower part of this utensil suggested the well known form of the old triangular shields; whilst from the spindle of Eve might have originated the lozenge-like escutcheon on which the arms of females are usually emblazoned.

Æneas' tale to Dido. II. ii. 476.

'twas Æneas'
tale to Dido; [II. ii. 476-477.]

Different opinions have been expressed by commentators as to these lines. Probably Shakespeare had in mind the story of the Fall of Troy as told by Virgil in his *Æneid*,

and introduced in a play entitled *The Tragedy of Dido, Queen of Carthage*, left unfinished by Marlowe and completed by Nash. The slaughter of Priam by Pyrrhus as told by Hamlet in his speech [II. ii. 462-495] very much resembles the following passage in Act II. of Marlowe and Nash's *Tragedy of Dido, Queen of Carthage:*

At last came Pyrrhus, fell and full of ire,
His harness[1] dropping blood, and on his spear
The mangled head of Priam's youngest son;
And, after him, his band of Myrmidons,
With balls of wild-fire in their murdering paws,
Which made the funeral flame that burnt fair Troy;
All which hemm'd me about, crying, "This is he!"
Dido. Ah, how could poor Æneas scape their hands?
Æn. My mother Venus, jealous of my health,
Conveyed me from their crookèd nets and bands;
So I escap'd the furious Pyrrhus' wrath:
Who then ran to the palace of the king,
And at Jove's altar finding Priamus,
About whose wither'd neck hung Hecuba,
Folding his hand in hers, and jointly both
Beating their breasts, and falling on the ground,
He, with his falchion's point rais'd up at once,
And with Megæra's eyes, star'd in their face,
Threatening a thousand deaths at every glance:
To whom the agèd king thus, trembling, spoke;
"Achilles' son, remember what I was,
Father of fifty sons, but they are slain;
Lord of my fortune, but my fortune's turn'd;
King of this city, but my Troy is fir'd;
And now am neither father, lord, nor king:
Yet who so wretched but desires to live?
O, let me live, great Neoptolemus!"
Not mov'd at all, but smiling at his tears,
This butcher, whilst his hands were yet held up,
Treading upon his breast, struck off his hands.
Dido. O, end, Æneas! I can hear no more.
Æn. At which the frantic queen leap'd on his face,
And in his eyelids hanging by the nails,
A little while prolong'd her husband's life.
At last, the soldiers pull'd her by the heels,
And swung her howling in the empty air,
Which sent an echo to the wounded king:
Whereat he lifted up his bed-rid limbs,
And would have grappled with Achilles' son,
Forgetting both his want of strength and hands;
Which he disdaining, whisk'd his sword about,
And with the wind[2] thereof the king fell down;
Then from the navel to the throat at once
He ripp'd old Priam; at whose latter gasp
Jove's marble statue gan to bend the brow,
As loathing Pyrrhus for this wicked act.
Yet he, undaunted, took his father's flag,
And dipp'd it in the old king's chill-cold blood,
And then in triumph ran into the streets,
Through which he could not pass for slaughter'd men;
So, leaning on his sword, he stood stone-still,
Viewing the fire wherewith rich Ilion burnt.

[1] armour. [2] old ed. "wound."

Alexander. V. i. 219, 225, 230, 231.

Known as 'The Great.' Alexander was king of Macedon, and son of Philip, the conqueror of Darius the Persian king.

Perhaps Shakespeare had in mind Alexander's beauty and the sweet smell of his body. Plutarch: *Life of Alexander the Great* [North's translation] says: "for naturally he had a very fair white colour, mingled alfo with red, which chiefly appeared in his face and in his breft. I remember I read alfo in the Commentaries of *Ariftoxenus*, that his skin had a marvellous good favour, and that his breath was very fweet: infomuch that his body had fo fweet a fmell, of it felf, that all the Apparell he wore next unto his body, took thereof a paffing delightfull favour, as if it had been perfumed. . . . fo that the corps of Alexander remained many days naked without burial, in a hot dry Country, and yet there never appeared any fign or token upon his body, that he was poisoned, but was ftill a clean and fair corps as could be."

Commenting on the passage "Alexander died, Alexander was buried, Alexander returneth into dust; the dust is earth; of earth we make loam; and why of that loam, whereto he was converted," [V. i. 230-234] Seymour says: "This is false logic: though loam is made of earth, all earth does not become loam: we should read, 'and why of this *earth*, whereto he was converted—' or else, 'and why of this loam, to which he *may have been* converted,' " etc.

Antique Roman than a Dane. V. ii. 353.

I am more an antique Roman than a Dane;
[V. ii. 353.]

Like Cato, Brutus, and other Romans who committed suicide, Horatio expresses a wish not to survive Hamlet.

Attendants. I. ii. p. 1; II. ii. p. 1; IV. iii. p. 1; V. i. p. 240; V. ii. p. 236, p. 373.

Ballads. *See* **Songs.**

Baptista. III. ii. 252.

This play is the image of a murder done in Vienna: Gonzago is the Duke's name; his wife, Baptista: [III. ii. 250-252.]

See Gonzago.

Barbary horses. V. ii. 152, 165.

Barbary, famous for its horses, was a district of North-West Africa, inhabited by the Berbers, an ancient Semitic race from which it received its name. Cf. *Richard II.* V. v. 78-79:

When Bolingbroke rode on roan Barbary,
That horse that thou so often hast bestrid,
That horse that I so carefully have dress'd!

Bernardo. I. i. 4, 17, 18, 34; I. ii. 197.

One of the officers of the king's guard. In the opening line of the play he acted the rôle of relieving sentry to Francisco. His challenge to Francisco of:

Who 's there? [I. i. 1.]

suggested that his manner was agitated, for it was customary for the sentry on guard to challenge the relieving sentry.

Bernardo too seemed nervous of being left alone on guard. As Francisco left, Bernardo wished him "good night" adding:

If you do meet Horatio and Marcellus,
The rivals of my watch, bid them make haste.
[I. i. 12-13.]

The cause of his agitation was the appearance of an apparition during the two previous nights of his watch.

In giving a description of the ghost to Horatio, it was Bernardo who gave the key-note to the Drama—the death of the king—. He says, on the re-appearance of the ghost:

In the same figure, like the king that 's dead. [I. i. 41.]

After taking part in the conversation concerning the meaning of the nightly visitation, Bernardo, with Marcellus and Horatio was present at the interview, when it was decided to relate to Hamlet the news of the ghostly visits. At the conclusion of this interview Bernardo does not again appear in the play.

Brutus. III. ii. 113.

I did enact Julius Cæsar; I was killed i' the Capitol; Brutus killed me. [III. ii. 112-113.]

= Marcus Brutus, the famous Roman republican, who joined in a conspiracy to assassinate Julius Cæsar. *See* Brutus, Marcus, pp. 6-8.

Cæsar. V. i. 235.

Imperious Cæsar, dead and turn'd to clay. [V. i. 235.]

Malone remarks: "The editor of the folio substituted *imperial*, not knowing that *imperious* was used in the same sense. Cf. *Troilus and Cressida* IV. v. 172: "I thank thee, most imperious Agamemnon."

Cæsar, Julius. III. ii. 112.

I did enact Julius Cæsar; I was killed i' the Capitol; Brutus killed me. [III. ii. 112-113.]

A Latin tragedy on the death of Julius Cæsar was acted at Christ Church, Oxford in 1582 and perhaps it was on this occasion that Polonius impersonated Julius Cæsar. In 1607 *Cæsar and Pompey* or *Cæsar's Revenge* was acted at Trinity, Oxford.

The murder of Cæsar took place in the Curia Pompeii and not in the Capitol. *See* Julius.

Cain's jaw-bone. V. i. 84.

how the knave jowls it to the ground, as if it were Cain's jaw-bone, that did the first murder! [V. i. 83-85.]

According to legend Cain slew Abel with the jaw-bone of an ass. Cf. *I. Henry VI.* I. iii. 39-40:

This be Damascus, be thou cursed Cain,
To slay thy brother Abel, if thou wilt.

Richard II. V. vi. 43-44:

With Cain go wander thorough shades of night,
And never show thy head by day nor light.

and *Cursor Mundi* Part I. 1071-1074:

Again abel he raised a strijf,
wid murther he broght his broper o lijf,
wid *p*[e] cheke bon of ane asse
Men say *pat* abel slain wasse.

In a Bible printed by Messrs. Day and Serres, and dated 1549 there is a woodcut

representing Cain striking Abel with a jawbone with teeth in it.

Professor Skeat [*Notes and Queries*, Vol. 2, Sixth Series, 1880], quotes: "Saga me, forhwam stánas ne sint berende? Ic thé secge, forthám the Abeles blód gefeól ofer stán, tha hine Chain his bróther of slóh mid ánes esoles cinbáne"; *i.e.*, "Tell me, why stones are not fruitful? I tell thee, because Abel's blood fell upon a stone when Chain, his brother, slew him with the jawbone of an ass." *Solomon and Saturn*, ed. Kemble, p. 186; and R.R. [*Notes and Queries*, Vol. 3. Sixth Series, 1881]: "And we rede in the bible that the first labourer that euer was, was caym the first sone of adam that was so euyl that he slewe his broder abel. For as moche as the smoke of his tithes went strayt vnto heuen/ and the smoke and fume of the tithes of caym went doun ward vpon the erthe. and how wel that thys cause was trewe. yet was there another cause of enuye that he had vnto his broder/ For when Adam theyr fader maryed them for to multeplye the erthe of his ligne/ he wolde not marye ner Joyne to gyder the two that were borne attones. but gaf vnto caym her that was born with abel. and to abel her that was borne with caym. & thus he ganne thenuye that caym had ayenst abel/ For hys wyf was fayrer than caymns wyf/ and for this cause he slewe abel wyth the chekebone of a beste." Caxton's *Game of the Chesse* (about 1474), Figgin's Reprint, eij.

Capitol. III. ii. 113.

I did enact Julius Cæsar; I was killed i' the Capitol; Brutus killed me. [III. ii. 112-113.]

Shakespeare repeats his common error in Julius Cæsar. The murder of Cæsar took place in the Curia Pompeii and not in the Capitol. Chaucer makes the same error in his *Monk's Tale:*

This Julius to the Capitolie wente
Upon a day, as he was wont to goon,
And in the Capitolie anon hym hente
This falsè Brutus, and his otherè foon,
And stikèd hym with boydèkyns anoon
With many a wounde, and thus they lete hym lye;
But never gronte he at no strook but oon,
Or elles at two, but if his storie lye.

Captain, A. IV. iv. p. 1.

Employed as messenger by Fortinbras, to request permission from the Danish King (Claudius) for Fortinbras to march his soldiers through Danish territory, against some part of Poland.

According to Fortinbras' speech to the captain, permission for the march had been previously granted:

Go, captain, from me greet the Danish king;
Tell him that, by his license, Fortinbras
Claims the conveyance of a promised march
Over his kingdom. [IV. iv. 1-4.]

Charity, Saint. IV. v. 57.

By Gis and by Saint Charity. [IV. v. 57.]

According to Steevens, *Saint Charity* is a known saint among the Roman Catholics. The saint is mentioned in *The Downfall of Robert Earl of Huntingdon*, 1601:

Therefore, sweet master, for *Saint Charity.*

and in *A Lytell Geste of Robyn Hode*, The Thyrde Fytte:

Lete me go, then sayd the sheryf,
For *saynt Charytè*,

See Gis.

Churchyard, A.

The scene [V. i.] of Hamlet's interview with the two clowns—the grave-diggers—who were preparing Ophelia's grave.

Also the scene of the burial of Ophelia and the struggle in the open grave between Hamlet and Laertes, who had both leapt into it.

Claudio. IV. vii. 40.

The person to whom Hamlet entrusted the letters which the messenger handed to the king and queen.

Claudius. I. ii. p. 1; II. ii. p. 1; III. i. p. 1, p. 170; III. ii. p. 100, p. 166; III. iii. p. 1; IV. i. p. 1; IV. iii. p. 1; IV. v. p. 35; IV. vii. p. 1; V. i. p. 240; V. ii. p. 236.

King of Denmark, a man whose villainous nature is portrayed on several occasions throughout the play. Murder—that of his

brother, Hamlet, the late king—had placed him on the throne, and after securing possession of the throne, he secured that of the queen, by marriage very shortly afterwards. In a speech to the assembled courtiers and people, after his accession to the throne, he announced himself as brother of the late king, and offered explanation for his hasty marriage with his brother's widow, which, he continued, carried with it the "better wisdoms of the Danish people." It is certain that, as yet, there were no suspicions of foul play with regard to the death of the late king.

Noticing Hamlet's morbid appearance he hypocritically reasoned with him concerning his "prolonged" grief and assured him:

'tis unmanly grief;
It shows a will most incorrect to heaven,
A heart unfortified, a mind impatient,
An understanding simple and unschool'd:
For what we know must be. [I. ii. 94-98.]

Under pretence of being interested in Hamlet's welfare he earnestly begged of him to give up his idea of returning to Wittenberg, and remain at the court:

You are the most immediate to our throne;
. . . . . .
and comfort of our eye,
Our chiefest courtier, cousin, and our son.
[I. ii. 109; 116-117.]

His consolation, however, bore very little weight with Hamlet, but a sense of duty compelled him to remain, and Claudius was apparently satisfied, though Hamlet's strange demeanour caused him to employ Rosencrantz and Guildenstern to gain Hamlet's confidence, and so ascertain its cause.

To Hamlet, the Ghost revealed Claudius as:

The serpent that did sting thy father's life.
[I. v. 39.]

and in the following lines made mention of the sad misuse of his intellectual abilities:

that incestuous, that adulterate beast,
With witchcraft of his wit, with traitorous gifts,—
O wicked wit and gifts, that have the power
So to seduce! [I. v. 42-45.]

He was a man of intemperate habits, frequently drinking healths, and much given to feasting. It was customary during his reign for cannon to be fired when he drank, so that Denmark could also drink and make merry. Hamlet made mention of this in his conversation with Horatio, while awaiting the re-appearance of the ghost:

[*A flourish of trumpets, and ordnance shot off, within.*

What does this mean, my lord?
Ham. The king doth wake to-night. [I. iv. 7-8.]

The sole aim of Claudius was Hamlet's death, and when one plan failed,—that of sending Hamlet to England to be put to death,—being a man of resource, another was soon devised, his new plan being a fencing match between Hamlet and Laertes.

His crimes were very vividly brought home to him in the play arranged by Hamlet. He was now aware that Hamlet had discovered his guilt:

Oh, my offence is rank, it smells to heaven;
It hath the primal eldest curse upon 't,
A brother's murder! [III. iii. 36-38.]

He tried to pray, but failed, as thoughts of his crime were uppermost in his mind. He says:

Pray can I not,
Though inclination be as sharp as will:
My stronger guilt defeats my strong intent,
[III. iii. 38-40.]

He cannot pray:

"Forgive me my foul murder?" [III. iii. 52.]

for he repeats:

I am still possess'd
Of those effects for which I did the murder,
My crown, mine own ambition, and my queen.
[III. iii. 53-55.]

At the conclusion of his soliloquy on his crime Hamlet found him in the attitude of prayer, but refrained from taking revenge as he was:

in the purging of his soul, [III. iii. 85.]

and

fit and season'd for his passage? [III. iii. 86.]

Claudius rose from his knees with the words:

My words fly up, my thoughts remain below;
Words without thoughts never to heaven go.
[III. iii. 97-98.]

Failing in his attempts to pray he continued his guilt, seeking as partner—not

the queen, who had taken no part in any of his murderous schemes—but Laertes.

On the occasion of Laertes' visit to the palace, armed, in angry mood, and accompanied by Danes to avenge his father's death, Claudius for once displayed the dignity and bearing expected from a king, and showed no signs of fear. He said to the queen:

> Let him go, Gertrude; do not fear our person;
> There 's such divinity doth hedge a king,
> That treason can but peep to what it would,
> Acts little of his will. [IV. v. 121-124.]

He again played the villain in turning the wrath of Laertes from himself to Hamlet, assuring Laertes that he too was a sufferer under Hamlet's ill will:

> put me in your heart for friend,
> Sith you have heard, and with a knowing ear,
> That he which hath your noble father slain
> Pursued my life. [IV. vii. 2-5.]

On being questioned by Laertes why he did not proceed against these feats, he found a mean excuse in "two special reasons."

> The queen his mother
> Lives almost by his looks; and for myself,—
> . . . . . .
> I could not but by her. [IV. vii. 11-16.]

and the other motive:

> Why to a public count I might not go,
> Is the great love the general gender bear him;
> [IV. vii. 17-18.]

and now urged Laertes to take part in the plot for Hamlet's destruction. In conspiring with Claudius, Laertes proved as base as his master.

The base plotting of Claudius for Hamlet's death caused the death of the queen, who, not knowing of the poisoning of the wine, drank to Hamlet's success, afterwards expiring. Claudius gave her warning when too late.

His treachery to Hamlet caused his death, for it was disclosed by Laertes when he was fatally wounded by Hamlet. Laertes exclaimed:

> The king, the king 's to blame. [V. ii. 331.]

Crying out:

> The point envenom'd too!
> Then, venom, to thy work! [V. ii. 332-333.]

Hamlet rushed at Claudius and stabbed him, afterwards saying:

> Here, thou incestuous, murderous, damned Dane,
> Drink off this potion! Is thy union here?
> Follow my mother! [V. ii. 336-338.]

"Claudius is essentially a low, coarse, sensual, brutish villain; without honour and without shame; treacherous and cruel in the last degree; at once hateful, loathsome, and execrable. At the same time he is mighty shrewd and sagacious; quick and fertile of resource; inscrutably artful and cunning; withal, utterly remorseless and unscrupulous, and sticking at nothing, however base or wicked, to gain his ends, or to secure himself in what he has gained. Thus he stands forth 'a bold bad man,' of a character too vile and too shocking to contend with,—formidable from his astuteness, formidable from his unscrupulousness; above all, formidable from the powers and prerogatives with which he is invested as an absolute king. Such as he is, Hamlet knows him thoroughly; understands alike his meanness, his malice, and his cunning; takes the full measure both of his badness and his potency." *Hudson.*

Cock. IV. v. 60.

> *By Cock, they are to blame.* [IV. v. 60.]

A corruption of the Sacred Name; an adjuration which was very popular among the ancients. Cf. *II. Henry IV.* V. i. 1.

Cornelius. I. ii. 34.

One of the ambassadors. *See* Voltimand.

Cyclops' hammers. II. ii. 520.

> *And never did the Cyclops' hammers fall*
> *On Mars's armour.* [II. ii. 520-521.]

A gigantic race of men with only one eye as large as a full moon, inhabiting the seacoasts of Sicily; sons of Uranus (heaven) and Ge (earth). According to Hesiod they were three in number, their names being Arges, Steropes, and Brontes. They were the assistants of Vulcan in his forge under Mount Etna, and forged armour for the gods.

Roused with the sound, the mighty family
Of one-eyed brothers hasten to the shore,
And gather round the bellowing Polypheme,
A dire assembly: Addison: *Milton's Style Imitated.*
133-136.

and Lucretius, VI.:

As when the Cyclops, at th' Almighty Nod,
New Thunders hasten for their angry God;
Subdu'd in Fire the stubborn Metal lies:
One brawny Smith the pressing Bellows plies,
And draws, and blows reciprocating Air;
Others to quench the hissing Mars prepare;
With lifted Arms they order ev'ry Blow,
And chime their founding Hammers in a Row:
With labour'd Anvils Ætna groans below.
Strongly they strike; huge Flakes of Flame expire:
With Tongs they turn the Steel, and vex it in the Fire.

They were reckoned among the gods, and a temple was dedicated to them at Corinth. Tradition says that they were killed by Apollo because his son Æsculapius had been killed by the thunderbolts made by them.

Damon dear. III. ii. 295.

For thou dost know, O Damon dear. [III. ii. 295.]

Hamlet refers to Horatio by the name of *Damon*, in allusion to the celebrated friendship between Damon and Pythias, which was proverbial for its sincerity. The subject was dramatized by Richard Edward in 1571 and by John Banim, 1825.

Danskers. II. i. 7.

Inquire me first what Danskers are in Paris;
[II. i. 7.]

= Danes. In Warner's *Albion's England* the word *Danske* for Denmark often occurs. *Holger Dansker* is the typical Dane like John Bull as a specimen for our own people.

Denmark I. i. 48.

Together with that fair and warlike form
In which the majesty of buried Denmark
Did sometimes march? [I. i. 47-48.]

= the King of Denmark, Father of Prince Hamlet.

Denmark. I. ii. 49.

The head is not more native to the heart,
The hand more instrumental to the mouth,
Than is the throne of Denmark to thy father.
[I. ii. 47-49.]

= King of Denmark. Steevens says: "The sense seems to be this: The head is not formed to be more useful to the heart, the hand is not more at the service of the mouth, than my power is at your father's service. That is, he may command me to the utmost, he may do what he pleases with my kingly authority."

Denmark. I. ii. 52, 122; I. iv. 90; I. v. 82, 109, 123; II. ii. 251, 254; V. i. 175; V. ii. 81.

= Kingdom of Denmark.

Denmark. I. ii. 69; IV. v. 21.

= King of Denmark, Claudius.

Denmark. I. ii. 125.

No jocund health that Denmark drinks to-day,
But the great cannon to the clouds shall tell,
[I. ii. 125-126.]

= King of Denmark. Johnson remarks: "The King's intemperance is very strongly impressed; everything that happens to him gives him occasion to drink." As a matter of fact the Court of Denmark was in Shakespeare's time noted for its intemperance. In connection with a visit of Christian IV. of Denmark (uncle of James I.'s Queen) to England in 1606, Sir John Harrington complains bitterly of the bad effect which the Danish practice of intoxication had had upon the best English Society of his own day, both men and women." *Goggin.*

Great cannon. This is a thoroughly Danish custom. Professor Brandes quotes from the note-book of 'Maister William Segar, Garter King at Armes,' under date July 14th, 1603: "That afternoon the King (*i.e.*, of Denmark) went aboard the English ship, and had a banket prepared for him upon the upper decks which were hung with an awning of cloths of tissue; every health reported six, eight, or ten shot of

great Ordinance, so that, during the King's abode, the ship discharged 160 shot." The same writer remarks of the Danish habit of drinking: "It would make a man sick to hear of their drunken healths; use hath brought it into a fashion, and fashion make it a habit, which ill beseems our nation to imitate." *Goggin.*

Denmark. I. iii. 28.

Than the main voice of Denmark goes withal.
[I. iii. 28.]

"which is just so far as he can carry the voice of public opinion in Denmark with him." *Gordon.*

Denmark. I. v. 36.

so the whole ear of Denmark
Is by a forged process of my death
Rankly abused; [I. v. 36-38.]

"every one in Denmark is grossly deceived by a forged story of the manner in which I met my death." *Deighton.* Cf. *Richard III.* IV. iii. 31-34:

Come to me, Tyrrel, soon, at after-supper,
When thou shalt tell the process of their death.
Meantime, but think how I may do thee good,
And be inheritor of thy desire.

Denmark. II. ii. 451.

Why, thy face is
valanced since I saw thee last; comest thou
to beard me in Denmark? [II. ii. 449-451.]

= Kingdom of Denmark. *valanced* = fringed with a beard; the player had grown a beard. *to beard* = to set at defiance.

Denmark. III. ii. 359.

How can that be when you have the voice of the king himself for your succession in Denmark? [III. ii. 357-359.]

The crown of Denmark was elective. Cf. I. ii. 110-112:

And with no less nobility of love
Than that which dearest father bears his son
Do I impart toward you.

In Peele's *Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes*, 1599:

And me possess for spousèd wife, who in election am
To have the crown of Denmark here as heir unto the same;

The King means, that as Hamlet stands the fairest chance to be next elected, he will strive with as much love to ensure the crown to him, as a father would show in the continuance of heirdom to a son. *Steevens.*

I agree with Mr. Steevens, that the crown of Denmark (as in most of the Gothick kingdoms) was elective, and not hereditary; though it must be customary, in elections, to pay some attention to the royal blood, which by degrees produced hereditary succession. Why then do the rest of the commentators so often treat Claudius as an *usurper*, who had deprived young Hamlet of his *right* by *heirship* to his father's crown? Hamlet calls him drunkard, murderer, and villain; one who had carried the election by low and mean practices; had:

Popp'd in between the election and my hopes—

had:

From a shelf the precious diadem stole,
And put it in his pocket:

but never hints at his being an *usurper*. His discontent arose from his uncle's being preferred before him, not from any legal right which he pretended to set up to the crown. Some regard was probably had to the recommendation of the preceding prince, in electing the successor. And therefore young Hamlet had "the voice of the king himself for his succession in Denmark"; and he at his own death prophesies that "the election would light on Fortinbras, who had his dying voice," conceiving that by the death of his uncle, he himself had been king for an instant, and had therefore a right to recommend. When, in the fourth Act, the rabble wished to choose Laertes king, I understand that antiquity was forgot, and custom violated, by electing a new king in the life-time of the old one, and perhaps also by the calling in a stranger of the royal blood. *Blackstone.*

Dido. II. ii. 477.

'twas Æneas'
tale to Dido; [II. ii. 476-477.]

See Æneas' tale to Dido.

Dumb-show enters. III. ii. p. 147.

The Dumb-show appears to contain every circumstance of the murder of Hamlet's father. Now there is no apparent reason why the Usurper should not be as much affected by this mute representation of his crimes, as he is afterwards when the same action is accompanied by words.

I cannot reconcile myself to the exhibition in dumb show preceding the interlude, which is injudiciously introduced by the author, and should always be omitted on the stage; as we cannot well conceive why the mute representation of his crime should not affect as much the conscience of the King, as the scene that follows it. *Mason.*

Goggin remarks: "The use of the dumb-show here is peculiar (as Ophelia's remark in line 150 shows) and is not in accordance with the usage of the English stage, where dumb-shows merely represented action not dealt with in the dialogue, or else, and very rarely, were purely allegorical moralisings on the action. There is some ground for thinking that the dumb-show as used in *Hamlet* was in accordance with Danish action.

Warton in his *History of English Poetry* speaks thus: "Every Act is introduced, as was the custom of our old plays, with a piece of machinery called the Dumb Show, shadowing by an allegorical exhibition the matter that was immediately to follow. In the construction of this spectacle and its personifications, much poetry and imagination was often displayed. It is some apology for these prefigurations, that they were commonly too mysterious and obscure, to forestal the future events with any degree of clearness and precision. Not that this mute mimicry was always typical of the ensuing incidents. It sometimes served for a compendious introduction of such circumstances, as could not commodiously be comprehended within the bounds of the representation. It sometimes supplied deficiencies, and covered the want of business."

Eisel. V. i. 298.

Woo't drink up eisel? eat a crocodile? [V. i. 298.]

Eisel was the ancient word for "vinegar." Theobald says: "But then this must be some river in Denmark; and there is none there so called; nor is there any near it in name, that I know of, but *Yssel*, from which the province of Overyssel derives its title in the German Flanders. . . . I am persuaded the poet wrote: 'Wilt drink up *Eisel?* eat a crocodile?' "

Stowe mentions the name of this river twice: "It standeth a good distance from the river *Issell*, but hath a sconce on *Issell* of incredible strength."

And in Drayton's *Poly-olbion*, 24th Song:

Th' one o'r *Isells* banks the ancient *Saxons* taught:
At ouer *Isell* rests, the other did apply.

Archdeacon Nares sums the passage up as follows: "There is indeed no doubt that *eisel* meant vinegar, nor even that Shakespeare has used it in that sense: . . . But in this passage it seems that it must be put for the name of a Danish river: . . . There is said to be a river *Oesil* in Denmark, or if not, Shakespeare might think there was. *Yssel* has been mentioned, but that is in Holland; and even Nile, but that is as remote from the reading as from the place. . . . But after all, the challenge to drink *vinegar*, in such a rant, is so inconsistent, and even ridiculous, that we must decide for the river, whether its name can be exactly found or not. To drink up a river, and eat a crocodile, with his impenetrable scales, are two things equally impossible. There is no kind of comparison between the others." And in *Yseldon; a Perambulation of Islington*, by T. E. Tomlins: "The Saxon etymon of *Iseldon*, according to Mr. Sharon Turner, is *Ysseldune*, *i.e.*, the Down of the Yssel, which I take to have been the original name of some river, most likely of the river of Wells, which joined or fell into the Fleet River; but I consider also that *Ysel* or *Eysel* is the same as *Ousel*, the diminutive of *Ouse*, or *Eyse* in the British language, signifying either a river or water . . . Many places situated on or near rivers have the prefix of *Isel* or *Isle*."

An account of the word is also to be found in *Via Recta ad Vitam longam, or a Plaine Philosophical Discourse of the Nature, Faculties, and Effects of all such Things as by way of Nourishments and Dieteticale Observations make for the Preservation of Health*, &c., &c. By Jo. Venner, Doctor of Physicke at Bathe in the Spring and Fall, and at other Times in the Burrough of North-Petherton, neere to the Ancient Haven Towne of Bridgewater in Somersetshire. London, 1620.

Elsinore. I. ii. 174.

The scene of the drama. A seaport on the east coast of the island of Zeeland about 24 miles from Copenhagen, where all vessels passing through the Sound had to stop and pay Sound duties. The castle referred to is the Castle of Kronborg, near Elsinore, once a royal residence. It was built in 1577 and commands the approach to Copenhagen from the Cattegat. A garden—called Hamlet's garden—is still pointed out to travellers as the scene of the murder of Hamlet's father.

Mahony, in his work on *The Baltic* says: "It was not here, but in Jutland, according to Saxo Grammaticus, from whose Chronicle Shakespeare drew the plot of his inimitable tragedy, that Amblettus, or Hamlet, about four centuries before the Christian era, avenged the murder of his father. But though the tourist will seek in vain the grave of the Danish prince, he will find ample compensation in the many romantic stories connected with the monuments in the old cathedral and the gloomy vaults of Kronburg Castle."

Cf. Campbell's *Battle of the Baltic:*

> Now joy, Old England, raise!
> For the tidings of thy might,
> By the festal cities' blaze,
> Whilst the wine-cup shines in light;
> And yet amidst that joy and uproar,
> Let us think of them that sleep,
> Full many a fathom deep,
> By thy wild and stormy steep,
> Elsinore!

Elsinore. II. ii. 280, 583.

> But, in the beaten way of friendship, what
> make you to Elsinore? [II. ii. 279-280.]

= what might be your business at Elsinore?

Elsinore. II. ii. 392.

> Gentlemen, you are welcome to Elsinore.
> Your hands, come; [II. ii. 392-393.]

Seymour remarks: "Hamlet, hearing that the players are approaching, is impatient to receive them, but chooses first to dismiss Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, with civility. You are welcome. Your hands. The form and the appurtenance of welcome is just what fashion makes it. Let me tell you, in this plain and cordial manner, that you are welcome, and let not the more ceremonious deportment, which it will become me, by and by, to use towards the players, be mistaken by you for superior respect."

England. III. i. 177.

> he shall with speed to
> England,
> For the demand of our neglected tribute:
> [III. i. 177-178.]

Ethelred the Unready, king of England, for the purpose of buying exemption from the invasion of the Danes levied in 994 a tax known as Danegeld. Before the Conquest it was levied at the rate of two shillings on every hide of land, but the Conqueror raised it to six shillings a hide. It was abolished under Henry II.

England. III. iv. 200.

> I must to England; you know that? [III. iv. 200.]

Shakespeare does not inform us how Hamlet came to know that he was to be sent to England. Rosencrantz and Guildenstern were made acquainted with the King's intentions for the first time in the very last scene; and they do not appear to have had any communication with the Prince since that time. Add to this, that in a subsequent scene, when the King, after the death of Polonius, informs Hamlet he was to go to England, he expresses great surprise, as if he had not heard any thing of it before.

This last, however, may, perhaps, be accounted for, as contributing to his design of passing for a madman.

England. III. i. 194; III. iii. 4; IV. iii. 49, 52, 56, 61, 68; IV. vi. 10, 30; V. i. 162, 163; V. ii. 39, 71, 362, 365, 379, 387.

English Ambassadors. V. ii. p. 373.

Mentioned only in the stage directions Act V. Scene ii. at the close of the play. Hamlet, Claudius, the queen, and Laertes were dead. Hamlet named Fortinbras as his successor, and Fortinbras—now returned from the wars with Poland—with the English ambassadors and others arrived in time to witness the dreadful scene which had befallen the royal house.

The first ambassador announced the deaths of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, which, he related, had been carried out in accordance with the commands of Hamlet:

> The sight is dismal;
> And our affairs from England come too late;
> The ears are senseless that should give us hearing,
> To tell him his commandment is fulfil'd,
> That Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are dead,
> Where should we have our thanks? [V. ii. 378-383.]

Everlasting. I. ii. 131.

> Or that the Everlasting had not fix'd
> His canon 'gainst self-slaughter! [I. ii. 131-132.]

The generality of the editions read—*cannon*, as if the poet's thought were,—'Or that the Almighty had not planted his *artillery* or *arms of vengeance*, against self-murder.' But the word which I restored (and which was espoused by the accurate Mr. Hughes, who gave an edition of this play) is the true reading, *i.e.*, that he had not restrained suicide by his *express law and peremptory prohibition.*

There are yet those who suppose the old reading to be the true one, as they say the word *fixed* seems to decide very strongly in its favour. I would advise such to recollect Virgil's expression:

> —fixit leges prætio, atque *refixit.*

If the true reading wanted any support, it might be found in Cymbeline III. iv. 78-80:

> Against self-slaughter
> There is a prohibition so divine
> That cravens my weak hand.

In Shakespeare's time *canon* (*norma*) was commonly spelt *cannon.*

Douce remarks: "It must be owned that *fixing a cannon* is an odd mode of vengeance on the part of the Deity."

Cf. *The Apocrypha, Wisdom of Solomon*, I. 12: "Seek not death in the error of your life: and pull not upon yourselves destruction with the works of your hands."

Fortinbras. I. i. 95; I. ii. 17, 28; II. ii. 68; IV. iv. 2, 14; V. ii. 361, 367.

Prince of Norway, and nephew of the present king of Norway. He is first mentioned in the play by Horatio to Marcellus and Bernardo, the comrades of his watch, the appearance of the ghost leading to the conversation.

Thinking the appearance forebode evil to the country Horatio discussed with his friends the preparations for war which were then being made throughout Denmark. Horatio thought the evil to the country was Fortinbras, whom he described as:

> young Fortin-
> bras,
> Of unimproved mettle hot and full,
> Hath in the skirts of Norway here and there
> Shark'd up a list of lawless resolutes,
> For food and diet, to some enterprise
> That hath a stomach in 't; which is no other—
> As it doth well appear unto our state—
> But to recover of us, by strong hand
> And terms compulsative, those foresaid lands
> So by his father lost. [I. i. 95-104.]

Fortinbras' father had been killed by the late king Hamlet, and Fortinbras now made claim to those lands lost by his father at the time.

The claim of Fortinbras was also mentioned by Claudius in his speech to his courtiers assembled at his accession. At

the close of the speech Voltimand and Cornelius were despatched as ambassadors to Norway concerning the threatened invasion of Denmark.

In Act II. Scene ii. the ambassadors returned bringing news of peace with that country, and that Fortinbras had vowed to his uncle:

> never more
> To give the assay of arms against your majesty.
> Whereon old Norway, overcome with joy,
> Gives him three thousand crowns in annual fee,
> [II. ii. 70-73.]

He again appeared in the play at the opening of Act IV. Scene iv. when he sent a captain to the king of Denmark asking leave to march his soldiers through Denmark against Poland. His activity in carrying out his plans was in marked contrast to the indecision of Hamlet.

On his return from warring against Poland, Fortinbras learned of the terrible tragedy which had befallen the Danish house. Before Hamlet died he named Fortinbras as his successor to the throne. To Osric, Hamlet says:

> But I do prophesy the election lights
> On Fortinbras; he has my dying voice;
> So tell him, with the occurrents, more and less,
> Which have solicited—the rest is silence.
> [V. ii. 366-369.]

Fortinbras commanded Horatio to choose out "four captains" to:

> Bear Hamlet, like a soldier, to the stage;
> For he was likely, had he been put on,
> To have proved most royally: and for his passage,
> The soldiers' music and the rites of war
> Speak loudly for him. [V. ii. 407-410.]

and also to carry away the dead bodies of the queen, Claudius and Laertes:

> Take up the bodies. Such a sight as this
> Becomes the field, and here shows much amiss.—
> Go, bid the soldiers shoot. [V. ii. 412-414.]

The drama ends with the accession of Fortinbras to the throne of Denmark, after his return from the "Polack Wars."

Fortinbras. I. i. 82, 86, 92; V. i. 157.

Former prince of Norway, who was slain by the late king Hamlet in a duelling match. According to a sealed compact, as he forfeited his life, he must also forfeit his lands to his conqueror.

The object of regaining these lands was the cause in the earlier part of the play of the trouble with 'young Fortinbras' now prince of Norway.

Fortune. II. ii. 524, 544.

> *Out, out thou strumpet Fortune! All you gods,*
> *In general synod take away her power;*
> *Breaks all the spokes and fellies from her wheel,*
> *And bowl the round nave down the hill of heaven*
> *As low as to the fiends!* [II. ii. 524-528.]

The goddess of Fortune, represented in mythology under different attributes.

France. I. ii. 51, 55; I. iii. 73; IV. v. 87; V. ii. 218.

Francisco. I. i. 7.

Francisco—a soldier, who, at the opening of the play, was on guard on the platform before the king's castle at Elsinore.

[Play opens. FRANCISCO *at his post.*]

Contrary to custom he was challenged by the relieving sentry Bernardo, but the breach of military rule seemed to pass unnoticed by Francisco, who seemed relieved for the time of arrival for the changing of the watch. To Bernardo he said:

> For this relief much thanks; 'tis bitter cold,
> And I am sick at heart. [I. i. 8-9.]

On leaving he was charged by Bernardo to hurry on the "rivals of the watch," who, however, were near at hand, and challenged by Francisco, with the words:

> Stand, ho! Who is there? [I. i. 13.]

Gentleman, A. IV. v. p. 1, p. 21, p. 97.

Appeared first towards the close of Act IV. and announced to the queen, Ophelia's madness. When the queen at first refused to see her, the gentleman remarked that:

> Her mood will needs be pitied. [IV. v. 3.]

Horatio advised the queen to speak with Ophelia, for:

> she may strew
> Dangerous conjectures in ill-breeding minds.
> [IV. v. 14-15.]

whereupon the gentleman left, afterwards re-entering with Ophelia.

This interview being concluded another gentleman entered, and announced to Claudius the arrival of Laertes at the court, in a riotous manner, and the people crying out:

"Choose we; Laertes shall be king!" [IV. v. 105.]

Gertrude. II. ii. 54; III. i. 28; IV. i. 6, 28, 38; IV. v. 76, 93, 121, 125; IV. vii. 193; V. i. 318; V. ii. 300.

Wife of Claudius, king of Denmark, and mother of Prince Hamlet. Widow of Hamlet, former king of Denmark who had been poisoned by Claudius as he was taking his customary afternoon sleep in his orchard, the information being supplied to Hamlet by the apparition of his father.

Her hasty marriage to Claudius, formerly her brother-in-law was a source of disgust to her son Hamlet, though on almost all occasions he treated her with the greatest respect, while she in return always displayed the part of a most affectionate mother. She implored him to cast away his grief:

Do not for ever with thy vailed lids
Seek for thy noble father in the dust:
Thou know'st 'tis common; all that lives must die,
Passing through nature to eternity. [I. ii. 70-74.]

and to remain with them, as "chiefest courtier, cousin, and our son" instead of returning to the university of Wittenberg.

It is nowhere ascertained in the play that she played any part in the murder of her first husband, though in a stormy interview which took place between the queen and Hamlet—and at which interview Polonius was stabbed by Hamlet—Hamlet deliberately charged her with the crime.

Finding Polonius stabbed, Gertrude remarked:

Oh, what a rash and bloody deed is this!
[III. iv. 27.]

to which Hamlet replied:

A bloody deed! almost as bad, good mother,
As kill a king, and marry with his brother.
[III. iv. 28-30.]

From her exclamation to Hamlet:

As kill a king? [III. iv. 30.]

she did not seem to understand his meaning, and was apparently innocent of the crime.

Her marriage with Claudius, two months after the death of Hamlet her late husband, called forth reproof even from the visitation from the spiritual world. King Hamlet had loved her dearly. In Prince Hamlet's own words he was:

so loving to my mother
That he might not beteem the winds of heaven
Visit her face too roughly. [I. ii. 140-142.]

though the ghost was sorely grieved at her late conduct, speaking to Hamlet of her as:

my most seeming-virtuous queen: [I. v. 46.]

The memory of their former happy wedded life was still cherished by him, and he solemnly charged Hamlet in taking revenge on Claudius to spare his mother:

Taint not thy mind, not let thy soul contrive
Against thy mother aught; leave her to heaven,
And to those thorns that in her bosom lodge,
To prick and sting her. [I. v. 85-88.]

and again during Hamlet's "stormy interview" with his mother he was adjured by the ghost to comfort her:

But look, amazement on thy mother sits;
Oh, step between her and her fighting soul;
Conceit in weakest bodies strongest works:
Speak to her, Hamlet. [III. iv. 112-115.]

In her husband's plotting for Hamlet's destruction she seemed to have taken no part, as Claudius on no occasion seemed to take her into his confidence. At last she too, fell a victim to her husband's treachery. He seemed to have little love for his queen, when he allowed her to drink of the poisoned wine which he had prepared for Hamlet, and made little attempt to save her. She discovered his treachery when too late, and her last words conveyed a warning to her dear son, Hamlet:

No, no, the drink, the drink,—O my dear
Hamlet,—
The drink, the drink! I am poison'd.
[V. ii. 320-321.]

"It appears that the Queen was no wise an accomplice directly in the murder; that she had, indeed, no knowledge of it, per-

haps no suspicion. But she has incurred guilt enough in suffering such a wretch to make love to her when she had a husband living; in being seduced by his 'wicked wit and gifts'; and then in rushing, with indecent and shameless haste, into a marriage held deeply criminal in itself, even though the forms of decorum had been strictly observed in the time and manner of it. These doings have fallen with terrible weight upon her son, oppressing his soul with unutterable grief and shame, and filling his mind with irrepressible suspicions and divinings of foul play. He knows not how or why it is, but he feels that the air about him is all tainted with the breath of hypocrisy and lust, of treachery and murder; insomuch that he would gladly escape, even by his own death, from scenes so horrible and so disgusting." *Hudson.*

Ghost of Hamlet's Father. I. i. p. 40, p. 126; I. iv. p. 39; I. v. p. 1; III. iv. p. 103.

The apparition of Hamlet's father. It appears several times throughout the play.

The play opens with a conversation between Bernardo and Francisco, and Horatio and Marcellus, the rivals of the watch. An apparition had appeared to Bernardo and Francisco on two previous occasions on the platform in front of the castle at the stroke of one. Horatio was sceptical and attributed his two-fold appearance to their imagination. While the conversation was in progress the ghost appeared;—in the terms of Bernardo:

> In the same figure, like the king that 's dead. [I. i. 41.]

It was addressed by Horatio, but vanished, Marcellus saying:

> It is offended.
> *Ber.* See, it stalks away.
> *Hor.* Stay! speak, speak: I charge thee, speak! [*Exit Ghost.*
> *Mar.* 'Tis gone, and will not answer. [I. i. 50-52.]

While the watchers discussed among themselves the reasons for the three-fold appearance of the apparition, and the present unsettled state of Denmark, the ghost re-appeared, and was again questioned by Horatio. It was about to speak, but at the crowing of the cock, vanished, Bernardo saying:

> It was about to speak when the cock crew. [I. i. 147.]

Horatio now decided to relate what they had seen to young Hamlet, thinking that the spirit, though dumb to them, would speak to him.

Horatio and his companions now arrived at the palace in order to relate the appearances of the ghost. From the description given by Horatio to Hamlet, Hamlet was certain that it was his father's apparition, and decided to meet the watchers on the platform before the castle:

> 'twixt eleven and twelve. [I. ii. 251.]

Just before midnight Hamlet, with Horatio and Marcellus, appeared on the platform in front of the castle. While they were engaged in a short conversation the ghost appeared, and was asked by Hamlet why it:

> Revisit'st thus the glimpses of the moon,
> Making night hideous; [I. iv. 53-54.]

The ghost beckoned Hamlet to another part of the platform, and although his companions, who feared for his life, entreated him not to follow, he decided to obey, and followed his father's spirit, the ghost saying:

> My hour is almost come,
> When I to sulphurous and tormenting flames
> Must render up myself. [I. v. 2-4.]

From his conversation with the ghost, Hamlet learned that he was conversing with his father's spirit, and that his father had been foully murdered by Claudius. In the words of the spirit:

> The serpent that did sting thy father's life
> Now wears his crown. [I. v. 39-40.]

and spoke of Claudius as:

> that incestuous, that adulterate beast, [I. v. 41.]

and urged Hamlet to take revenge for the "foul and unnatural murder" and "remember me."

In charging Hamlet to deal kindly with his mother, the ghost showed that he still held dear the memory of their former affection:

Taint not thy mind, nor let thy soul contrive
Against thy mother aught; leave her to heaven,
And to those thorns that in her bosom lodge,
To prick and sting her. [I. v. 85-88.]

Commenting on this, Hudson [*Windsor Shakespeare*] says: "This part of the injunction is well worth noting: time and manner are left to Hamlet; only he is to keep himself clean from crime and from dishonour: his revenge must be righteous, and according to the demands of justice, not merely personal."

The burden laid upon Hamlet by the ghost seemed greater than he could bear. To the comrades of the watch he exclaimed:

The time is out of joint; O cursed spite,
That ever I was born to set it right! [I. v. 189-190.]

Hamlet's description of his father to Horatio—now departed—is one of the most striking passages of the play:

He was a man, take him for all in all,
I shall not look upon his like again. [I. ii. 187-188.]

The ghost again appeared in the drama, during Hamlet's stormy interview with his mother. Hamlet reproached his mother for her marriage with Claudius following so soon after her husband's death, speaking of her present husband as "murder, villain, slave, and a cut-purse of the empire." During the interview the ghost appeared once more, though on this occasion it was visible to Hamlet alone—invisible to the queen—. As Hamlet addressed the ghost, the queen thought he was holding converse with the air, and concluded:

he 's mad! [III. iv. 105.]

the ghost replying to Hamlet:

Do not forget: this visitation
Is but to whet thy almost blunted purpose.
[III. iv. 110-111.]

and again urged him to spare his mother's feelings. On the exit of the ghost, the queen firmly believed Hamlet insane. As it left, Hamlet exclaimed to her:

Why, look you there! look, how it steals away!
My father, in his habit as he lived!
Look, where he goes, even now, out at the portal!
[III. iv. 134-136.]

Hudson [*Windsor Shakespeare*] says: "The Ghost in this scene, as also in the banquet-scene of *Macbeth*, is plainly what we should call a *subjective* ghost; that is, existing only in the heated imagination of the beholder. As the Queen says, insanity is very fertile is such 'bodiless creations.' It is not so with the apparition in the former scenes, as the Ghost is there seen by other persons. To be sure, it was part of the old belief, that ghosts could, if they chose, make themselves visible only to those with whom they were to deal; but this is just what we mean by *subjective*. The ancients could not take the idea of subjective visions, as we use the term. So that the words here put into the Ghost's mouth are to be regarded as merely the echo of Hamlet's own thoughts." And in *Shakespeare: his Life, Art, and Characters* observes: "The Ghost is a powerful element in this great drama, shedding into it a peculiar and preternatural grandeur; but that power acts through the finest organs of the soul, working so deeply on the moral and imaginative forces, that the coarse arts of criticism can do but little with it. What an air of dread expectancy waits upon the coming and the motions of that awful shade! How grave and earnest, yet how calm and composed its speech! as if it came indeed from the other world, and brought the lessons of that world in its mouth. The stately walk, the solemn, slowly-measured words, the unearthly cast and temper of the discourse, are all ghost-like. The popular currency of many of the Ghost's sayings show how profoundly they sink into our souls, and what a weight of ethical meaning attaches to them. Observe, too, how choicely Horatio hits the key-note of the part, and attempers us to its influences:

What art thou, that usurp'st this time of night,
Together with that fair and warlike form
In which the majesty of buried Denmark
Did sometime march?

But indeed the whole matter preparatory to the Ghost's interview with Hamlet, its first appearance on the scene, its sad and silent steps, its fading at the crowing of the cock, and the subdued reflections that follow, ending with the speech:

But look, the Morn, in russet mantle clad,
Walks o'er the dew of yond high eastern hill;

all this is managed with consummate judgment."

In the description of the apparition, Shakespeare has observed very closely the popular notion on the subject. In his "Historia Missionis Anglicanæ Societatis Jesu," the Rev. Henry More, a Roman Catholic priest, tells the story of the appearance of the ghost of Lord Stourton. The story, as delivered down in the families of Stourton and Arundell had not a tale of murder to tell, only to speak of his own terrible sufferings; but in other respects it appears to have a near resemblance to the ghost of Hamlet's Father. The incident occurred between 1588 and 1594.

Gis. IV. v. 57.

By Gis and by Saint Charity. [IV. v. 57.]

An oath; probably an abbreviation of Jesus. Johnson says: "I rather imagine it should be read: 'By *Cis*,—that is, by St. Cecily.'"

In the scene between the Bastard Faulconbridge and the friars and nun in the First Part of the *Troublesome Reign of King John*, the nun swears *by Gis:*

Nun. Fair sir, within this press, of plate and money is
The value of a thousand marks, and other things, by Gis.
Let us alone, and take it all; 'tis yours, sir, now you know it.

and the friars pray to Saint Withold (another obsolete saint mentioned in *King Lear*), and adjure him by *Saint Charitie* to hear them:

1st Friar. Benedicamus Domini!
Was ever such an injury!
Sweet Saint Withold, of thy lenity,
Defend us from extremity,
And hear us for Saint Charity,
Oppressed with austerity.

Though *Gis* may be, and I believe is, only a contraction of *Jesus*, there is certainly a Saint *Gislen*, with whose name it corresponds. *Ritson.*

For examples *see* Nares' *Glossary.*

Gonzago. III. ii. 251, 276.

This play is the image of a murder done in Vienna: Gonzago is the duke's name; his wife, Baptista: [III. ii. 250-252.]

In 1538 the Duke of Urbano, married to a Gonzaga, was murdered by Luigi Gonzaga, who dropped poison into his ear. Shakespeare, it is suggested, might have found this writ in choice Italian, might have transferred the name Gonzaga to the murdered man, and formed 'Lucianus' from Luigi. 'The duke' seems to be an oversight. In Q 1 the murdered man and his wife are Duke and Dutchesse throughout, except in the dumb-show, where they are King and Queen; in the altered form perhaps 'duke' was here erroneously retained.[1] . . . As to the name 'Baptista,' Hunter says he has seen a few instances of the name as borne by women in England. 'It had a feminine termination; that was enough. Shakespeare had given it to a man in *The Taming of the Shrew*.' It has been shown by A. von Reumont (*Allgemeine Zeitung*, October 21, 1870) that Baptista was used in Italy as the Christian name of a woman. See *Sh. Jahrbuch*, xxxi. 169, for another Gonzaga murder. Dowden [*Arden Shakespeare.*]

Gonzago's wife. III. ii. 278.

the story is extant, and writ in choice Italian; you shall see anon how the murderer gets the love of Gonzago's wife. [III. ii. 276-278.]

Shakespeare's authority has never been discovered. *See* Gonzago.

Guildenstern. II. ii. 1, 33, 34, 231, 405; IV. i. 32; IV. iii. 16; IV. vi. 30; V. ii. 56, 382.

See Rosencrantz.

Hamlet. I. i. 84, 95; I. ii. 1; I. iv. 44; V. i. 156.

Hamlet, father of Hamlet, prince of Denmark. Was murdered by Claudius while he lay asleep in his orchard. It had been announced to the people of Denmark that

[1] The title of "duke" was in Shakespeare's time, used indiscriminately with that of "king."

Hamlet had died from the effects of a serpent's sting. However, when the apparition appeared and conversed with Hamlet, the truth was then revealed :

> Now, Hamlet, hear:
> 'Tis given out that, sleeping in mine orchard,
> A serpent stung me; so the whole ear of Denmark
> Is by a forged process of my death
> Rankly abused; but know, thou noble youth,
> The serpent that did sting thy father's life
> Now wears his crown. [I. v. 34-40.]

Hamlet. I. i. 170; I. ii. 64, 68, 87, 118, 123; I. iii. 5, 89, 123, 134; I. v. 34, 47, 113, 185; II. i. 78; II. ii. 5, 37, 49, 114, 124, 141, 171, 226; III. i. 29, 40, 187; III. ii. 100, 104, 117; III. iv. 9, 13, 88, 96, 115, 156; IV. i. 6; IV. ii. 2, 3; IV. iii. 17, 43, 49, 53, 68; IV. vi. 5, 32; IV. vii. 36, 38, 48, 52, 73, 104, 125, 131; V. i. 160, 266, 280, 286; V. ii. 236, 244, 245, 247, 249, 250, 270, 279, 282, 289, 293, 299, 300, 320, 324, 340, 407.

Son to the former and nephew of the present king. It is probable that he was summoned home from college at Wittenberg by the news of his father's death. This news, together with that of his mother's hasty marriage with Claudius—brother to the late king—and the setting aside of his claim to the throne might have had some effect on his mind, and accounted for his very strange demeanour throughout the drama. His profound respect and affection for his late father were evident in his conversation with Horatio:

> He was a man, take him for all in all,
> I shall not look upon his like again. [I. ii. 187-188.]

It was during this conversation that Horatio revealed to him the previous nocturnal visits of the apparition "a figure like your father," and Hamlet decided to watch in company with Horatio, Marcellus, and Bernardo:

> So fare you well:
> Upon the platform, 'twixt eleven and twelve,
> I 'll visit you. [I. ii. 250-252.]

On its appearance Hamlet asked why:

> Revisit'st thus the glimpses of the moon,
> Making night hideous; [I. iv. 53-54.]

to which the ghost replied:

> So art thou to revenge what thou shalt hear.
> . . . . . .
> I am thy father's spirit; [I. v. 7-9.]

During the interview Hamlet learnt of the murder of his father by Claudius, of whom the ghost spoke as:

> that incestuous, that adulterate beast, [I. v. 42.]

and

> The serpent that did sting thy father's life
> Now wears his crown. [I. v. 38-40.]

Hamlet in return spoke of Claudius as:

> villain, villain, smiling, damned villain!
> [I. v. 106.]

The departing ghost urged Hamlet to "Revenge his foul and most unnatural murder" and "Remember me."

When the ghost had vanished, the prayer still rung in Hamlet's ears, and from his words to the companions of his watch, it seemed as though the burden placed upon him by the ghost was too heavy to bear:

> The time is out of joint;—O cursed spite,
> That ever I was born to set it right! [I. v. 189-190.]

Commenting on this passage, Goethe in his *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship and Travels* [Carlyle's translation] says: "In these words, I imagine, will be found the key to Hamlet's whole procedure. To me it is clear that Shakespeare meant, in the present case, to represent the effects of a great action laid upon a soul unfit for the performance of it. In this view the whole piece seems to me to be composed. There is an oak-tree planted in a costly jar, which should have borne only pleasant flowers in its bosom; the roots expand, the jar is shivered.

"A lovely, pure, noble and most moral nature, without the strength of nerve which forms a hero, sinks beneath a burden which it cannot bear and must not cast away. All duties are holy to him; the present is too hard. Impossibilities have been required of him; not in themselves impossibilities, but such for him. He winds, and turns, and torments himself; he advances and recoils; is ever put in mind, ever puts himself in

mind; at last does all but lose his purpose from his thoughts; yet still without recovering his peace of mind."

It is thought by some critics that the burden laid upon Hamlet by the Ghost affected his mind, and accounted for his strange manner throughout the drama, though to Horatio and Marcellus, Hamlet remarked:

> Here, as before, never, so help you mercy,
> How strange or odd soe'er I bear myself,
> As I perchance hereafter shall think meet
> To put an antic disposition on, [I. v. 169-172.]

Hudson [*Arden Shakespeare*] remarks:

> "This has been taken as proving that Hamlet's 'antic disposition' is merely assumed for a special purpose. But our ripest experts in the matter are far from regarding it so. They tell us that veritable madmen are sometimes inscrutably cunning in arts for disguising their state; saying, in effect, 'To be sure, you may find me acting rather strangely at times, but I know what I am about, and have a purpose in it.'"

It was on Polonius that the "antic disposition" was at first experimented:

> Oh, give me leave;
> How does my good Lord Hamlet?
> . . . . . .
> These tedious old fools! [II. ii. 170-225.]

and Hamlet was well pleased with the result, as Polonius concluded that the insanity was the outcome of Hamlet's intense love for Ophelia. Polonius says:

> How pregnant sometimes his replies are! a happiness that often madness hits on, which reason and sanity could not so prosperously be delivered of. I will leave him, and suddenly contrive the means of meeting between him and my daughter. [II. ii. 213-219.]

Unlike Macbeth, who, in aiming for the throne of Scotland was always keen to action, Hamlet was slow and spent much time in meditating, which caused him to be melancholy, and put off continually the time for revenge. He speaks in II. ii. 640 of his "weakness" and "melancholy." The opportunity for revenge again presented itself when Hamlet found the king in the attitude of prayer. Remarking:

> Now might I do it. [III. iii. 73.]
> And now I 'll do 't; [III. iii. 74.]

he again hesitated to take revenge, and lost the opportune moment on account of the kneeling posture of the king.

His melancholy brooding at times caused him to contemplate suicide:

> To be, or not to be: that is the question: [III. i. 56 et seq.]

In the above speech Hamlet meditated whether it were better to continue to live, or commit suicide.

It is said that Hamlet feign'd madness only in the presence of certain people whom he wished to deceive. When the ghost revisited Hamlet, telling him that:

> this visitation
> Is but to whet thy almost blunted purpose. [III. iv. 110-111.]

the queen thought Hamlet to be "holding discourse with the incorporal air" and therefore must be mad, but Hamlet was quick to warn her that he was not insane:

> My pulse, as yours, doth temperately keep time,
> And makes as healthful music; it is not madness
> That I have utter'd; bring me to the test,
> And I the matter will re-word, which madness
> Would gambol from. [III. iv. 140-144.]

while on the other hand to Laertes (though it was in the presence of Claudius) he spoke of his madness as being the cause of the wrong done to him:

> What I have done,
> That might your nature, honour and exception
> Roughly awake, I here proclaim was madness. [V. ii. 241-243.]
> . . . . . .
> And when he 's not himself does wrong Laertes,
> Then Hamlet does it not; Hamlet denies it.
> Who does it then? His madness; if 't be so,
> Hamlet is of the faction that is wrong'd;
> His madness is poor Hamlet's enemy. [V. ii. 246-250.]

By some critics Hamlet is blamed for Ophelia's death, his treatment of her is supposed to have been the cause; but it is thought that his strange treatment of her, was not due to the fact that he had ceased to love her, but was caused by the disgust he now entertained for women in general, on account of his mother's hasty marriage with his father's brother, and as he afterwards learned—his father's murderer. The

marriage to Hamlet was loathsome. He spoke of the match with the greatest contempt:

> within a month—
> Let me not think on 't. Frailty, thy name is woman!
> A little month!
> . . . . . .
> She married. [I. ii. 145-156.]

Occasionally during the play Hamlet meditated on his indecision to carry out the task allotted him by the ghost, and tried to ascertain the cause, attributing it on one occasion to:

> Bestial oblivion, or some craven scruple
> Of thinking too precisely on the event,—
> A thought which, quarter'd, hath but one part wisdom
> And ever three parts coward,— [IV. iv. 40-43.]

and on another occasion spoke of himself as:

> A dull and muddy-mettled rascal, peak,
> Like John-a-dreams, unpregnant of my cause,
> And can say nothing; no, not for a king,
> Upon whose property and most dear life
> A damn'd defeat was made. Am I a coward?
> [II. ii. 604-608.]

In the terrible tragedy that befell the house of Claudius, Hamlet was the last to die. The queen died through drinking, unconsciously, of the wine poisoned by her husband, and intended to be the death of Hamlet. Hamlet stabbed Claudius, and was, afterwards, himself stabbed by Laertes, the son of Polonius whom Hamlet had killed in his rage. Before Hamlet died, he tore from Horatio the poisoned cup of wine from which he was about to drink, and implored him to tell his story to the world:

> Horatio, I am dead;
> Thou livest; report me and my cause aright
> To the unsatisfied. [V. ii. 349-351.]

With dying breath he also named Fortinbras as his successor. As he died Horatio said:

> Now cracks a noble heart. Good night, sweet prince,
> And flights of angels sing thee to thy rest!
> [V. ii. 370-371.]

Commenting upon the character of Hamlet, Hudson says: "Hamlet himself has caused more of perplexity and discussion than any other character in the whole range of art. The charm of his mind and person amounts to an almost universal fascination; and he has been well described as 'a concentration of all the interests that belong to humanity.' I have learned by experience, that one seems to understand him better after a little study than after a great deal; and that the less one sees into him, the more apt one is to think he sees through him; in which respect he is indeed like Nature himself.

One man considers Hamlet great, but wicked; another, good, but weak; a third, that he lacks courage, and dare not act; a fourth, that he has too much intellect for his will, and so reflects away the time of action: some conclude his madness half genuine; others, that it is wholly feigned. Yet, notwithstanding this diversity of opinions, all agree in thinking and speaking of him as an actual person; and, while all are impressed with the truth of the character, hardly one is satisfied with another's interpretation of it."

The earliest references to Hamlet appear in Icelandic Literature some two hundred years before Saxo Grammaticus. See *Hamlet in Iceland*, by Israel Gollancz.

Hebenon. I. v. 62.

> Upon my secure hour thy uncle stole,
> With juice of cursed hebenon in a vial,
> And in the porches of mine ears did pour
> The leperous distilment; [I. v. 61-64.]

= Henbane a poisonous herb, so-called from the belief that domestic fowls were often poisoned by it. According to Pliny [*Natvrall Historie*, Book xxv. chap. iv.] the oil made from the seeds of this herb, and dropped into the ears, stupefies the wits.

Dowden [*Arden Shakespeare*] remarks: "Nicholson (*New Shakespeare Society's Transactions*, 1880-82) shows that the yew was considered a most deadly poison; that Ebenus was mediævally applied to different trees, including the yew; that Marlowe, Spenser, and Reynolds use Heben for the yew; and he maintains that in the words 'cursed' and 'at enmity with blood of man' Shakespeare was adopting the description of the yew found in Holland's *Pliny*, 1600."

Hecate's ban. III. ii. 272.

With Hecate's ban thrice blasted, thrice infected, [III. ii. 272.]

In classical mythology a triple deity, being Luna in heaven, Diana on earth and Proserpine in hell. She was the goddess of things magical, and in the night-time sent forth evil spirits from the nether world. In *Macbeth* she is represented as the queen of the witches.

Hecuba. II. ii. 533.

Wife of Priam, king of Troy, and mother of Æneas. Priam was slain by Pyrrhus in her presence. When Troy was sacked she became a captive of the Greeks, and her subsequent history and fate are obscure. *See* Æneas' tale to Dido.

Hecuba. II. ii. 594, 595.

For Hecuba?
What 's Hecuba to him, or he to Hecuba,
That he should weep for her? [II. ii. 594-596.]

It is plain Shakespeare alludes to a story told of Alexander the cruel tyrant of Pherae in Thessaly, who seeing a famous tragedian act in the *Troades* of Euripides, was so sensibly touched that he left the theatre before the play was ended; being ashamed, as he owned, that he who never pitied those he murdered, should weep at the sufferings of *Hecuba* and Andromache. *Upton.* The following is the passage referred to, from Plutarch's *Life of Pelopidas* [Langhorne's translation]: "By fetching a compass, as if to finish his preparations, he kept Alexander in suspense, and managed him so as neither to moderate his violence and pride, nor yet to increase his fierceness and cruelty. For he knew his savage disposition, and the little regard he paid to reason or justice: that he buried some persons alive, and dressed others in the skins of bears and wild boars, and then, by way of diversion, baited them with dogs, or despatched them with darts: that, having summoned the people of Melibœa and Scotusa, towns in friendship and alliance with him, to meet him in full assembly, he surrounded them with guards, and with all the wantonness of cruelty put them to the sword; and that he consecrated the spear with which he slew his uncle Polyphron, and having crowned it with garlands offered sacrifice to it, as to a god, and gave it the name of *Tychon.* Yet, upon seeing a tragedian act the *Troades* of Euripides, he went hastily out of the theatre, and at the same time sent a messenger to the actor, 'Not to be discouraged, but to exert all his skill in his part; for it was not out of any dislike that he went out, but he was ashamed that his citizens should see him who never pitied those he put to death, weep at the sufferings of Hecuba and Andromache.' " So, in Sir Philip Sidney's *Defence of Poesie:* "But how much it can move, *Plutarch* yeeldeth a notable teftimony of the abhominable Tyrant *Alexander Pheræus*, from whofe eyes a *Tragedie* well made and reprefented drew abundance of teares, who without all pity had murthered infinite numbers, and fome of his own blood: fo as hee that was not afhamed to make matters for *Tragedies*, yet could not refift the fweet violence of a *Tragedie.* And if it wrought no further good to him, it was, that hee in defpite of himfelfe withdrew himfelfe from hearkening to that, which might mollifie his hardened heart."

Malone says: "Shakespeare, it is highly probable, had read the life of Pelopidas, but I see no ground for supposing there is here an allusion to it. Hamlet is not ashamed of being seen to weep at a theatrical exhibition, but mortified that a player, in a *dream of passion*, should appear more agitated by fictitious sorrow, than the prince was by a real calamity."

Hercules. I. ii. 153.

My father's brother, but no more like my father
Than I to Hercules. [I. ii. 152-153.]

Dowden [Arden Shakespeare] says: Perhaps a relic of the history of Amlethus in Saxo Grammaticus, whose Hamlet is in some respects the opposite of Shakespeare's Hamlet. The closing words are: "Hic Amlethi exitus fuit, qui si parem naturæ atq. fortunæ indulgentiam expertus fuisset, æquasset fulgore superos, Herculea virtutibus opera transcendisset."

Hercules. V. i. 313.

Let Hercules himself do what he may,
The cat will mew, and dog will have his day.
[V. i. 313-314.]

Probably a latent allusion to the mythological idea that Ossa and Olympus originally formed one mountain; but that Hercules separated them, and made the vale of Tempe between the two. *See* Ossa.

Goggin observes: "the meaning is that nothing can alter a man's nature; as the cat will keep on mewing and the dog barking, so Laertes will act according to his kind." Some editors suggest that Hamlet is comparing himself with Hercules and Laertes with the dog, and that the meaning is: "Hercules himself could not silence dogs; much less can I."

Hercules and his load. II. ii. 382.

Ay, and that they do, my lord; Hercules and his load too. [II. ii. 382-383.]

Probably an allusion to the Globe Theatre, on the Bankside, the sign of which was Hercules carrying the globe; or, it may be a humorous allusion to the story of Hercules relieving Atlas. The Globe was Shakespeare's Theatre. In *Henry V.* Pro. 12 the dramatist alludes to its circular shape, and to it being built of wood:

or may we cram
Within this wooden O the very casques
That did affright the air at Agincourt?

and in *As You Like It*, II. vii. to the motto over the entrance, "All the world 's a stage," viz:—*Totus mundus agit histrionem*, "every one is a player" a quotation from Petronius Arbiter.

Herod. III. ii. 17.

I would have such a fellow whipped for o'er-doing Termagant; it out-herods Herod; pray you avoid it.
[III. ii. 15-17.]

A character of the old miracle-Plays, represented as a violent and furious tyrant on account of his slaughter of the innocents, which was a favourite subject for a miracle-play. Hudson says: "Of all the persons who figured in the Miracle-Plays, Herod, the slayer of the Innocents, appears to have been the greatest popular favourite. We hear of him as early as the time of Chaucer, who says of the parish clerk, Absolon in the *Miller's Tale*:[1]

Somtyme to shewe his lightnesse and maistrye
He pleyeth Herodes, on a scaffold hye.

From that time onwards, and we know not how long before, he was a sort of staple character, no set of Miracle-Plays being regarded as complete without him. And he was always represented as an immense swearer and braggart and swaggerer, evermore ranting and raving up and down the stage, and cudgelling the spectators' ears with the most furious bombast and profanity." Cf. *The Three Kings* (Chester Plays):

For I am kinge of all mankinde,
I byde, I beate, I lose, I bynde,
I maister the moone, take this in mynde,
That I am moste of mighte.
I am the greateste above degree,
That is, that was, that ever shalbe;
The sonne it dare not shine on me,
And I byde hym goe downe;

and *Adoration of the Magi* (Ludus Coventriæ):

Of bewté and of boldnes I bere evermore the belle;
Of mayn and of myght I master every man;
I dynge with my dowtynes the devyl down to helle,
ffor bothe of hevyn and of herthe I am kynge sertayn.

Hobby-horse. III. ii. 144, 145.

or else shall he suffer not thinking on, with the hobby-horse, whose epitaph is "For , O! for, O! the hobby-horse is forgot." [III. ii. 143-146.]

In the Morris-dance a pasteboard horse fastened round the waist of the performer, who performed tricks of legerdemain, and played pranks on the populace. Being disliked by the Puritans, the hobby-horse was for a period omitted from the May sports, hence "the hobby-horse is forgot." And in a popular ballad of the time, supposed to be a satire on the Puritan objection to the May-games there appeared the line "For O, for O, the hobby-horse is forgot." In Fletcher's *Woman Pleased* IV. i. Bomby, the enemy to Wakes and May-poles denounce it as "an unseemly and a lewd

1 The parish clerks and other subordinate ecclesiastics appear to have been our first actors, and to have represented their characters on distinct pulpits or scaffolds. Thus, in one of the stage-directions to the XXIX pageant (King Herod) in the Coventry series: 'What tyme that processyon is enteryd into the place, and the Herowdys takyn his schaffalde, and Pylat and Annas and Cayphas here schaffaldys;'

beast, And got at Rome by the Pope's coach-horses." Cf. *Love's Labour's Lost.* III. i. 26.

The following is a copy of a stanza in a song found among Weelks' *Madrigals*, 1608, No. XX.:

Since Robin Hood, Maid Marian, and Little John
are gone-a
The Hobby-horse was quite forgot when Kemp did
chance
a home-a:
He did labour
After the tabor
For to dance
Then into France
For he took pains
To skip, to skip, to skip it, in hope of gains, of
gains,
He will trip it, trip it, trip it, on the toe,
Diddle, diddle, diddle, do.

Horatio. I. i. 12, 19, 20, 23, 42, 43, 45, 53; I. ii. 161, 164, 180, 183, 185; I. v. 136, 166; III. ii. 60, 62, 300; IV. vi. 11, 12; V. i. 150, 202, 215, 223, 315; V. ii. 18, 75, 344, 349, 355, 363.

A devoted friend of Hamlet, and also his schoolfellow. Hamlet says of him:

Since my dear soul was mistress of her choice,
And could of men distinguish, her election
Hath seal'd thee for herself; for thou hast been
As one, in suffering all, that suffers nothing;
A man that fortune's buffets and rewards
Hath ta'en with equal thanks; and bless'd are those
Whose blood and judgment are so well commingled
That they are not a pipe for fortune's finger
To sound what stop she please. [III. ii. 71-79.]

He first appears in the play at the changing of the midnight watch, and with Marcellus was to be one of the rivals of Bernardo's watch.

He suggested to Bernardo and Marcellus that Hamlet should be made acquainted with the threefold appearance of the ghost. At first he was sceptical concerning its appearance, but having afterwards seen, in a calm sensible manner he only addressed the spectre; then his doubts vanished. A discussion took place between the three comrades as to the reason for the nocturnal visits of the ghost, and Horatio being more scholarly than his two friends was able to suggest that its appearance was in connection with the preparations for war being made in Denmark against the imminent invasion of Fortinbras, prince of Norway.

During a conversation with Hamlet, Horatio told him that he thought he had seen his father, and afterwards related the appearance of the ghost, whereupon Hamlet decided to watch that same night:

I will watch to-night;
Perchance 'twill walk again. [I. ii. 241-242.]

Horatio replying:

I warrant it will. [I. ii. 242.]

Hamlet took Horatio into his confidence on almost all occasions. When Hamlet arranged to play at the court *The Murder of Gonzago* it was Horatio who was chosen by him to watch the effect of the play on the king:

There is a play to-night before the king;
One scene of it comes near the circumstance
Which I have told thee of my father's death:
. . . . . .
Observe mine uncle; [III. ii. 83-88.]

To Horatio he also confidentially related the story of the king's plot for his death in sending him to England. Hamlet had escaped from the trap laid by the king, and wrote Horatio to come to him:

with as much haste as thou would'st fly death.
[IV. vi. 25.]

Later he explained to him his method of escape, and how Guildenstern and Rosencrantz had gone to their doom.

In his moments of "antic disposition" Horatio unlike the other members of the royal house, was not afraid of Hamlet, but displayed the same calm and sensible demeanour as he had done on the appearance of the ghost.

Marcellus spoke of him as a scholar, and as a man of learning he appealed to him to address the ghost. It was a common notion that supernatural beings could only be properly addressed by persons of learning; exorcisms being usually practised by the clergy in Latin. So in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Night-Walker; or, the Little Thief*, II. i.:

Let 's call the butler up, for he speaks Latin,
And that will daunt the devil.

Hence Marcellus says:

Thou art a scholar; speak to it, Horatio. [I. i. 42.]

His learning was again in evidence in his conversation with Bernardo, and in the classical allusions he made to the death of Julius Cæsar and his reference to Neptune:

A mote it is to trouble the mind's eye.
. . . . . .
Unto our climatures and countrymen. [I. i. 112-125.]

When Hamlet was mortally wounded by Laertes, Horatio showed his great love for his friend by wishing to share the same fate, *i.e.*, drinking of the poisoned bowl. Horatio expressed to Hamlet in the following words, his intention of committing suicide:

I am more an antique Roman than a Dane;
Here 's yet some liquor left. [V. ii. 352-353.]

but was urged by the dying Hamlet to refrain from carrying out his intention; and live:

And in this harsh world draw thy breath in pain,
To tell my story.— [V. ii. 359-360.]

Hudson says: "Horatio is one of the very noblest and most beautiful of Shakespeare's male characters. There is not a single loose stitch in his make-up: he is at all times superbly self-contained: he feels deeply, but never gushes or runs over: as true as a diamond, as modest as a virgin, and utterly unselfish; a most manly soul, full alike of strength, tenderness, and solidity. But he moves so quietly in the drama, that his rare traits of character have received scant justice. Much of the best spirit and efficacy of the scenes is owing to his presence. He is the medium whereby some of the hero's finest and noblest qualities are conveyed to us; yet himself so clear and transparent that he scarcely catches the attention. The great charm of his unselfishness is, that he seems not to be himself in the least aware of it; 'as one, in suffering all, that suffers nothing.' His mild scepticism 'touching the dreaded sight twice seen to us' is exceedingly graceful and scholarly. And, indeed, all that comes from him marks the presence of a calm, clear head keeping touch and time perfectly with a good heart."

Hymen. III. ii. 171.

= the god of marriage.

Hyperion. I. ii. 140.

So excellent a king; that was, to this,
Hyperion to a satyr; [I. ii. 139-140.]

Hyperion = Apollo, one of the Titans represented as the son of Heaven and Earth, and father of the sun. He was considered to be the most beautiful of all the gods. On ancient coins he was portrayed with an abundance of curls in imitation of the rays of the circumference of the sun's disc. Cf. III. iv. 55-56:

See what a grace was seated on this brow;
Hyperion's curls,

Satyr. In Greek mythology, woodland deities with horns, long-pointed ears, and goat's feet. They roamed the hills in the train of Bacchus. They were described as fond of wine and devoted to sensual pleasure, playing musical instruments or engaged in dancing with nymphs.

This similitude as first sight seems to be a little far-fetched; but it has an exquisite beauty. By the *Satyr* is meant *Pan*, as by *Hyperion, Apollo*. *Pan* and *Apollo* were brothers, and the allusion is to the contention between those gods for the preference in musick.

"Shakespeare, I believe, has no allusion in the present instance, except to the beauty of Apollo, and its immediate opposite, the deformity of a Satyr." Steevens.

Hyperion or *Apollo* is represented in all the ancient statues, etc., as exquisitely beautiful, the *satyrs* hideously ugly."

Hyperion's curls. III. iv. 56.

See what a grace was seated on this brow;
Hyperion's curls, the front of Jove himself,
[III. iv. 55-56.]

In Marston's *Insatiate Countess* we read:

A donative he hath of every god;
Apollo gave him *locks*, *Jove* his high *front*.

and in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* [Golding's translation]:

haire that one might worthily Apollo's haire it deeme.

See Hyperion.

Hyrcanian beast. II. ii. 481.

= The tiger. Hyrcania was the province of the ancient Persian empire on the Caspian sea, and is frequently mentioned by old English writers as the habitat of tigers; the Hyrcan tiger being regarded by them as the symbol of deadliest ferocity. Pyrrhus, in his ruthless slaughter of the Trojans is here compared to the tiger in his thirst for blood. Cf. *1H. Henry VI.* i. iv. 155:

> O, ten times more than tigers of Hyrcania.

Merchant of Venice, II. vii. 41-42:

> The Hyrcanian deserts and the vasty wilds
> Of wide Arabia are as throughfares now.

and Marlowe's *Tragedy of Dido, Queen of Carthage, Act V.*:

> But thou art sprung from Scythian Caucasus,
> And tigers of Hyrcania gave thee suck.

Ilium. II. ii. 505.

The citadel of Troy, built by Ilus, one of the Trojan kings, hence the *Story of Troy*, is called the *Iliad*. It afterwards was called Troy, after Tros, father of the founder.

Jephthah. II. ii. 428, 435, 436.

Jephthah was one of the twelve judges of Israel, and going to fight the Ammonites made a vow that if he returned victorious he would, as a thankoffering, sacrifice to God the first thing that met him on his return home. His daughter—an only child—was the first to welcome him, and according to some authorities was offered up. *See* Judges XI. Whether the story is true or not, its mention is of interest, as it shews the prevalence among the Israelites of practices which were recognised as essential in religion among ancient peoples. See *One fair daughter and no more*, under Songs.

John-a-dreams. II. ii. 605.

> Yet I,
> A dull and muddy-mettled rascal, peak,
> Like John-a-dreams, unpregnant of my cause,
> And can say nothing; [II. ii. 603-606.]

= John of Dreams, a nickname for a sleepy idle fellow. At the beginning of Arthur Hall's translation of the second book of Homer's *Iliad*, 1581, we are told of Jupiter, that:

> *John dreaming* God he callde to him, that God,
> chiefe God of il,
> Common cole carrier of every lye, &c.

John-a-droynes however, if not a corruption of this nick-name, seems to have been some well-known character. The name is found in Armin's *Nest of Ninnies*, 1608. "His name is John, indeede, says the cinnick, but neither John a nods nor John a dreams, yet either as you take it." So, in *Have With You to Saffron Walden*, or *Gabriel Harvey's Hunt is Up*, by Nashe, 1596: 'The description of that poor *John-a-droynes* his man, whom he had hired,' etc. *John Adroynes* is likewise a foolish character in Whetstone'e *Promos and Cassandra*, who is seized by informers, has not much to say in his defence, and is cheated out of his money." Harsnet in his *Declaration of Popish Impostures* also uses the term *John-a-nods*.

Jove. III. ii. 297.

> This realm dismantled was
> Of Jove himself; [III. ii. 296-297.]

Probably Hamlet means that Denmark has been robbed of a king who had the majesty of Jove. In classical mythology Jove was the Roman king of the gods.

Jove. III. iv. 56.

> See what a grace was seated on this brow;
> Hyperion's curls, the front of Jove himself,
> [III. iv. 55-56.]

An allusion to the description of Phidias' Jupiter from Homer.

Julius. I. i. 114.

> In the most high and palmy state of Rome,
> A little ere the mightiest Julius fell,
> The graves stood tenantless and the sheeted
> dead
> Did squeak and gibber in the Roman streets:
> As stars with trains of fire and dews of blood,
> Disasters in the sun; and the moist star,
> Upon whose influence Neptune's empire stands,
> Was sick almost to doomsday with eclipse:
> [I. i. 113-120.]

= Julius Cæsar, the famous Roman dictator. The origin of this passage is ob-

viously Lucan's description [*Pharsalia* Book I.] of the prodigies which preceded the death of Cæsar. We have the tenantless graves, the sheeted dead seen in the streets, the stars with trains of fire, and the moon's eclipse. Plutarch in his Life of *Julius Cæsar* also gives a description of the wonders that preceded Cæsar's death:

"Certainly destiny may easier be foreseen than avoided, considering the strange and wonderful signs that were said to be seen before Cæsar's death. For, touching the fires in the element,[1] and spirits running up and down in the night, and also the solitary birds to be seen at noondays sitting in the great market-place, are not all these signs perhaps worth the noting, in such a wonderful chance as happened? But Strabo the philosopher writeth, that divers men were seen going up and down in fire: and furthermore, that there was a slave of the soldiers that did cast a marvellous burning flame out of his hand, insomuch as they that saw it thought he had been burnt; but when the fire was out, it was found he had no hurt. Cæsar self[2] also doing sacrifice unto the gods, found that one of the beasts which was sacrificed had no heart: and that was a strange thing in nature, how a beast could live without a heart."

Cf. *Julius Cæsar* I. iii. 10-32 and II. ii. 16-24. *See also* Ovid's *Metamorphoses* [Golding's translation], 879-896.

See Cæsar, Julius.

King of Denmark. II. ii. 384.

= Claudius.

Ladies. V. i. p. 240.

Lady Worm's. V. i. 96.

and now my Lady Worm's;
chapless, and knocked about the mazzard with a sexton's spade. [V. i. 96-98.]

Johnson remarks: The scull that was *my lord Such-a-one's*, is now *my lady Worm's*.

Laertes. I. ii. 42, 43, 45, 50, 62; I. iii. 55; IV. v. 100, 105, 107, 115, 119, 124, 138, 201; IV. vii. 42, 58, 108, 129, 166; V. i. 246, 294; V. ii. 76, 108, 131, 140, 204, 214, 244, 246, 266, 308, 316.

Son of Polonius, the old adviser of the late king, and brother of Ophelia, the heroine of the drama. He was at present in Denmark, having left Paris to attend the coronation of Claudius, and his wish now was to return speedily to the gay city, permission to leave being granted by the king.

Unlike Hamlet, who wished to go back to Wittenberg to his studies, Laertes devoted little of his time to study, but rather spent his time amidst the gaieties of Parisian life.

In taking affectionate leave of his sister Ophelia, he was careful to warn her not to put too much faith in Hamlet's love-making to her, as "Hamlet was subject to his birth," though the advice which he extended to Ophelia, was in no wise carried out by himself. He seemed too anxious for her well-being. In parting he says:

Farewell, Ophelia, and remember well
What I have said to you. [I. iii. 84-85.]

He was as suspicious of Hamlet's manner towards his sister, as Polonius was concerning his [Laertes] life in Paris. His father's precepts he promised to bear in mind, and then took a respectful farewell, saying:

Most humbly do I take my leave, my lord. [I. iii. 82.]

He was evidently mistrusted by his father, who employed Reynaldo his servant, to act as spy in Paris, and find out what manner of life Laertes led:

Look you, sir,
Inquire me first what Danskers are in Paris;
And how, and who, what means, and where they keep,
What company, at what expense;
. . . . . .
And in part him." Do you mark this, Reynaldo? [II. i. 6-15.]

While in France he learned of the death of his father, and being of an impulsive nature, he at once left for Denmark to demand vengeance, in whatever manner it could be secured. In his rage he did not hesitate to accuse the king of being concerned in the murder:

[1] sky. [2] himself.

O thou vile king,
Give me my father! [IV. v. 114-115.]

The queen assured him that Claudius was not the murderer, but he was only the more enraged, vowing to take revenge thoroughly:

How came he dead? I'll not be juggled with.
To hell, allegiance! vows, to the blackest devil!
Conscience and grace, to the profoundest pit!
I dare damnation. To this point I stand,
That both the worlds I give to negligence,
Let come what comes; only I'll be revenged
Most thoroughly for my father. [IV. v. 129-135.]

The king took advantage of his eagerness for revenge ,and was successful in turning Laertes' anger from himself to Hamlet, and explaining that he himself had also suffered through the ill-will of Hamlet.

Besides the loss of his father, another grief yet fell upon him, for Ophelia had lost her senses, after hearing of her father's death. To Claudius Laertes says:

And so have I a noble father lost;
A sister driven into desperate terms,
. . . . . .
But my revenge will come. [IV. vii. 25-29.]

His anger and grief made him a tool of Claudius, and a ready conspirator for Hamlet's death. Not only did he agree to take part in the fencing match with Hamlet, and acting on the advice of the king used a foil with no button on the point, but he proved a baser villain than Claudius in suggesting the anointing of the sword with poison to make doubly sure of Hamlet's death. The king's suggestion was:

he, being remiss,
Most generous and free from all contriving,
Will not peruse the foils, so that with ease
Or with a little shuffling, you may choose
A sword unbated, and in a pass of practice
Requite him for your father. [IV. vii. 135-139.]

and Laertes in acquiescing said:

I will do 't;
And for that purpose I'll anoint my sword.
I bought an unction of a mountebank,
So mortal that but dip a knife in it,
Where it draws blood no cataplasm so rare,
Collected from all simples that have virtue
Under the moon, can save the thing from death
That is but scratch'd withal; I'll touch my point
With this contagion, that, if I gall him slightly,
It may be death. [IV. vii. 140-149.]

This proposal being arranged, both were in agreement, when the queen entered, and brought news to Laertes of Ophelia's death by drowning. Her funeral shortly followed, and Laertes overcome with grief jumped into the open grave, being followed by Hamlet. A violent struggle took place, but the attendants succeeded in parting them.

The traitorous trait in Laertes' character was again evident when Hamlet expressed to him his sorrow for his previous treatment of him. He received Hamlet's expressions of regret in cordial terms, though at the time of speaking he was prepared to slay Hamlet in the manner he had previously arranged with Claudius.

Laertes wounded Hamlet, but during a scuffle they changed foils, and Hamlet wounded Laertes. Knowing the wounds to be fatal Laertes repented, and when dying called upon Hamlet for forgiveness, told him of the fatal wounds, and laid the blame upon the king:

The king, the king 's to blame. [V. ii. 331.]

and:

He is justly served;
It is a poison temper'd by himself.
Exchange forgiveness with me, noble Hamlet;
Mine and my father's death come not upon thee,
Nor thine on me! [V. ii. 338-342.]

"Laertes makes a very peculiar and most emphatic contrast to Hamlet. He is far indeed from being a noble character, yet he has noble streaks in him. The respect in which he holds his father, and the entire and unreserved affection he bears his sister, set him well in our esteem as a son and a brother: beyond these he can hardly be said to show any sentiments or principles worthy of regard. He takes as ardently to the gayeties of the French capital as Hamlet does to the studious walks and shades of Wittenberg. Though incapable of any thing so serious as friendship, he is nevertheless a highly companionable fellow, as least among those of like resort. He is never pestered at all with moral scruples: life has no dark and difficult problems to him: he has no philosophy at all, does not even know what the word means: truth, as such, is neither beautiful nor venerable in

his sight: in his heat and stress of destructive impulse, he does not see far enough to apprehend the causes for deliberation or delay. In regard to the death of his father, he snatches eagerly at the conclusion shaped for him by the King, without pausing to consider the grounds of it, or to weigh the merits of the case, because it offers a speedy chance of discharging his revenge; and he is reckless alike of means and of consequences, in fact cares nothing for others or even for himself, here or hereafter, so he may quickly ease his breast of the mad rapture with which it is panting. He has a burning resentment of personal wrongs, real or supposed, but no proper sense of justice; indeed, he can nowise enter into any question of so grave a nature as that: hence, in the exigency that overtakes him, 'wild sword-law' becomes at once his religion." — *Hudson.*

Lamond. IV. vii. 93.

Verity says: "a modernisation of the Folio's *Lamound*. Some think that the name covers (in a semi-French form) an allusion to a famous Italian cavalier and huntsman, Pietro Monte, instructor in horsemanship at the Court of Louis VII. That some personal allusion is intended seems to me probable; for the whole passage (84-96) has rather the air of being specially introduced."

Lethe wharf. I. v. 33.

> And duller shouldst thou be than the fat weed
> That roots itself in ease on Lethe wharf,
> [I. v. 32-33.]

One of the five rivers of hell. The word means forgetfulness, and had the power of making those who drank thereof to forget their past, hence 'dulness' in the 'fat weeds' it fed. Cf. Milton: *Paradise Lost*, II. 582-586:

> Far off from these, a slow and silent stream,
> Lethe, the river of oblivion, rolls
> Her watery labyrinth, whereof who drinks
> Forthwith his former state and being forgets—
> Forgets both joy and grief, pleasure and pain.

Dante makes Lethe the boundary between purgatory and paradise. In Toynbee's *Concise Dante Dictionary* we have: "Virgil having named the rivers of Hell without mentioning Lethe (Inf. xiv. 116), Dante asks where it is to be found (vv. 130-1); Virgil replies that Dante shall see it, not in Hell, but in Purgatory (vv. 136-8). Guido Guinizelli (in Circle VII. of Purgatory) declares that he is so touched by Dante's kindly bearing toward him that not even the waters of Lethe will be able to make him forget it, Purg. xxvi. 107-8. Eventually Dante sees the stream of Lethe in the Terrestrial Paradise, where it appears as a rivulet, purer than any earthly stream, flowing from S. to N. through a wood, which perpetually shades it from the sun and moon, Purg. xxviii. 25-33; on the further bank he sees a solitary lady (Matilda) gathering flowers and singing as she goes, whom he prays to come near to the stream that he may hear what she sings (vv. 34-51); she approaches the opposite bank and smiles upon him across the stream, which is but three paces wide, yet forms as effectual a barrier betwixt her and Dante as did the Hellespont between Hero and Leander (vv. 52-75); . . . subsequently, after Dante has made confession to Beatrice, he is drawn through the stream of Lethe to the opposite bank by Matilda, who plunges him under the water and causes him to swallow some of it. (Purg. xxxi. 1-90, 91-102).

Lords. I. ii. p. 1; III. ii. p. 100; V. ii. p. 201, p. 236.

Lucianus. III. ii. 257.

> This is one Lucianus, nephew to the king.
> [III. ii. 257.]

See Gonzago.

Marcellus. I. i. 12, 20, 38, 139; I. ii. 165, 197.

An officer of the guard before the king's castle at Elsinore. In the opening scene of the play he, with Horatio, was to be one of the rivals of Bernardo's watch. Bernardo said to Francisco, the retiring guard:

> If you do meet Horatio and Marcellus,
> The rivals of my watch, bid them make haste.
> [I. i. 12-13.]

Having on two previous occasions witnessed the appearance of the ghost, he, in serious manner entreated Horatio—who was sceptical on the point—to share his watch; and on its re-appearance, "as a scholar" to speak to it:

Thou art a scholar; speak to it, Horatio.
[I. i. 42.]

During the conversation between the three friends, Marcellus predicted that its appearance might coincide with the preparations now being made for war throughout Denmark.

Towards the close of Act I. Scene ii. Marcellus was one of the officers who announced to Hamlet the re-appearance of the ghost, and was present when Hamlet, yielding to the entreaties of the ghost,—though urged not to do so by Marcellus and the other rivals,—followed it to another part of the platform, Marcellus saying:

Let 's follow; 'tis not fit thus to obey him.
. . . . . .
Something is rotten in the state of Denmark.
. . . . . .
Nay, let 's follow him. [I. iv. 88, 90, 92.]

After the ghost had disclosed to Hamlet the treacherous murder of his father, it vanished, and on Hamlet's return, Marcellus was all eagerness to know its mission, saying:

How is 't, my noble lord? [I. v. 117.]

Hamlet refused to disclose the mission of the ghost, but obtained from Marcellus and Horatio, a promise of secrecy regarding all they had seen and heard.

After the close of Act I. Scene v., Marcellus does not again appear in the play.

Mars. III. iv. 57.

An eye like Mars, to threaten and command;
[III. iv. 57.]

The Roman god of war, represented as fierce in aspect, stern in countenance, and terrible in dress.

Mars's armour. II. ii. 521.

And never did the Cyclops' hammers fall
On Mars's armour, [II. ii. 520-521.]

This thought appears to have been adopted from the third Book of Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*: "The courteous *Vulcan*, when he wrought at his moft courteous wives requeft *Æneas* an armour, made not his hammer beget a greater found, than the fwords of thofe noble knights did."

May. III. iii. 81.

With all his crimes broad blown, as flush as May;
[III. iii. 81.]

With all his crimes in full bloom as trees in May. Cf. I. v. 76: "Cut off even in the blossoms of my sin," and *Ezekiel* xvi. 49.

Mercury. III. iv. 58.

A station like the herald Mercury
New-lighted on a heaven-kissing hill;
[III. iv. 58-59.]

Mercury was the winged messenger to the gods. Probably these lines were suggested by the description of Mercury alighting on Mount Atlas, given by Virgil in the Fourth Book of the *Æneid* [Phaer's translation]:

And now approaching neere, the top he seeth and mighty lims
Of *Atlas, mountain tough,* that *heaven* on boist'rous *shoulders beares;*—
There *first* on ground with wings of might doth *Mercury* arrive,
Then down from thence right over seas himselfe doth headlong drive.

In the margin are these words: "The description of *Mercury's* journey from *heaven,* along the *mountain* Atlas in Afrike, *highest* on earth."

Messenger. IV. vii. p. 36.

Murder of Gonzago. II. ii. 573.

Dost thou hear me, old friend; can you play
The Murder of Gonzago? [II. ii. 572-573.]

See Gonzago.

Nemean lion's nerve. I. iv. 83.

My fate cries out,
And makes each petty artery in this body
As hardy as the Nemean lion's nerve. [I. iv. 81-83.]

Nemea was the name of a rock in Argolis (in the Peloponnesus) near which Hercules slew a great lion. Its skin was so tough

that his club made no impression on the beast, but Hercules caught it in his arms and squeezed it to death. He carried the dead lion on his shoulders to Eurystheus, who was so frightened at the gigantic strength of Hercules, that he ordered him in future to deliver the account of his exploits outside the town. He ever after wore the skin as a mantle as a badge of honour. This gave occasion to the institution of the Nemean games, which were celebrated every third year in honour of Hercules. But Statius, and others contend that these games were instituted to celebrate the funeral of Opheltes, son of Lycurgus, who was killed by an adder. The slaying of the Nemean lion was the first of the twelve labours imposed upon Hercules by Eurystheus. Cf. Baggorre's *Heracles*, 34-35:

Twelve labours by Eurystheus were to Heracles assigned;
The first to kill the Nemean lion, the fiercest of its kind,
Offspring of Typhon and Echidna; Alceides thirty days
Hunted the savage beast in vain; at last by devious ways
He tracked it to its den and there two entrances he found;
He put a burning torch in one which did the beast confound,
And then he entered by the other and seized it from behind
And strangled it with hands alone; such strength in gods we find.
Then to Eurystheus he bore the lion on his back,
But at the unexpected sight the king he cried:—"Alăck!
"If against me he turned his strength short shrift he 'd give, I fear.
"Keep him in future, Guards, without; forbid him to come near.

Neptune's empire stands. I. i. 119.

and the moist star,
Upon whose influence Neptune's empire stands,
Was sick almost to doomsday with eclipse:
[I. i. 118-120.]

These portents are described in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* [Golding's translation] Book XV.:

And Phebus also looking dim did cast a drowzy lyght
Uppon the earth, which seemd lykewyse too bee a sorye plyght.
From underneathe amid the starres brands oft seemd burning bryght.
It often rayned droppes of blood. The morning starre lookt blew,
And was bespotted heere and there with specks of rusty hew.
The moone had also spottes of blood.

In Mythology Neptune was the son of Saturn and brother of Jupiter. He was the chief deity of the sea, hence his name is used as a personification of the ocean.

The moist star is the Moon; so-called from her connection with the tides. Cf. *Winter's Tale* I. ii. 1-3:

Nine changes of the watery star hath been
The shepherd's note since we have left our throne
Without a burthen:

See also Julius.

Neptune's salt wash. III. ii. 166.

Full thirty times hath Phœbus' cart gone round
Neptune's salt wash and Tellus' orbed ground,
[III. ii. 166-168.]

This speech of the Player King appears to be a burlesque of the following passage in *The Comical History of Alphonsus, King of Arragon*, Act IV., by Robert Greene:

Thrice ten times Phœbus with his golden beams
Hath compassèd the circle of the sky,
Thrice ten times Ceres hath her workmen hir'd,
And fill'd her barns with fruitful crops of corn,
Since first in priesthood I did lead my life;

Nero. III. ii. 413.

Soft! now to my mother.
O heart, lose not thy nature; let not ever
The soul of Nero enter this firm bosom;
[III. ii. 411-413.]

An allusion to the murder of his mother Agrippina in order to please his ambitious mistress Poppæa Sabina. Nero was a blood-thirsty monster and committed atrocities of a very revolting nature. Hudson says: "Nero is aptly referred to here, as he was the murderer of his mother, Agrippina. It may be worth noting that the name of the King in this play is *Claudius*; and that, after the death of Domitius her husband, Agrippina married with her uncle the Emperor Claudius." Cf. *King John*, V. ii. 151-153:

And you degenerate, you ingrate revolts,
You bloody Neroes, ripping up the womb
Of your dear mother England, blush for shame;

Niobe. I. ii. 149.

Like Niobe, all tears; [I. ii. 149.]

A type of maternal grief. In Greek mythology the daughter of Tantalus, king of Lydia and wife of Amphion, king of Thebes. According to Hesiod she had ten sons and ten daughters, according to Herodotus two sons and three daughters. Homer however gives the number to be six daughters and six sons, while Ovid mentions seven sons and seven daughters. Proud of the number of her children, she boasted superiority over Leto who had only two—Apollo and Diana—and ridiculed the worship paid to her, maintaining that she had more claim to altars than Leto. Indignant at the insult to their mother, Apollo and Diana slew all Niobe's children except Chloris who had married Neleus, king of Polos. Niobe fled to mount Sipylus, where she was changed into a rock from which her tears flow unceasingly.

Shakespeare might have caught this idea from an ancient ballad intitled *The Falling out of Lovers is the renewing of Love:*

Now I, like weeping *Niobe*,
May wash my handes in teares, &c.

Of this ballad Amantium iræ, etc. is the burden.

Or from Whitney's *Emblems*, 1586:

Of Niobe behoulde the ruthefulle plighte,
Bicause shee did dispise the powers devine,
Her children all, weare slaine within her sighte,
And, while her selfe, with trickling teares did pine,
Shee was transform'de into a marble stone,
Which, yet with teares, doth seeme to waile and mone.

Normandy. IV. vii. 83.

Formerly a Duchy on the shore of the English Channel, now part of France.

Norway. I. i. 61; I. ii. 28, 35; II. ii. 59, 69, 72; IV. iv. 14, 21.

= the King of Norway.

Norway. I. i. 82, 97; II. ii. 40; IV. iv. 10.

= Kingdom of Norway.

Officers.

Olympus. V. i. 276.

Till of this flat a mountain you have made
To o'er-top old Pelion or the skyish head
Of blue Olympus. [V. i. 274-276.]

The highest peak in a range of mountains between Thessaly and Macedonia. *See* Ossa.

Ophelia. I. iii. 33, 84, 88, 126; II. i. 74; II. ii. 110, 120; III. i. 31, 38, 43, 89, 186; IV. v. 22, 33, 55, 83, 157; IV. vii. 187; V. i. 264, 291.

Daughter of Polonius, an old courtier, and herself one of the ladies in waiting to the queen. Her first appearance in the drama is at the departure of Laertes—her brother—for France. Before leaving he entreated her to be aware of Hamlet—her lover—and his affections.

Concerning Hamlet he warned her that his position as a prince did not permit him to follow his own inclinations, and though his love for her might seem sincere, it was apt to change in accordance with "the main voice of Denmark:

his will is not his own;
For he himself is subject to his birth;
He may not, as unvalued persons do,
Carve for himself, [I. iii. 17-20.]

To her brother's advice she replied:

I shall the effect of this good lesson keep,
As watchman to my heart. [I. iii. 45-46.]

Ophelia seemed to have no will power of her own. When her father implored her concerning her lover:

From this time
Be somewhat scanter of your maiden presence;
Set your entreatments at a higher rate
Than a command to parley. [I. iii. 120-122.]

for Hamlet's love vows:

Breathing like sanctified and pious bawds,
The better to beguile. [I. iii. 130-131.]

she replied quite childishly:

I shall obey, my lord. [I. iii. 136.]

Though Ophelia loved Hamlet, it is questioned by many people whether Hamlet reciprocated, though in one of his letters to Ophelia, which was intercepted by Polonius

and read by him to the queen, he spoke of his passionate love for her. The letter commenced:

To the celestial, and my soul's idol, the most beautified Ophelia,—

. . . . . .

O dear Ophelia, I am ill at these numbers; I have not art to reckon my groans; but that I love thee best, O most best, believe it. Adieu.

Thine evermore, most dear lady, whilst this machine is to him,

Hamlet II. ii. 109-110; 120-124.

Her weakness of will power was again evident in her agreeing to be present at the interview arranged by the king and her father to determine Hamlet's sanity. It was decided that Polonius and Claudius should be secret witnesses, Ophelia to be engaged in reading, waiting for Hamlet's approach. By the strangeness of the conversation which took place Ophelia came to the conclusion that Hamlet was mad. In her soliloquy, following the interview she said:

I, of ladies most deject and wretched,
That suck'd the honey of his music vows,
Now see that noble and most sovereign reason,
Like sweet bells jangled out of tune, and harsh;
That unmatch'd form and feature of blown youth
Blasted with ecstasy; Oh, woe is me,
To have seen what I have seen, see what I see!
[III. i. 163-169.]

During the play *The Murder of Gonzago* presented by Hamlet before the king, queen, and assembled courtiers, Hamlet sat at the feet of Ophelia. At that part of the play representing the poison being poured into the ear of the sleeping king, it was Ophelia who first noticed the uneasiness and subsequent departure of the king, and she, afterwards, with all the assembled courtiers also left, leaving Hamlet alone with Horatio.

At her next appearance in the play she was insane. The queen refused to speak with her, but acting upon the advice of a gentleman who said:

She is importunate, indeed distract;
Her mood will needs be pitied. [IV. v. 2-3.]

the queen decided to receive her, Horatio saying:

'Twere good she were spoken with, for she may strew
Dangerous conjectures in ill-breeding minds.
[IV. v. 14-15.]

The death of her father, Polonius, and the ill-treatment of Hamlet, her lover, had produced a state of insanity.

Accompanied by Horatio she entered the queen's room singing, and the king subsequently entering enquired:

How long hath she been thus? [IV. v. 66.]

and then charged Horatio:

Follow her close; give her good watch, I pray you. [IV. v. 74.]

Hearing of the death of his father, Laertes returned from France and finding Ophelia in a state of insanity, determined to take revenge. He says of her:

A sister driven into desperate terms, [IV. vii. 26.]

It was while Laertes was discussing with Claudius plans for revenge for his father's death, that the queen entered with the news of Ophelia's death by drowning. She says:

One woe doth tread upon another's heel,
So fast they follow.—Your sister 's drown'd, Laertes. [IV. vii. 165-166.]

At the funeral ceremony of Ophelia the first priest announced to Laertes that as "her death was doubtful":

She should in ground unsanctified have lodged
Till the last trumpet; [V. i. 251-252.]

Laertes in anger spoke of his sister as "a ministering angel" saying:

I tell thee, churlish priest,
A ministering angel shall my sister be,
When thou liest howling. [V. i. 262-264.]

At the close of the funeral ceremony, Hamlet with Laertes jumped into Ophelia's grave, Hamlet remarking:

I loved Ophelia; forty thousand brothers
Could not, with all their quantity of love,
Make up my sum.—What wilt thou do for her?
[V. i. 291-293.]

Commenting upon the character of Ophelia, Goethe in his *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship and Travels* [Carlyle's translation] says: "Of her there cannot much be said, for a few master-strokes complete her character. The whole being of Ophelia floats in sweet and ripe sensation. Kindness for the Prince, to whose hand she may aspire, flows so spontaneously, her tender heart obeys its impulses so unresistingly, that both father and brother are afraid;

both give her warning harshly and directly. Decorum, like the thin lawn upon her bosom, cannot hide the soft, still movements of her heart; it, on the contrary, betrays them. Her fancy is smit; her silent modesty breathes amiable desire; and if the friendly goddess Opportunity should shake the tree, its fruit would fall.

And then, when she beholds herself forsaken, cast away, despised; when all is inverted in the soul of her crazed lover, and the highest changes to the lowest, and instead of the sweet cup of love he offers her the bitter cup of woe. Her heart breaks, the whole structure of her being is loosened from its joinings; her father's death strikes fiercely against it; and the fair edifice altogether crumbles into fragments." Mrs. Jameson observes: "Ophelia —poor Ophelia! Oh, far too soft, too good, too fair, to be cast among the briers of this working day world, and fall and bleed upon the thorns of life! What shall be said of her? for eloquence is mute before her! Like a strain of sad, sweet music, which comes floating by us on the wings of night and silence, and which we rather feel than hear—like the exhalation of the violet, dying even upon the sense it charms—like the snowflake, dissolved in air before it has caught a stain of earth—like the light surf severed from the billow, which a breath disperses;—such is the character of Ophelia: so exquisitely delicate, it seems as if a touch would profane it; so sanctified in our thoughts by the last and worst of human woes, that we scarcely dare to consider it too deeply. The love of Ophelia, which she never once confesses, is like a secret which we have stolen from her, and which ought to die upon our hearts as upon her own. Her sorrow asks not words, but tears; and her madness has precisely the same effect that would be produced by the spectacle of real insanity, if brought before us: we feel inclined to turn away, and veil our eyes in reverential pity and too painful sympathy. . . . She believes Hamlet crazed; she is repulsed, she is forsaken, she is outraged where she had bestowed her young heart, with all its hopes and wishes; her father is slain by the hand of her lover, as it is supposed, in a paroxysm of insanity: she is entangled inextricably in a web of horrors which she cannot even comprehend, and the result seems inevitable." And Hazlitt: "Ophelia is a character almost too exquisitely touching to be dwelt upon. Oh rose of May, Oh flower too soon faded! Her love, her madness, her death, are described with the truest touches of tenderness and pathos. It is a character which nobody but Shakespeare could have drawn in the way that he has done, and to the conception of which there is not even the smallest approach, except in some of the old romantic ballads. Her brother, Laertes, is a character we do not like so well; he is too hot and choleric, and somewhat rhodomontade."

Osric. V. ii. 202, 270, 317.

In the *Dramatis Personæ* a Courtier. Introduced almost at the close of the drama (Act V. Scene ii.) where he is described by Hamlet as "this water-fly."

Goggin says: "Hamlet compares Osric to one of those flies which are constantly skipping up and down the surface of the water in an apparently aimless manner. They are thus suitable emblems of busy idleness." Johnson remarks: "A water-fly skips up and down upon the surface of the water without any apparent purpose or reason, and is thence the proper emblem of a busy trifler." Verity observes: "*Osric* is a satire on the Elizabethan courtier. His affected language represents (probably with a touch of caricature such as we get in the characters of Dickens) a style in vogue at Elizabeth's court, especially among ladies, who were expected, as a matter of course, to be able (in an old writer's phrase) "to parley euphuism." And Dowden: "Because the water-fly is a little, skipping, burnished creature, seeming busily idle." Cf. *Troilus and Cressida* V. i. 36-38:

> Ah! how the poor world is pestered with such water-flies, diminutives of nature.

The *Gull's Hornbook* (1609), by Dekker, speaks of "Euphuized gentlewomen."

His business with Hamlet was to invite him to a supposed friendly fencing match with Laertes—the match being the suggestion of Claudius. Hamlet accepted the challenge. During the match Osric was present, as head over the umpires. It was to Osric that Laertes when wounded, confessed his guilt. Osric questioned:

How is 't, Laertes? [V. ii. 316.]

and received the reply:

Why, as a woodcock to mine own springe,
Osric;
I am justly kill'd with mine own treachery.
[V. ii. 317-318.]

"The young Osric, has no business in the play except to carry Laertes' challenge to Hamlet. . . . He exists, it cannot be doubted, merely as a foil for Hamlet's wit and melancholy. When the mind is wholly taken up with tragic issues, when it is brooding on a great sorrow, or foreboding a hopeless event, the little daily affairs of life continue unaltered; tables are served, courtesies interchanged, and the wheels of society revolve at their accustomed pace. Osric is the representative of society; his talk is of gentility, skill in fencing, and the elegance of the proffered wager." Raleigh: *Shakespeare* [English Men of Letters.]

He also answered Hamlet's dying question concerning the *"march afar off, and shot within:*

What war-like noise is this?
Young Fortinbras, with conquest come from
Poland,
To the ambassadors of England gives
This war-like volley. [V. ii. 361-363.]

Ossa. V. i. 305.

Singeing his pate against the burning zone,
Make Ossa like a wart! [V. i. 305-306.]

In ancient geography a mountain in Thessaly, situated north-north-west of Pelion and separated from Olympus by the Vale of Tempe. It was the fabled abode of the giants and the centaurs, and in their war with the gods the giants attempted to pile Ossa and Olympus on Pelion, or Pelion and Ossa on Olympus in order to scale heaven, hence "To pile Ossa upon Pelion" became a proverbial expression for exaggeration in statement.

Owl was a baker's daughter. IV. v. 40-41.

They say the owl was a
baker's daughter. [IV. v. 40-41.]

Among the vulgar in Gloucestershire a story is told that our Saviour being refused bread by the daughter of a baker he transformed her into an owl as a punishment. Douce remarks: "This is a common story among the vulgar in Gloucestershire, and is thus related: 'Our Saviour went into a baker's shop where they were baking, and asked for some bread to eat. The mistress of the shop immediately put a piece of dough into the oven to bake for him; but was reprimanded by her daughter, who insisting that the piece of dough was too large, reduced it to a very small size. The dough, however, immediately afterwards began to swell, and presently became of a most enormous size. Whereupon, the baker's daughter cried out 'Heugh, heugh, heugh,' which owl-like noise probably induced our Saviour for her wickedness to transform her into that bird.' This story is often related to children, in order to deter them from such illiberal behaviour to poor people." In Beaumont and Fletcher's *Nice Valour* III. iii. we have:—

give me a nest of owls,
and take 'em!
Happy is he, say I, whose window opens
To a brown baker's chimney! he shall be sure there
To hear the bird sometimes after twilight.

Paris. II. i. 7.

Inquire me first what Danskers are in Paris;
[II. i. 7.]

The University of Paris was a common resort of Danes.

Patrick, Saint. I. v. 136.

Yes, by Saint Patrick, but there is, Horatio,
And much offence too. [I. v. 136-137.]

An allusion to the patron saint of Ireland. It was given out that Hamlet's father was stung by a serpent:

The serpent that did sting thy father's life
Now wears his crown. [I. v. 39-40.]

and Patrick was considered to be the only saint to take notice of such an offence, as tradition credits him with having driven

serpents from Ireland. Tschischwitz remarks that if Shakespeare had wished to be historically correct, he would have made a Dane swear by St. Ansgarius. But since the subject concerned an unexpiated crime, he naturally thought of St. Patrick, who kept a Purgatory of his own. Moberly explains the use of this saint's name here by hinting that St. Patrick was the patron saint of all blunders and confusion. In Shirley's *Saint Patrick for Ireland*, serpents come on the stage, are banned by the saint, and creep away, and in Stone's *Connemara* we read: "Croagh Patrick (2510 feet) is not quite ten miles from Westport, the ascent of which is not difficult. It is a particularly sacred mountain in Irish estimation. From the summit St. Patrick banished all the snakes from Ireland . . . It is a great place for religious pilgrimage, and its sides and summits are regularly climbed at certain seasons by the devout, who 'perform stations' at certain places as they ascend. . . . The pilgrim, on returning to his distant cabin in the wilds of Achill, on the main-land, acquires a certain amount of sanctity somewhat similar to that possessed by the wanderer on his return from Mecca."

Walsh says that the Purgatory of St. Patrick was "a cave in the island of Lough Derg, reputed to be an entrance to purgatory. According to mediæval legend Christ instructed St. Patrick that any one might go down in it who had the courage, and it should be for him as if he had passed through purgatory after death. A poem by Henry of Saltrey (circa 1153) describes the adventures of Sir Owayne Miles, who took this opportunity of expiating his crimes, and saw many wonderful sights in the course of his pilgrimage through the nether world. This poem, which was translated into nearly all European languages, may have furnished Dante with a hint for his purgatorial descriptions. At last in 1496 a monk from Holland visited the place and reported to the Pope that it differed in no respect from an ordinary cavern, whereupon His Holiness commanded its destruction. The order was carried out on St. Patrick's Day, 1497."

Pelion. V. i. 275.

Till of this flat a mountain you have made
To o'er-top old Pelion or the skyish head
Of blue Olympus. [V. i. 274-276.]

A mountain in Thessaly near Mount Ossa. *See* Ossa.

Phœbus' cart. III. ii. 166.

Full thirty times hath Phœbus' cart gone round
Neptune's salt wash, [III. ii. 166-167.]

Phœbus = the sun-god. cart = chariot. *See* Neptune's salt wash.

Plain in Denmark.

The scene of the interview [IV. iv.] between Hamlet and the captain sent by Fortinbras to claim the promised permission to march his soldiers over the kingdom of the Danish king, against Poland.

After the interview Hamlet reproached himself for his lack of courage in carrying out the commands of the ghost, comparing his laxity with the eager spirit of Fortinbras and his soldiers.

Platform.

The raised structure in front of the castle of Elsinore, and the scene of Act I. sc. iv., of the appearance of the ghost in the presence of Hamlet, Horatio, and Marcellus.

Act I. sc. v. refers to another part of the platform to which Hamlet was beckoned by the ghost to follow, although earnestly requested not to do so by Horatio and Marcellus, who feared for Hamlet's life.

Plautus. II. ii. 426.

Seneca cannot be too
heavy, nor Plautus too light. [II. ii. 425-426.]

See Seneca.

Players. II. ii. p. 447; III. ii. p. 1, p. 167, p. 257, p. 362.

First mentioned in the play by Rosencrantz, who told Hamlet that they were visiting Elsinore, in the hopes of giving

him an exhibition of their dramatic skill. Hamlet assured Rosencrantz they would be welcome.

They were formerly announced by Polonius, four or five of them entering Hamlet's room in the castle. Hamlet addressed the first player in the following words:

> we'll have a speech straight; come, give us a taste of your quality; come, a passionate speech. [II. ii. 458-460.]

and then asked him to continue from a given line: "Æneas' tale to Dido":

After reciting some thirty lines of this, Polonius pronounced it "too long," Hamlet saying "come to Hecuba" part of which the player recited.

In conclusion, Hamlet requested all players to follow Polonius, with the exception of the First Player, who, when alone with Hamlet, was asked:

> can you play *The Murder of Gonzago?* [II. ii. 571-572.]

Receiving the answer in the affirmative Hamlet decided that it should be played the following night, himself inserting into the play "a speech of some dozen or sixteen lines" which the players must study, and be able to reproduce on the morrow.

In the opening of the second scene of Act III. Hamlet held a conversation with the players, and gave them certain instructions as to the correct method of presenting their play, and with the words:

> Go, make you ready. [III. ii. 53.]

the players retired, Hamlet requesting Rosencrantz and Guildenstern to hasten them in their preparations:

> Bid the players make haste.
> Will you two help to hasten them? [III. ii. 57-58.]

Polacks. I. i. 63; II. ii. 63, 75; IV. iv. 23; V. ii. 387.

> So frown'd he once, when, in an angry parle,
> He smote the sledded Polacks on the ice. [I. i. 62-63.]

Sledded Polacks='Polanders on sledges.' The Poles and the Scandinavians were frequently at war, and battles were sometimes fought upon the ice.

The old copies give *Polax* or *Pole-ax*, but Shakespeare no doubt wrote *Polacks*, as Polack was in that age the term for an inhabitant of Poland. Steevens says: "With *Polack* for *Polander*, the transcriber, or printer, might have no acquaintance; he therefore substituted *pole-ax* as the only word of like sound that was familiar to his ear," while Boswell remarks: "After all it is just possible that the old reading may be right. *Poleax* may, by a not uncommon figure, be put for the person who carried the *pole-axe*, a mark of rank among the Muscovites as 'the wry-necked *fife*,' is used for *fifer*; or, as we should talk at this day, of *the gold stick in waiting*. 'After that the same day he sent a great and glorious Duke, one of them that *held the golden pole-ax*, with his retinue, and sundry sorts of meath to drink merrily with the Ambassador.'" Milton's *Brief History of Muscovia*.

Polack was, in that age, the term for an inhabitant of Poland: *Polaque*, French. As in F. Davison's translation of Passeratius's Epitaph on Henry III. of France, published by Camden:

> Whether thy chance or choice thee hither brings,
> Stay, passenger, and wail the best of kings.
> This little stone a great king's heart doth hold,
> Who rul'd the fickle French and *Polacks* bold:
> Whom, with a mighty warlike host attended,
> With trait'rous knife a cowled monster ended.
> So frail are even the highest earthly things!
> Go, passenger, and wail the hap of kings. *Johnson.*

Cf. II. ii. 63, and IV. iv. 23.

Poland. IV. iv. 12, 15; V. ii. 361.

Polonius. I. ii. 57; IV. i. 34; IV. iii. 17, 35; IV. v. 82.

The amusing character of the play; an old courtier who had spent many years in the service of the late king (Hamlet). Father of Laertes and Ophelia. Though counsellor to the late king he seemed to have no knowledge of the strange circumstances which attended his death.

He first appears in the play in the state room of the castle with the king, queen, and other assembled courtiers, when Clau-

dius made the usual speech following accession to the throne. He begged Claudius to grant permission to his son Laertes to return to France, Laertes having been in Denmark for the king's coronation. The request was granted.

In the welfare of his children he seemed to have little interest, and he stooped so low as to employ Reynaldo as a spy on Laertes' actions when in France. The instructions which he gave him could only be inspired by a biassed mind. His parting blessing, and advice to his son were merely a collection of "old saws," and afforded him an opportunity for displaying his loquacity. Laying his hand on Laertes' head he says:

> There; my blessing with thee!
> And these few precepts in thy memory
> Look thou character.
> . . . . . .
> Farewell: my blessing season this in thee!
> [I. iii. 57-81.]

After his garrulous advice to his son, in speaking to the king he used the now well-known phrase:

> brevity is the soul of wit, [II. ii. 90.]

which was contrary to his accustomed verbosity.

From the words of Claudius to Laertes concerning his father, it was probable that Polonius had rendered some service to Claudius in assisting him to secure the throne:

> The head is not more native to the heart,
> The hand more instrumental to the mouth,
> Than is the throne of Denmark to thy father.
> [I. ii. 47-49.]

Of his own powers he boasted on several occasions. With great ceremony he related to Claudius that he had discovered the secret of Hamlet's lunacy. Announcing to the king the return of the ambassadors from Norway he bade him to:

> Give first admittance to the ambassadors;
> [II. ii. 51.]

and then:

> My news shall be the fruit to that great feast.
> [II. ii. 52.]

Concerning the cause of Hamlet's lunacy Polonius said:

> Assure you, my good liege,
> I hold my duty as I hold my soul,
> Both to my God and to my gracious king;
> And I do think, or else this brain of mine
> Hunts not the trail of policy so sure
> As it hath used to do, that I have found
> The very cause of Hamlet's lunacy. [II. ii. 43-49.]

Continuing his boasting, and emphasising his powers of penetration, in his conversation with the king concerning Hamlet's sanity, and letters written by him to his daughter, Polonius pointing to his head and shoulder, remarked:

> Take this from this, if this be otherwise.
> If circumstances lead me, I will find
> Where truth is hid, though it were hid indeed
> Within the centre. [II. ii. 156-159.]

It was on Polonius that Hamlet first experimented his "antic disposition" and was well pleased with the result, as from the interview, Polonius concluded that Hamlet's insanity was the outcome of his great love for Ophelia.

On one occasion appointing Reynaldo to act as spy to his son Laertes, he again acted dishonourably, this time towards Hamlet, when he agreed to secrete himself with Claudius to overhear the interview between Ophelia and Hamlet. Claudius spoke of himself and Polonius as "lawful espials":

> Her father and myself, lawful espials,
> Will so bestow ourselves that, seeing unseen,
> We may of their encounter frankly judge,
> [III. i. 32-34.]

His curiosity and his desire for interfering in the affairs of others caused his death. During the queen's interview with her son, Polonius was secreted behind the arras of the room. The queen became alarmed, and cried out for help, whereupon Hamlet made a pass through the arras, and stabbed Polonius, thinking it was the king. To the Queen he put the question:

> is it the king? [III. iv. 26.]

but on lifting up the hangings he found it to be Polonius, and described him as:

> Thou wretched, rash, intruding fool, farewell!
> I took thee for thy better; [III. iv. 31-32.]

Commenting on the character of Polonius Dr. Johnson remarks: "Polonius is a man

bred in courts, exercised in business, stored with observation, confident of his knowledge, proud of his eloquence, and declining into dotage. His mode of oratory is truly represented as designed to ridicule the practice of those times, of prefaces that made no introduction, and of method that embarrassed rather than explained. This part of his character is accidental, the rest is natural. Such a man is positive and confident, because he knows that his mind was once strong, and knows not that it is become weak. Such a man excels in general principles, but fails in the particular application. He is knowing in retrospect, and ignorant in foresight." And Hunter says: "Polonius is the dull, prosing politician of the time. There is probably much personal satire in the character. It was the practice of those politicians to deliver maxims to their children, to be their guide in life. Thus Lord Burghley left ten admirable precepts of worldly prudence to his son Robert, afterwards Earl of Salisbury; and in The Harleian Miscellany is a letter from Sir Henry Sydney to Philip his son, containing divers lessons of prudence delivered in a didactic form. That there was some individual nobleman more particularly pointed at in the character of Polonius I can entertain no doubt."

Polonius's House.

The scene of Act I. sc. iii., which consists solely of the lengthy advice to, and parting blessings of Polonius on his son Laertes, who was about to depart for France. The advice was merely a collection of "old saws."

The first part of Act II. sc. i. shows the despicable nature of Polonius, who now employs Reynaldo to act as a spy on Laertes while in Paris. It concludes with an interview between Polonius and his daughter Ophelia concerning the question of Hamlet's love for her.

Priam. II. ii. 495, 510, 523.

King of Troy during the Trojan War.

Priam. II. ii. 503.

Pyrrhus at Priam drives; in rage strikes wide;
But with the whiff and wind of his fell sword
The unnerved father falls. [II. ii. 503-505.]

See Pyrrhus at Priam drives.

Priam's slaughter. II. ii. 478.

and thereabout of it especially,
where he speaks of Priam's slaughter.
[II. ii. 477-478.]

Priam, king of Troy during the Trojan War. When the Greeks entered the city of Troy the aged king put on his armour to fight the enemy, but was prevailed upon by Hecuba to take refuge in the temple of Zeus. His son Polites, pursued by Pyrrhus rushed into the temple, and expired at the feet of Priam, who was so overcome with grief that he hurled his spear against Pyrrhus, but was forthwith killed by the latter. The account of Priam's death is found in the Second Book of Virgil's Æneid. *See* Æneas' tale to Dido.

Priest, A. V. i. p. 240.

According to the *Dramatis Personæ* there is only one priest, but preceding V. i. 240 several priests attend the funeral obsequies of Ophelia, daughter of Polonius. In a fit of madness Ophelia had drowned herself.

The first priest was careful to intimate to Laertes that, as Ophelia's death "was doubtful," according to ecclesiastical law:

She should in ground unsanctified have lodged
Till the last trumpet; [V. i. 251-252.]

and not have been brought to her last resting-place to the sound of a bell, and accompanied by a funeral procession.

In answer to Laertes' question:

Must there no more be done? [V. i. 257.]

the priest replied:

We should profane the service of the dead
To sing a requiem and such rest to her
As to peace-parted souls. [V. i. 258-260.]

Laertes in anger addressed him as a "churlish priest," saying:

I tell thee, churlish priest,
A ministering angel shall my sister be,
When thou liest howling. [V. i. 262-264.]

Prologue. III. ii. p. 151.

=the speaker of the prologue.

Provincial roses. III. ii. 291.

with two Provincial roses on my razed shoes,
[III. ii. 291.]

Rosettes of ribbons, as large as the roses of Provence,a town near Paris, famous for its roses. These roses were worn on the shoes to hide the laces.

Johnson says: "When shoe-strings were worn, they were covered, where they met in the middle, by a ribband, gathered in the form of a rose. So, in an old song:

Gil-de-Roy was a bonny boy,
Had *roses* tull his *shoon.*

Steevens remarks: "These *roses* are often mentioned by our ancient dramatic writers. So in Webster's *The Devil's Law-case,* II. i.:

Your dainty embroidered stockings, with overblown roses, to hide your gouty ankles.

Again, in Middleton and Dekker's *Roaring Girle,* 1611: "why haue not many handfome legges in filke ftockins villanous fplay feete for all their great rofes?"

Philip Stubbes in *Anatomie of Abuses* speaks of corked shoes, pantoffles, and pinsnets: "To these their nether-stockes they haue corked shoes, pinsnets, and fine pantoffles, whiche beare them vppe a finger or two from the ground, whereof some be of white leather, some of blacke, and some of red; some of black veluet, some of white, some of red, some of greene, razed, carued, cut, and stitched all ouer with silke, and layd on with golde, siluer, and such like;"

Pyrrhus. II. ii. 481, 482, 483, 494.

In Greek legend, son of Achilles and one of the heroes of the Trojan war. He was one of the band concealed in the wooden horse which Sinon induced the Trojans to receive within their city, by means of which the city was captured. When Troy was taken Priam took refuge in the temple of Zeus, where he was brutally slain by Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus afterwards married Andromache, the widow of Hector, and became the father of Molossus, the ancestor of the Molossian kings. *See* Æneas' tale to Dido.

Pyrrhus. II. ii. 546.

When she saw Pyrrhus make malicious sport
In mincing with his sword her husband's limbs,
[II. ii. 546-547.]

Elze compares Marston's *Insatiate Countesse,* I. i., where, as he says, "there is a remarkable allusion, not only to this passage, but to the whole of Æneas' tale."

Count Arsena. Sancta Maria! what thinkst thou of this change?
A players passion ile beleeve hereafter,
And in a tragicke sceane weep for old Priam,
When fell revenging Pirrhus with supposde
And artificiall wounds mangles his breast,
And thinke it a more worthy act to me,
Than trust a female mourning ore her love.
Irving edition.

Pyrrhus at Priam drives. II. ii. 503.

Pyrrhus at Priam drives; in rage strikes wide;
But with the whiff and wind of his fell sword
The unnerved father falls. [II. ii. 503-505.]

Cf. Marlowe's *Tragedy of Dido, Queen of Carthage,* Act. II.:

Which he disdaining, whisk'd his sword about,
And with the windl thereof the king fell down;

See Æneas' tale to Dido.

Pyrrhus' bleeding sword. II. ii. 522.

See Pyrrhus at Priam drives.

Pyrrhus' ear. II. ii. 508, 511, 518.

Then senseless Ilium,
Seeming to feel this blow, with flaming top
Stoops to his base, and with a hideous crash
Takes prisoner Pyrrhus' ear; [II. ii. 505-508.]

The buildings of the blazing city of Troy collapse, and the crash so stupefies Pyrrhus that he stops dead.

Queen's closet.

The queen's chamber, and the scene [III. iv.] of her interview with Hamlet, during which Polonius was to secrète himself behind the arras. As the interview proved "stormy" the queen cried out for help, whereupon Polonius, who repeated the cry, was stabbed by Hamlet, who mistook him

1 wound.

for Claudius. It was also during this interview that the ghost re-appeared and reminded Hamlet that:

this visitation
Is but to whet thy almost blunted purpose.
[III. iv. 110-111.]

and Hamlet deliberately accused his mother of complicity in his father's death.

Reynaldo. II. i. 1, 3, 15.

Servant to Polonius, and employed by him to act as a spy on the conduct of his son Laertes whilst in France.

Rhenish. I. iv. 10; V. i. 196.

The king doth wake to-night and takes his rouse,
Keeps wassail, and the swaggering up-spring reels;
And as he drains his draughts of Rhenish down,
[I. iv. 8-10.]

This was a Danish drinking custom, well-known to Elizabethan writers. *Rhenish* = Rhine wine. In the 17th century *Rhene* was the common form for *Rhine* celebrated for its wine-growing districts. Cf. V. i. 195-197:

A pestilence on him for a mad rogue!
a' poured a flagon of Rhenish on my head
once.

In Hakluyt's *Voyages*, Vol. II. appears the following passage: "All these ceremonies first done, the king tooke a cup of gold, and they put him in wine, and hee dranke of it, and when he dranke, the people cried all with one voice, Abaan, Abaan, with certaine other words, like as they cry commonly in Flanders, vpō the Twelfe night, The kinning drinks: and when he had drunke, then they gaue drinke to euery one, and that done, the king licensed them to depart."

Robin. IV. v. 186.

For bonny sweet Robin is all my joy. [IV. v. 186.]

A line of an old ballad, probably referring to Robin Hood.

Rome. I. i. 113; II. ii. 416.

In the most high and palmy state of Rome.
[I. i. 113.]

When Rome was at the zenith of its power. The palm was an emblem of victory.

"The tree [the palm] is of a most aspiring nature: it will beare no coales. It resisteth all burden, bearing it upward with its armes and boughes. Therefore it is an hyeroglyphick or emblem of victory or conquest." *Dyet's Dry Dinner*, by H. Buttes, 1599.

Roscius. II. ii. 416.

When Roscius was an actor in Rome,
[II. ii. 415-416.]

The greatest of Roman comic actors, with whom Cicero studied. Horace in his *Epistle to Augustus* alludes to him, calling him *doctus*, to mark his perfect knowledge of his art. Good actors were proverbially called *Roscii*. Garrick was popularly styled the "British Roscius."

Rosencrantz. II. ii. 1, 33, 34, 231; IV. vi. 29; V. ii. 56, 382.

Rosencrantz, with Guildenstern, is one of the minor characters of the play, and occupied an unimportant part in the drama. Judging from the speech of the king both Rosencrantz and Guildenstern had been school-fellows of Hamlet's at Wittenberg, for Claudius says:

I entreat you both,
That, being of so young days brought up with him,
And since so neighbour'd to his youth and humour,
That you vouchsafe your rest here in our court
Some little time; [II. ii. 10-14.]

Goggin says: "The names Rossenkrantz and Guldenstern, under date 1577, exist side by side in an album at Stuttgart. The owners had been members of the Danish council of regency during the minority of Christian IV., and the owner of the album had resided in Copenhagen," Verity quotes Boas: "Rosencrantz and Guildenstern recall the Salanio and Salarino of *The Merchant of Venice*. It is a law of their existence for such personages to hunt in couples. Each seeks to compensate for an entire lack of individuality by an alliance with the other. Together they bow themselves in and out, they bandy tittle-tattle and com-

pliments, they smirk and wheedle, and fetch and carry in general. They are the indispensable quidnuncs and hangers-on of the polite world," while Sherman observes: "Rosencrantz appears in the records as the name of a Danish nobleman present at the coronation of James I. in 1603."

Hamlet also spoke of them as his friends:

> My excellent good friends! How dost thou, Guildenstern? Ah, Rosencrantz? Good lads, how do ye both? [II. ii. 230-232.]

Rosencrantz and Guildenstern were merely tools in the hands of the king, who employed them to ascertain the cause of Hamlet's strange manner. They were:

> To draw him on to pleasures, and to gather
> So much as from occasion you may glean,
> Whether aught to us unknown afflicts him thus,
> That, open'd, lies within our remedy. [II. ii. 15-18.]

Acting according to instructions from the king they visited Hamlet. Their visit resulted in failure, for instead of being able to discover the cause of Hamlet's apparent madness, Hamlet was successful in forcing them to admit that they had been sent by the king and queen. He completely baffled them by relating to them the object of their visit.

Hudson [*Windsor Shakespeare*] observes: "Hamlet's fine sense of honour is well shown in this. He will not tempt them to any breach of confidence; and he means that, by telling them the reason, he will forestall their disclosure of it."

It was Guildenstern who acted as spokesman. Rosencrantz seemed to hesitate, saying aside to Guildenstern:

> What say you? [II. ii. 302.]

Guildenstern replying to Hamlet:

> My lord, we were sent for. [II. ii. 305.]

They left Hamlet's presence very conscious of being outwitted by Hamlet's superior wit, and were obliged to report to the king that their visit had proved useless. Rosencrantz told Claudius:

> He does confess he feels himself distracted,
> But from what cause he will by no means speak.
> [III. i. 5-6.]

and Guildenstern:

> Nor do we find him forward to be sounded,
> But, with a crafty madness, keeps aloof,
> When we would bring him on to some confession
> Of his true state. [III. i. 7-10.]

Ransome in *Short Studies of Shakespeare's Plots* says: "Society in Denmark is represented by Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, or Guildenstern and Rosencrantz, it matters not which; they are merely Tweedledum and Tweedledee, 'like in aught else as one egg's like another.'"

It was Rosencrantz and Guildenstern who were sent, at the close of the play *The Murder of Gonzago* to request Hamlet's presence at an interview with his mother; their mission on his occasion being successful.

Rosencrantz and Guildenstern were the two courtiers chosen by Claudius to accompany Hamlet to Britain, bearing a letter written on wood, to the king of the country, to slay the prince. The letter was, however, discovered by Hamlet, who shaved it off the wood, and inscribed another in its stead, requesting:

> He should the bearers put to sudden death,
> Not shriving-time allow'd. [V. ii. 46-47.]

Thus they were betrayed by Hamlet, or in the words of Horatio:

> Guildenstern and Rosencrantz go to 't. [V. ii. 56.]

and Hamlet:

> Why, man, they did make love to this employment;
> They are not near my conscience; their defeat
> Does by their own insinuation grow.
> 'Tis dangerous when the baser nature comes
> Between the pass and fell incensed points
> Of mighty opposites. [V. ii. 57-62.]

Their deaths were announced to Horatio by the first English Ambassador:

> The sight is dismal;
> And our affairs from England come too late;
> The ears are senseless that should give us hearing,
> To tell him his commandment is fulfill'd,
> That Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are dead.
> [V. ii. 378-382.]

Sailors. IV. vi. p. 6.

Satyr. I. ii. 140.

> So excellent a king; that was, to this,
> Hyperion to a satyr; [I. ii. 139-140.]

See Hyperion.

Saviour's birth. I. i. 159.

It faded on the crowing of the cock.
Some say that ever 'gainst that season comes
Wherein our Saviour's birth is celebrated,
The bird of dawning singeth all night long;
[I. i. 157-160.]

the crowing of the cock is a very ancient superstition. Philostratus, giving an account of the apparition of Achilles' shade to Apollonius Tyaneus, says that it vanished with a little glimmer as soon as the *cock crowed. Vit. Apol.* iv. 16.

The Jews had an opinion that hurtful spirits walked about in the night. The same opinion obtained among the ancient Christians, who divided the night into four watches, called the evening, midnight, cock-crowing, and the morning. It was about the time of cock-crowing when our Saviour was born, and the angels sang the first Christmas carol to the poor shepherds in the fields of Bethlehem. Now it may be presumed, as the Saviour of the world was then born, and the heavenly Host had then descended to proclaim the news, that the Angel of Darkness would be terrified and confounded, and immediately fly away. It was also about this time when our Saviour rose from the dead. Cf. *Romeo and Juliet* IV. iv. 3-4:

Come, stir, stir, stir! the second cock hath crow'd,
The curfew bell hath rung, 'tis three o'clock:

Mr. Joseph J. MacSweeney in *Notes and Queries*, March 3rd, 1917, says: "At 5 S. ix. 412, there is reference made to the carving of a cock rising out of a circle or plate, which is over the fireplace of the ruined castle of Kilmeen, near Clonakilty, co. Cork. It represents, no doubt, the legend concerning the boiled cock of Herod, which arose from his plate when he said that he would as soon believe that the cock he was about to eat would crow as that Christ was born."

Walsh remarks: "According to a mediæval English ballad, Stephen (the first Christian martyr) was a clerk in King Herod's hall. He was bringing in an anachronistic boar's head when he sees the Star of Bethlehem, and announces that he must leave his employer:

I forsake thee, King Herowd, and they werkes all;
There is a child in Bedlam born is better than we all!

"A lie!" quoth the King. "The story is as true as that the capon in yon dish shall crow." Thereupon the capon sits up on its haunches and crows, "Christus natus Est!"

Seneca. II. ii. 425.

Seneca cannot be too heavy, nor Plautus too light. [II. ii. 425-426.]

The German critic Delius remarks: "They can act with facility both the comic Plautus and the tragic Seneca."

Seneca (4 B.C., 65 A.D.) was a Roman writer of tragedies, and Plautus a Roman writer of comedies. Their plays were, in Shakespeare's days, frequently acted at the universities. The tragedies of Seneca were translated into English by Thomas Newton and others, and exercised considerable influence in the development of English Drama. Seneca's influence in the use of the supernatural is very apparent, the "Ghost" being a stock-character in his tragedies. He was the tutor to Nero, but falling into disfavour was ordered to kill himself, which he did by opening his veins till he bled to death. Plautus was born 250 B.C. and died 184 B.C. and was the greatest of the Roman comic writers. Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors* is founded on Warner's translation of the *Menæchmi* of Plautus.

Soldiers. IV. iv. p. 1.

Song.

One fair daughter, and no more,
The which he loved passing well.
[II. ii. 432-433.]

Jephthah was a popular subject for both tragedies and ballads. In the Stationers' Register there are two entries of this ballad, the first in 1567, entitled "A ballet intituled the Songe of Jepthah's Doughter" and the second, December 14, 1624, "Jeffa Judge of Israel."

The old ballad from which Hamlet quotes:

One fair daughter, and no more,
The which he loved passing well.
[II. ii. 432-433.]
As by lot, God wot, [II. ii. 441.]
It came to pass, as most like it was,
[II. ii. 443.]

is the first stanza of *Jephthah Judge of Israel*, first printed in Bishop Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, and is as follows:—

Have you not heard these many years ago,
Jeptha was judge of Israel?
He had one only daughter and no mo,
The which he loved passing well:
And, as by lott,
God wot,
It so came to pass,
As Gods will was,
That great wars there should be,
And none should be chosen chief but he.

Song.

Why, let the strucken deer go weep,
The hart ungalled play;
For some must watch, while some must sleep;
So runs the world away. [II. iii. 285-288.]

Probably a quotation from some old ballad. Tradition says that a deer, when wounded, goes apart to "weep" and die. Cf. *As You Like It*, II. i. 46-54:

First, for his weeping into the needless stream;
"Poor deer," quoth he, "thou mak'st a testament
As worldings do, giving thy sum of more
To that which had too much": then, being there alone,
Left and abandoned of his velvet friend,
"'Tis right," quoth he; "thus misery doth part
The flux of company": anon a careless herd,
Full of the pasture, jumps along by him
And never stays to greet him;

And in one of the marginal notes in the 13th Song of Drayton's *Poly-olbion*: "The Hart weepeth at his dying: his teares are held to be precious medicine."

Song.

How should I your true love know
From another one?
By his cockle hat and staff
And his sandal shoon. [IV. v. 23-26.]

Sir J. Reynolds says: "There is no part of this play in its representation on the stage, more pathetick than this scene; which, I suppose, proceeds from the utter insensibility Ophelia has to her own misfortunes."

Cockle hat, staff, and sandal-shoon were the badges of pilgrims. A cockle-shell was worn in their hats by pilgrims who had crossed the sea, and had visited the shrine of St. James of Compostella in Spain. The above lines, together with the following:

He is dead and gone, lady,
He is dead and gone;
At his head a grass-green turf,
At his heels a stone. [IV. v. 29-32.]

were worked in a ballad entitled *The Friar of Orders Gray*, by Bishop Percy in his *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry:*

And how should I know your true love
From many another one?
O, by his cockle hat, and staff,
And by his sandal shoone. [9-12.]

O, lady, he is dead and gone!
Lady, he's dead and gone!
And at his head a green grass turfe,
And at his heels a stone. [17-20.]

Song.

To-morrow is Saint Valentine's day,
All in the morning betime,
And I a maid at your window,
To be your Valentine.
Then up he rose, and donn'd his clothes,
And dupp'd the chamber door;
Let in the maid, that out a maid
Never departed more. [IV. v. 47-54.]

This song alludes to the common belief that the first two single persons who meet on the morning of St. Valentine's Day have a chance of becoming married to each other. In Bourne's *Popular Antiquities* by Brand we are informed: "It is a *Ceremony*, never omitted among the Vulgar, to draw Lots, which they term *Valentines*, on the Eve before *Valentine-day*. The Names of a select Number of one Sex, are by an equal Number of the other put into some Vessel; and after that, every one draws a Name, which for the present is called their *Valentine*, and is also look'd upon as a good Omen of their being Man and Wife afterwards."

Song.

By Gis and by Saint Charity,
Alack, and fie for shame!
Young men will do 't, if they come to 't;
By Cock, they are to blame.
Quoth she, before you tumbled me,
You promised me to wed: [IV. v. 57-62.]

See Gis; Saint Charity; and Cock.

Song.

They bore him barefaced on the bier;
Hey non nonny, nonny, hey nonny;
And in his grave rain'd many a tear;
[IV. v. 163-165.]

Steevens quotes from Chaucer's *Knighte's Tale* [Tyrwhitt's edition.]

He laid him bare the visage on the bere,
Therwith he wept that pitee was to here.

The second line of this song was a favourite burden of old ballads. It comes in the refrain of the song sung by Balthazar in *Much Ado About Nothing*, III. iii. Cf. also *King Lear*, III. iv. 105 and *As You Like It*, V. iii. 14-15.

Song.

Down a-down, and you call
him a-down-a. [IV. v. 169-170.]

Probably an allusion to *Phœbe's Sonnet*, by Thomas Lodge, included in Breton's *England's Helicon*, a notable poetical miscellany published in 1600:

Downe a-downe,
Thus Phillis sung,
By fancie once distressed.

Down a-down is likewise the burthen of a song in Robert Wilson's *Three Ladies of London*, 1584:

The Countrey hath no peare,
where Confcience comes not once a yeare:
And Loue fo welcome to euery towne,
as winde that blowes the houfes downe.
Sing downe adowne, downe, downe, downe.

So, in *Robin Hood and Maid Marian*:

A bonny fine maid of a noble degree,
With a hey down, down, a down, down.

Song.

For bonny sweet Robin is all my joy.
[IV. v. 186.]

A line from an old ballad found in Holborne's *Cittharn Schoole*, 1597. It is mentioned by Beaumont and Fletcher in *Two Noble Kinsmen*, IV. i.:

Yes, truly can I; I can sing the Broom,
And *bonny Robin.*

In the books of the Stationers' Company, 26 April, 1594, is entered: "A ballad, intituled, *A doleful adewe to the last Erle of Darbie*, to the tune of *Bonny sweet Robin.*"

The "Courtly new ballad of the princely wooing of the faire maid of London, by King Edward," is also to the tune of *Bonny sweet Robin.*

Song.

And will he not come again?
And will he not come again?
No, no, he is dead,
Go to thy death-bed,
He never will come again.

His beard was as white as snow,
All flaxen was his poll;
He is gone, he is gone,
And we cast away moan:
God ha' mercy on his soul! [IV. v. 189-198.]

Part of an old ballad sung to the tune called *The Milkmaid's Dumps.*

The first line in the second stanza, and several circumstances in the character of Ophelia, seem to have been ridiculed in *Eastward Hoe*, a comedy, by Ben Jonson, Chapman, and Marston, Act III.:

His head as white as milk,
all flaxen was his hair;
But now he is dead,
and laid in his bed,
And never will come again.
God be at your labour.

The last line is a common inscription on ancient monuments and tomb-stones.

Dowden [Arden Shakespeare] quotes from Sir Thomas More's *Works*, 1557: "We see there [in purgatory] our chyldren too, whom we loved so well, pipe, sing, and daunce, and no more thinke on their fathers soules than on their old shone, saving that sometime cometh out *God have mercy on all christen soules.*"

Song.

In youth, when I did love, did love,
Methought it was very sweet,
To contract, Oh! *the time, for,* Ah! *my behove,*
Oh! methought there was nothing meet.
[V. i. 68-71.]

But age, with his stealing steps,
Hath claw'd me in his clutch.
And hath shipp'd me intil the land,
As if I had never been such. [V. i. 78-81.]

A pick-axe, and a spade, a spade,
For and a shrouding sheet;
Oh, a pit of clay for to be made
For such a guest is meet. [V. i. 102-105.]

The three stanzas sung here by the grave-digger are—with variations—from an old song entitled *The Aged Lover Renounceth Love*, attributed to Thomas, Lord Vaux, and printed in Tottel's *Miscellany*, 1557. The entire song is also printed in Bishop Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, where the stanzas corresponding to the three sung by the grave-digger are as follows:

I lothe that I did loue,
In youth that I thought fwete:
As time requires for my behoue
Me thinkes they are not mete,

For age with ftelyng fteppes,
Hath clawed me with his cowche,
And lufty life away fhe leapes,
As there had bene none fuch.

A pikeax and a fpade
And eke a fhrowdyng fhete,
A houfe of claye for to be made,
For fuch a geft moft mete.

The third line of the clown's second stanza *And hath shipp'd me intil the land*, is taken from the penultimate stanza of the poem:

For Beautie with her band,
These croked cares had wrought,
And shipped me into the land,
From whence I first was brought. [49-52.]

The music sung to the clown's verses is that of *The Children in the Wood*, from Chappell's *Popular Music*.

The *Oh* and *Ah* are the pants and grunts of the grave-digger as he digs.

Switzers. IV. v. 96.

Where are my Switzers? Let them guard the door. [IV. v. 96-97.]

In many of the old plays the body-guards attendant on foreign monarchs are called Switzers. They succeeded the Scots in the mercenaries of Europe. One of the famous incidents of the "Reign of Terror" was the massacre on August 10, 1792 of the heroic Swiss guard of Louis XVI. immortalized by Carlyle in his *French Revolution*. To this day the Pope's body-guard consists chiefly of Swiss soldiers.

In old plays the name seems to have been used without regard to the country where the scene lies. Thus in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Noble Gentleman*, III. i.:

or was it not
Some place of gain, as clerk to the great band
Of marrowbones, that people call the Switzers?
Men made of beef and sarcenet?

Malone remarks: "The reason is, because the Swiss in the time of our poet, were hired to fight the battles of other nations. So, in Nashe's *Christes Teares over Jerusalem*, 1594: 'Law, logicke, and the *Switzers*, may be hired to fight for any body.'"

Tellus' orbed ground. III. ii. 168.

Neptune's salt wash and Tellus' orbed ground, [III. ii. 168.]

Orbed ground is the round earth, Tellus being the Italian deity of mother-earth.

Termagant. III. ii. 16.

I would have such a fellow whipped for o'er-doing Termagant; it out-herods Herod; pray you, avoid it. [III. ii. 15-17.]

A character of the old mystery plays, and the name given in old romances to the god of the Saracens, in which he is sometimes linked with Mohammed. In the legend of *Syr Guy*, the Soudan swears:

So helpe me *Mahowne* of might,
And *Termagaunt* my God so bright.

So also, in Bishop Hall's Book I. Satire i.:

Nor fright the reader with the pagan vaunt
Of mightie *Mahound*, and great *Termagaunt*.

Termagant is also mentioned in Spenser's *Fairie Queene*, and by Chaucer in *The Tale of Sir Topas*.

In Beaumont and Fletcher's *A King and no King*, IV. ii. we have:

This would make a saint swear like a soldier, and a soldier like Termagant.

Again in *The Picture*, II. i., by Massinger:

A hundred thousand Turks, it is no vaunt,
Assail'd him; every one a Termagaunt:

Cf. *1. Henry IV.*, v. iv. 114 where Falstaff calls Hotspur "that hot termagant Scot."

Hudson remarks: "Termagant, the supposed god of the Saracens, was another staple character in the Miracle-Plays; who is described by John Florio as 'a great boaster, quarreller, killer, tamer or ruler of the universe, the child of the earthquake and of the thunder, and brother of death.' That Shakespeare himself had suffered under the monstrous din of these 'strutting and bellowing' stage-thumpers is shown by Hamlet's remonstrance with the players: 'Oh, it offends me to the soul to hear a robustious periwig-pated fellow tear a passion to tatters, to very rags, to split the ears of the groundlings, . . . I would have such a fellow whipped for o'er-doing Termagant; it out-herods Herod: pray you, avoid it.'"

Turk. III. ii. 290.

if the rest of my fortunes turn Turk with me.
[III. ii. 290.]

This expression occurs in *Much Ado about Nothing*, and it is met with in several old comedies. So, in Cooke's *Green's Tu Quoque; or, the City Gallant:* "That it is to turn Turk; from a moft abfolute compleat gentleman, to a moft abfurd, ridiculous, and fond lover." Probably the meaning is to change condition fantastically. Again, in Decker's *Honest Whore*, X., 1635:

'tis damnation,
If you *turn Turk* again.

Perhaps the phrase had its rise from some popular story like that of Ward and Dansiker, the two famous pirates; an account of whose overthrow was published by A. Barker, 1609; and, in 1612, a play was written on the same subject call'd *A Christian turn'd Turk*.

Two Clowns, Grave-diggers. V. i. p. 1.

Appear in the opening scene of Act V. in the guise of grave-diggers, preparing a grave for Ophelia. As they carry out their mournful toil they discuss with each other whether Ophelia has a right to Christian burial or otherwise—her death being attributed to suicide—the second clown arguing:

If this
had not been a gentlewoman, she should have
been buried out o' Christian burial. [V. i. 25-27.]

As the first clown dug he sang:

In youth, when I did love, did love,
Methought it was very sweet,
To contract, Oh! *the time, for,* Ah! *my behove,*
Oh! methought there was nothing meet.
[V. i. 68-71.]

Hamlet and Horatio appeared, Hamlet remarking to Horatio:

Has this fellow no feeling of his business,
that he sings at grave-making? [V. i. 72-73.]

Continuing his digging and singing the clown threw up a skull, which, followed a little time after by another, afforded Hamlet an opportunity for moralising on life and death.

During the conversation the clown told Hamlet that one of the skulls was that of Yorick, the king's jester, of whom Hamlet says:

Alas, poor Yorick! I knew him, Horatio, a
fellow of infinite jest, of most excellent fancy;
he hath borne me on his back a thousand
times; [V. i. 202-205.]

Valentine. IV. v. 50.

And I a man at your window,
To be your Valentine. [IV. v. 49-50.]

Valentine stands for a person here; and it means much the same as *lover* or *sweetheart*. The old use of the name is well known in Scott's *Fair Maid of Perth*, where Simon Glover wishes to make a match between his daughter Catharine and Henry Smith, the hero of the tale. He therefore so arranges matters that Smith shall be the first person whom Catharine sees on the morning of St. Valentine's day. This makes him her Valentine for the year; as such, he may claim a kiss of her on the spot, and also as often as they meet during the year. *Hudson.*

Valentine's day, Saint. IV. v. 47.

To-morrow is Saint Valentine's day,
All in the morning betime. [IV. v. 47-48.]

The custom of choosing a valentine is traced to a pagan usage of the same kind during the feast of Lupercalia, celebrated in the middle of the month of February by the Romans, in honour of Pan and Juno,—hence the latter deity was named *Februta Juno.*

The custom probably arose from the ancient idea that birds choose their mates on the 14th February, St. Valentine's day.

Vienna. III. ii. 251.

Voltimand. I. ii. 34; II. ii. 59.

One of the ambassadors appointed by Claudius to journey to Norway to request the king of that country to state the reasons for the imminent invasion of Denmark by his nephew, Fortinbras, and for which invasion active preparations were now being made in Denmark:

and we here dispatch
You, good Cornelius, and you, Voltimand,
For bearers of this greeting to old Norway,
Giving to you no further personal power
To business with the king more than the scope
Of these delated articles allow. [I. ii. 33-38.]

In Act II. Scene ii. he, with Cornelius, returned, both were ushered into the king's presence by Polonius, who greeted them with the words:

Welcome, my good friends!
Say, Voltimand, what from our brother Norway?
[II. ii. 58-59.]

They brought back peaceful tidings, presented a letter—requesting permission from Claudius to march the soldiers of young Fortinbras through Danish territory to Poland, and were afterwards dismissed, with the king's thanks:

Meantime we thank you for your well-took labour;
Go to your rest; at night we 'll feast together:
Most welcome home! [II. ii. 83-85.]

Vulcan's stithy. III. ii. 92.

And my imaginations are as foul
As Vulcan's stithy. [III. ii. 92-93.]

Vulcan was the son of Jupiter and Juno, and the god of fire. His stithy [workshop or anvil] was supposed to be under Mount Ætna where he, assisted by the Cyclops, forged arms for the gods.

Wittenberg. I. ii. 113, 119, 164, 168.

The mention of Wittenberg is an anachronism, the university not having been founded till A.D. 1502. This University was well-known to Elizabethan play-goers as the scene of the "tragical life and death of Dr. Faustus."

The University of Wittenberg, as we learn from Lewkenor's *Discourse on Universities,* 1600, was founded in 1502, by Duke Frederick, the son of Ernestus Elector: "which since in this latter age is growen famous by reason of the controversies and disputations there handled by Martin Luther and his adherents. Luther and Melancthon," he adds, "were both bred there." *Malone.*

Our author may have derived his knowledge of this famous university from *The Life of Iacke Wilton,* 1594, or, *The Hystory of Doctor Faustus,* of whom the *second report* (printed in the same year) is said to be "written by an English gentleman, *student* at Wittenberg, an University of Germany in Saxony." *Ritson.*

The University owed its repute to its connection with the early Reformers. It was to the door of the Schlosskirche of Wittenberg that Luther, who had been appointed Professor of Philosophy in 1508, nailed his famous 95 theses in 1517. His tomb and that of his fellow Reformer, Melancthon, are in the Church. The University was merged in the University of Halle in 1817. Wittenbery lies on the Elbe in the Prussian province of Saxony, about 50 miles south of Berlin. Brandes notes that the mention of Wittenberg as Hamlet's university is an accurate piece of 'local colour,' since it was the favourite university with Danish students. *Verity.*

Dowden [*Arden Shakespeare*] quotes from *The Tragedy of Hoffman* (1602), where the

foolish Ierom says, "I am not foole, I have bin to Wittenberg, where wit growes."

"Going to school" [I. ii. 113] was a term used for being at college. Cf. *As You Like It*, I. i. 5, where Orlando speaks of his brother, Jaques dẽ Boys, as being "at school" although he is older than the speaker.

Yaughan. V. i. 67.

Go, get
thee to Yaughan; fetch me a stoup of liquor.
[V. i. 66-67.]

Probably the name of a tavern-keeper in the neighbourhood of the Globe Theatre.

Yorick's skull. V. i. 197, 202.

Alas, poor Yorick !—I knew him, Horatio; a fellow of infinite jest, of most excellent fancy;
[V. i. 202-203.]

Yorick was the Jester to the King of Denmark. Probably the name was a corruption of *Rorick* or of Jörg the Danish for *George*. Some authorities allege it represents Roric=Roricus, the name given in *Saxo Grammaticus* of Hamlet's maternal grandfather.

In Thomas Moore's *Life of Lord Byron* appears the following passage: "I afterwards went to the beautiful cemetery of Bologna, beyond the walls, and found, besides the superb burial-ground, an original of a Custode, who reminded me of the grave-digger in Hamlet. He has a collection of capuchins' skulls, labelled on the forehead, and taking down one of them, said, 'This was Brother Desiderio Berro, who died at forty—one of my best friends. I begged his head of his brethren after his decease, and they gave it me. I put it in lime, and then boiled it. Here it is, teeth and all, in excellent preservation. He was the merriest, cleverest fellow I ever knew. Wherever he went, he brought joy; and whenever any one was melancholy, the sight of him was enough to make him cheerful again. He walked so actively, you might have taken him for a dancer—he joked—he laũghed—oh! he was such a Frate as I never saw before, nor ever shall again!' "

APPENDIX I.

EXTRACTS FROM THE HYSTORIE OF HAMBLET, PRINCE OF DENMARKE.[1]

Horuendile=Hamlet's father. Fengon=Claudius. Geruth=Gertrude.

CHAPTER I.

How Horuendile and Fengon were made Gouernours of the Prouince of Ditmarse, and how Horuendile marryed Geruth, the daughter to Roderick, chief K. of Denmark: by whom he had Hamblet: and how after his marriage his brother Fengon slewe him trayterously, and marryed his brothers wife, and what followed.

You must vnderstand, that long time before the Kingdome of Denmark receiued the faith of Iesus Christ, and imbraced the doctrin of the Christians, that the common people in those dayes were barbarous & vncivill, and their Princes cruell, without faith or loyaltie: seeking nothing but murther, and deposing (or at the least) offending each other; either in honours, goods, or lives: not caring to ransome such as they tooke prisoners, but rather sacrificing them to the cruell vengeance, naturally imprinted in their hearts; in such sort, that if ther were sometimes a good prince, or king among

1 *Shakespeare's Library*, edited by Hazlitt.

them, who beeing adorned with the most perfect gifts of nature, would adict himselfe to vertue, and vse courtesie, although the people held him in admiration (as vertue is admirable to the most wicked) yet the envie of his neighbors was so great, that they never ceased untill that vertuous man, were dispatched out of the world. King Rodericke, as then raigning in Denmarke, after hee had appeased the troubles in the countrey, and driuen the Sweathlanders and Slaueans from thence, he diuided the kingdom into diuers Prouinces, placing Governours therein: who after (as the like happened in France) bare the names of Dukes, Marqueses, & Earls, giuing the government of Jutie (at this present called Ditmarsse) lying vpon the countrey of Cimbrians, in the straight or narrow part of land, that sheweth like a point or cape of ground vpon the sea, which neithward bordereth vpon the countrey of Norway. Two valiant & warlike Lords, Horuendile and Fengon, sonnes to Geruendile, who likewise had beene gouernour of that Prouince. Now the greatest honor that men of noble birth could at that time win and obtaine, was in exercising the art of Piracie vpon the seas ; assayling their neighbours, & the countries bordering upon them: and how much the more they vsed to rob, pill, and spoyle other Prouinces, and Ilands farre adjacent, so much the more their honours and reputation increased and augmented: wherein Horuendile obtained the highest place in his time, beeing the most renouned pirate that in those dayes scoured the seas, & hauens of the North parts : whose great fame, so mooued the heart of Collere, king of Norway, that he was much grieued to heare that Horvendile surmounting him in feates of armes, thereby obscuring the glory by him alreadie obtained vpon the seas: (honor more than couetousnesse of richer, (in those dayes) being the reason that prouoked those barbarian princes, to ouerthrow and vanquish one the other; not caring to be slaine by the handes of a victorious person). This valiant and hardy king, hauing challenged Horuendile to fight with him body to body, the combate was by him accepted, with conditions. that hee which should be vanquished, should loose all the riches he had in his ship, and that the vanquisher should cause the body of the vanquished (that should bee slaine in the combate) to be honourably buried, death being the prise and reward of him that should loose the battaile: and to conclude, Collere, king of Norway (although a valiant, hardy, and couragious prince) was in the end vanquished and slaine by Horuendile: who presently caused a Tombe to be erected, and therein (with all honorable obseques fit for a prince) buried the body of king Collere, according to their auncient manner, and superstitions in those dayes, and the conditions of the combate, bereauing the Kings shippes of all their riches, and hauing slaine the kings sister, a very braue and valiant warriour, and ouerrunne all the coast of Norway, and the Northern Ilands, returned home againe lavden with much treasure, sending the most part thereof to his soueraigne, king Rodericke, thereby to procure his good liking, and so to be accounted one of the greatest fauourites about his maiestie.

The King allured by those presents, and esteeming himselfe happy to haue so valiant a subiect, sought by a great fauour and coutesie, to make him become bounden vnto him perpetually, giuing him Geruth his daughter to his wife, of whom he knew Horvendile to bee already much inamored: and the more to honor him, determined himselfe in person to conduct her into Jutie, where the marriage was celebrated according to the ancient manner: and to be briefe, of this marriage proceeded Hamblet, of whom I intend to speake, and for his cause haue chosen to renew this present Hystorie.

Fengon brother to this Prince Horuendile, who [not][1] onely fretting and despighting in his heart at the great honor and reputation wonne by his brother in warlike affaires, but solicited and prouoked (by a foolish jelousie) to see him honored with royall aliance, and fearing thereby to bee deposed from his part of the gouernment: or rather desiring to be onely Gouernor: thereby to obscure the memorie of the victories and conquests of his brother Horuendile ; determined (whatsoeuer happened) to kill him. Which hee effected in such sort, that no man once so much as suspected him, euery man esteeming that from such and so firme a knot of alliance and consanguinitie, there could proceed no other issue than the full effects of vertue and courtesie : but (as I sayd before) the desire of bearing soueraigne rule and authoritie, respecteth neither blood nor amitie, nor caring for vertue as being wholly without respect of lawes. or maiestie diuine: for it is not possible that hee which inuadeth the countrey & taketh away the riches of an other man without cause or reason, should know, or feare God. Was not this a craftie and subtile Counsellor? but he might haue thought that the mother, knowing her husbands case, would not cast her sonne into the danger of death. But Fengon, hauing secretly assembled certain men. & perceiuing himself strong enough to execute his interprise, Horuendile, his brother being at a banquet with his friends, sodainely set vpon

[1] *Not*, not in the text.

him, where he slew him as traiterously, as cunningly he purged himselfe of so detestable murther to his subiects: . . . and it is most certaine, that the man that abandoneth himselfe to any notorious and wicked action, whereby he becommeth a great sinner, hee careth not to commit much more haynous and abhominable offences, & couered his boldnesse and wicked practise with so great subtiltie and policie, and vnder a vaile of meere simplicitie, that beeing fauoured for the honest loue that hee bare to his sister in lawe, for whose sake hee affirmed, he had in that sort murthered his brother, that his sinne found excuse among the common people, & of the Nobilitie was esteemed for iustice: for that Geruth being as courteous a princesse, as any then liuing in the North parts, and one that had neuer once so much as offended any of her subiects, either commons or Courtyers; . . . Which was the cause that Fengon, boldned and incouraged by such impunitie, durst venture to couple himselfe in marriage with her, . . . in that sort spotting his name with a double vice, and charging his conscience with abhominable guilt, and two fold impietie, . . . and parricide murther: and that the vnfortunate and wicked woman, that had receaued the honour to bee the wife of one of the valiantest and wisest Princes in the North, imbased her selfe in such vile sort, as to falsifie her faith vnto him, and which is worse, to marrie him, that had bin the tyranour murtherer of her lawfull husband: . . . But let us leaue her in this extreamitie of laciuiousness, and proceed to shewe you, in what sort the yong Prince Hamlet behaued himselfe, to escape the tyranny of his vncle.

CHAPTER II.

How Hamblet counterfeited the mad man, to escape the tyrannie of his vncle, and how he was tempted by a woman (through his vncles procurement) who thereby thought to vndermine the Prince, and by that means to finde out whether he counterfeited madnesse or not: and how Hamblet would by no meanes bee brought to consent vnto her; and what followed.

Gervth hauing (as I sayd before) so much forgotten herself, the Prince Hamblet perceiuing him selfe to bee in danger of his life, as beeing abandoned of his owne mother, and forsaken of all men; and assuring himselfe that Fengon would not detract the time, to send him the same way his father Horuendile was gone: to beguile the tyrant in his subtilties (that esteemed him to bee of such a minde, that if he once attained to mans estate, he wold not long delay y^e^ time to reuenge the death of his father) counterfeiting the mad man with such craft & subtill practises, that hee made shewe as if hee had vtterly lost his wittes: and vnder that vayle hee couered his pretence, and defended his life from the treasons and practises of the tyrant his vncle. And all though hee had beene at the schoole of the Romane Prince, who because hee counterfeited himselfe to bee a foole, was called Brutus: yet hee imitated his fashions, and his wisedom. For euery day beeing in the Queenes Palace (who as then was more carefull to please her whoremaster, then ready to reuenge the cruell death of her husband, or to restore her sonne to his inheritance) hee rent and tore his clothes, wallowing and lying in the durt and mire, his face all filthy and blacke, running through the streets like a man distraught, not speaking one worde, but such as seemed to proceede from madnesse, and meere frenzie, all his actions and iestures beeing no other, then the right countenances of a man wholly depriued of all reason and vnderstanding : in such sort, that as then bee seemed fitte for nothing, but to make sport to the Pages and ruffling Courtiers, that attended in the court of his vncle and father in law. But the yong Prince noted them well enough, minding one day to bee reuenged in such manner, that the memorie thereof should remaine perpetually to the world. . . . Hamblet in this sorte counterfeiting the madde man, many times did diuers actions of great and deepe consideration, and often made such and so fitte answeres, that a wise man would haue judged from what spirite so fine an inuention might proceede ; for that standing by the fire and sharpning sticks like poynards and prickes, one in smiling manner asked him wherefore he made those little staues so sharpe at the points, I prepare (saith he) piersing dartes, and sharpe arrowes, to reuenge my fathers death, fooles as I said before, esteemed those his words as nothing; but men of quicke spirits, and such as

hadde a deeper reache began to suspect somewhat, esteeming that vnder that kinde of folly there lay hidden a great and rare subtility, such as one day might bee preiudiciall to their prince, saying that vnder colour of such rudenes he shadowed a crafty pollicy, and by his devised simplicitye, he concealed a sharp and pregnant spirit, for which cause they counselled the king to try & know if it were possible, how to discouer y^e^ intent & meaning of ye yong prince, & they could find no better, nor more fit inuention to intrap him, then to set some faire, and beawtifull woman in a secret place, that with flattering speeches and all the craftiest meanes she could vse, should purposely seek to allure his mind . . . To this end certaine courtiers were appointed to leade Hamblet into a solitary place within the woods, whether they brought the woman, inciting him . . . not to try if men of great account bee extract out of their wits, but rather to depriue them of strength, vertue, and wisedome, by meanes of such deuilish practitioners, and interfernall spirits, their domestical seruants and ministers of corruption: and surely the poore prince at this assault had bin in great danger, if a gentleman (that in Horuendiles time had bin nourished with him) had not showne himselfe more affectioned to the bringing vp he had receiued with Hamblet, then desirous ot please the Tirant, who by all meanes sought to intangle the sonne in the same nets wherein the father had ended his dayes. This gentleman bare the courtiers (appointed as aforesaide of this treason) company, more desiring to giue the prince instructions what he should do, then to intrap him making full account that the least showe of perfect sence and wisedome that Hamblet should make, would be sufficient to cause him to loose his life: and therfore by certaine signes, he gave Hamblet intelligence, in what danger hee was like to fall if by any meanes hee seemed to obaye, or once like the wanton toyes, & vicious prouocations of the gentle woman, sent thither by his Uncle: which much abashed the prince, as then wholy beeing in affection to the Lady, but by her he was likewise informed of the treason, as being one that from her infancy loued and fauoured him, and would haue been exceeding sorrowfull for his misfortune, . . . whome shee loued more than her selfe. The Prince in this sort having both deceiued the courtiers, and the Ladyes expectation, . . . euery man there vpon assured themselues that without all doubt hee was distraught of his sences, that his braynes were as then wholly void of force, and incapable of reasonable apprehension, so that as then Fengons practise took no effect: but for al that he left not off: still seeking by al meanes to finde out Hamblets subtility: as in the next chapter you shall perceiue.

CHAPTER III.

How Fengon, vncle to Hamblet, a second time to intrap him in his pollitick madnes: caused one of his counsellors to be secretly hidden in the Queenes chamber: behind the arras, to heare what speeches past betweene Hamblet and the Queen and how Hamblet killed him, and escaped that danger and what followed.

Among the friends of Fengon, there was one that aboue al the rest, doubted of Hamblets practises in counterfeiting the madman, who for what cause said, that it was impossible that so craftie a gallant as Hamblet that counterfeited the foole, should be discouered with so common & vnskilfull practises, which might easily bee perceiued, and that to finde out his politique pretence it were necessary to inuent some subtill and crafty meanes, more attractiue, whereby the gallant might not haue the leysure to vse his accustomed dissimulation, which to effect he said he knewe a fit waie and a most conuenient meane to effect the kings desire, and thereby to intrap Hamblet in his subtilities, and cause him of his owne accord to fall into the net prepared for him, and thereby euidently shewe his secret meaning: his deuise was thus, that King Fengon should make as though he were to goe some long voyage, concerning affayres of great importance and that in the meane time Hamblet should be shut vp alone in a chamber with his mother, wherein some other should secretly be hidden behind the hangings, vnknowne either to him or his mother, there to stand and heere their speeches, and the complots by them to bee taken, concerning the accomplishments of the dissembling fooles pretence, assuring the king that if there were any point of wisedome and perfect sence in the gallants spirit that without all doubte he would easily discouer it to his mother as being deuoid of all feare that she would vtter or make knowne his secret

intent, beeing the woman that had borne him in her bodie, and nourished him so carefully, and withall offered himselfe to be the man, that should stand to harken, and beare witnesse of Hamblets speeches with his mother, that hee might not be esteemed a counsellor in such a case, wherein he refused to be the executioner, for the behoofe and seruice of his prince. This inuention pleased the king exceeding well, esteeming it as the onelie and soueraigne remedie to heale the prince of his lunacie, and to that ende making a long voyage issued out of his pallace, and road to hunt in the forrest, meane time the counsellor entred secretly into the Queenes chamber, and there hid himselfe behind the arras, not long before the Queene and Hamblet came thither, who being craftie and pollitique, as soone as hee was within the chamber doubting some treason, and fearing if he should speake seuerely and wisely to his mother touching his secret practises he should be vnderstood, and by that meanes intercepted, vsed his ordinary manner of dissimulation, and began to come like a cocke beating with his armes, (in such manner as cockes vse to strike with their wings), vpon the hangings of the chamber, whereby feeling something stirring vnder him, he cried a rat a rat, and presently drawing his sworde thrust it into the hangings, which done, pilled the counsellour (halfe dead) out by the heeles, made an end of killing him, and beeing slain, cut his bodie in peeces, which he caused to be boyled and then cast it into an open valute or priuie, that so it mighte serue for foode to the hogges, by which meanes hauing discouered the ambushe, and giuen the inuenter thereof his iuste rewarde, hee came againe to his mother, who in the meane time wepte and tormented her selfe, to see all her hopes frustrate, for that what fault soeuer she had committed, yet was shee sore grieued to see her onely child made a meere mockery, euery man reproaching her with his folly, one point whereof she had as then seene before her eyes, which was no small pricke of her conscience, esteeming that the Gods sent her that punishment for ioyning . . . in marriage with the tyrrannous murtherer of her husband, who like wise ceased not to inuent all the means he could, to bring his nephew to his ende, accusing his owne naturall indiscretion, as beeing the ordinary guide of those that so much desire the pleasures of the bodie, who shutting vp the waie to all reason respect not what maie ensue of their lightnes, and greate inconstancy, and how a pleasure of small moment is sufficient to giue them cause of repentance, during their liues, and make them curse the daye and time that euer any such apprehensions, entred into theire mindes, or that they closed theire eies to reiect the honestie requisite in Ladies of her qualitie, and to despise the holy institution of those dames that had gone before her both in nobilitie and vertue, calling to mind the great prayses and commendations giuen by the Danes to Rinde daughter to King Rothere, the chastest Lady in her time, and withall so shamefast that she would neuer consent to marriage with any prince or knight whatsoeuer, surpassing in vertue all the ladyes of her time, as shee herselfe surmounted them in beautie, good behauiour, and comelines, and while in this sort she sate tormenting herselfe, Hamlet entred into the chamber, who hauing once againe searched euery corner of the same, distrusting his mother as well as the rest, and perceiuing himselfe to bee alone, began in sober and discreet manner to speak vnto her saying,

What treason is this, O most infamous woman! . . . who vnder the vail of a dissembling creature couereth the most wicked and detestable crime that man could euer imagine, or was committed. How may I be assured to trust you, . . . altogether imprudent & giuen ouer to her pleasure, runnes spreading forth her armes ioyfully to imbrace the trayterous villanous tyrant, that murthered my father, . . . imprudently entertaining him in steede of the deare father of our miserable and discomforted sonne, if the gods graunt him not the grace speedilie to escape from a captiuity so vnworthie the degree he holdeth, and the race & noble familie of his ancestors. Is this the part of a queene, and daughter to a king? . . . to followe the pleasure of an abhominable king, that hath murthered a farre more honester and better man then himself in massacring Horuendile, the honor, and glory of the Danes, who are now esteemed of no force nor valour at all, since the shining splendure of knighthood, was brought to an end by the most wickedest, and cruellest villaine liuing vpon earth: I for my part will neuer account him for my kinsman, nor once knowe him for mine vncle, nor you my deer mother for not hauing respect to the blud that ought to haue vnited us so straightly together, & who neither with your honor nor without suspition of consent to the death of your husband could euer haue agreed to haue marryed with his cruell enemie: O Queene Geruthe, . . . it is licentiousnes only that hath made you deface out of your minde the memory of the valor & vertues of the good King your husband and my father : it was an unbrideled desire that guided the daughter of Roderick to imbrace

the Tirant Fengon, & not to remember Horuendile (vnworthy of so strange intertainment), neither that he killed his brother traiterously, and that shee being his fathers wife betrayed him, although he so well fauoured and loued her, that for her sake he vtterly bereaved Norway of her riches and valiant souldiers, to augment the treasures of Roderick, and make Geruthe wife to the hardyest prince in Europe. It is not the parte of a woman, mush less of a princesse, in whome all modesty, curtesie, compassion and loue ought to abound, thus to leaue her deare child to fortune in the bloody & murtherous hands of a villain and traytor, bruite beasts do not so : for Lyons, Tygers, ounces, and leopards fight for the safety and defence of their whelpes ; and birds that haue beakes, claws, and wings, resist such as would rauish them of their yong ones, but you to the contrary expose and deliuer mee to death, whereas ye should defend me. Is not this as much as if you should betray me, when you knowing the peruersenes of the tyrant and his intents, ful of deadly counsell as touching the race & image of his brother, haue not once sought nor desired to finde the meanes to saue your child (& only son) by sending him into Swethland, Norway, or England, . . . & therefore, it is better for me to fayne madnesse then to vse my right sences as nature hath bestowed them vpon me, The bright shining clearnes thereof I am forced to hide vnder this shadow of dissimulation, as the sun doth hir beams vnder some great cloud, when the wether in sommer time ouercasteth: the face of a mad man, serueth to couer my gallant countenance, & the gestures of a fool are fit for me, to y^e^ end that guiding my selfe wisely therin I may perserue my life for y^e^ Danes, & the memory of my late deceased father for y^t^ the desire of reuenging his death is so ingrauen in my heart y^t^ if I dye not shortly, I hope to take such and so great vengeance, that these Countryes shall for euer speake thereof. Neuerthelesse, I must stay the time, meanes, and occasion, lest by making ouer great hast, I be now the cause of mine owne sodaine ruine and ouerthrow, and by that meanes, end, before I beginne to effect my hearts desire: hee that hath to doe with a wicked, disloyall, cruell, and discourteous man, must vse craft, and politike inuentions, such as a fine witte can best imagine, not to discover his interprise: for seeing that by force I cannot effect my desire, reason alloweth me by dissimulation, subtiltie, and secret practices to proceed therein. To conclude, weepe not (Madame) to see my folly, but rather sigh and lament your owne offence, tormenting your conscience in regard to the infamie that hath so defiled the ancient renowne and glorie that (in times past) honoured Queene Geruth: for wee are not to sorrowe and grieue at other mens vices, but for our owne misdeeds, and great follyes. Desiring you, for the surplus of my proceedings, aboue all things (as you loue your owne life and welfare) that neither the king, nor any other may by any meanes know mine intent, and let me alone with the rest, for I hope in the ende to bring my purpose to effect.

CHAPTER IIII

How Fengon the third time deuised to send Hamblet to the king of England, with secret letters to haue him put to death; and how Hamblet, when his companions slept, read the Letters, and instead of them, counterfeited others, willing the king of England to put the two Messengers to death, and to marry his daughter to Hamblet, which was effected, and how Hamblet escaped to England.

Hamblet vnderstanding that he should be sent into England, presently doubted the occasion of his voyage, and for that cause speaking to the Queene, desired her not to make any shew of sorrow or griefe for his departure, but rather counterfeit a gladnesse, as being rid of his presence, . . . assuring her, that at the same instant, she should see him returne with great contentment and pleasure vnto her for that voyage. Now to beare him company, were assigned two of Fengons faithfull ministers, bearing Letters ingraved in wood, that contained Hamlets death, in such sort as he had aduertised the King of England. But the subtile Danish prince (beeing at sea) whilest his companions slept, hauing read the letters, and known his vncles great treason, with the wicked and villainous mindes of the two courtyers that led him to the slaughter; raced out the letters that concerned his death, and in stead thereof graued others, with Commission to the king of England to hang his two companions, and not content to turne the death they had deiused against him vpon their owne neckes, wrote further, that king Fengon willed him, to gaue his daughter to Hamlet in mariage: . . .

[It will be seen that the Tragedy varies in many important particulars from the Novel. The murder of Hamlet's father, the marriage of his mother with the murderer, Hamlet's counterfeited madness, his interview with his mother, his slaying of the counsellor who was secretly hidden in the Queen's chamber, and his voyage to England are the only points of resemblance between the history and the play. After escaping out of England, the Hamlet of the history returns to Denmark, slays his uncle, burns his palace, makes an oration to the Danes, and is elected king. Returning to England, he slew the king of that country, and returned again to Denmark with two wives, and being betrayed by his last wife, called Hermetrude, was slain.]

APPENDIX II.

Fratricide Punished ; or, Prince Hamlet of Denmark.[1]

There can be no doubt that there existed a far older German version of this piece than the one with which we are acquainted; and the latter is probably only a weak copy of the former, which will have stood in the same relation to the original form of the German piece, as the pieces of the 'English Comedies and Tragedies' to the form in which they were originally acted in Germany. About the year 1665, this piece was performed by the Veltheim company, but it is of a much older date than this, for we find it in the Dresden stage-library in 1626, and even then it was no new piece, as there is every reason to believe that it had been brought to Germany by the English players as early as 1603. The piece approaches most nearly to that form of Shakespeare's Hamlet which we find in the Quarto of 1603. As in the latter, so also here Polonius is called Corambus ; and notwithstanding the very modernized form of the prologue, it bears so completely the stamp of the old English stage, that as Mr. Will. Bernhardy observes "we are tempted to assume that Hamlet must have appeared on the English stage in an earlier form than that of the Quarto of 1603, and that the German piece is a weak copy of the earlier form, little as the genius of the great poet appears in it, even in this later version.[2] But what is most particularly striking is the contrast between the prologue and the matter of the play itself. Almost all poetice motion has disappeared from the latter, which presents us with nothing more than a mere dry skeleton of the Shakespearian piece, while the prologue, in spite of all its coarseness, has many curious poetical touches and expressions, which curiously enough, remind us strongly of the modes of expression in Shakespeare and his contemporaries. It is notorious that the older English pieces often had prologues in the form of dialogue, and that the introductory words were not always spoken by one person alone, as in the old German Theatre. These prologues have often been lost because it was not considered worth while to have them printed ; but often also, especially at a later period of the English stage, no prologue was written, because the practice was considered pedantic, and even Shakespeare had already spoken against it in his 'Romeo and Juliet.' The persons of the prologue were generally allegorical and mythological characters, but were sometimes also taken from everyday life, or from history. Thus in the 'Spanish Tragedy,' Revenge and the Spirit of Andrea appear as prologue, but at the same time they are spectators and speaking characters throughout the whole of the piece. In Marston's 'Antonio and Malcida,' a very remarkable piece, evidently written in imitation of Hamlet, the persons of the prologue are the characters in the piece itself, and its subject is the distribution and description of the different parts. In that excellent old comedy, 'Wily beguiled,' the persons of the prologue consist of an actor and a conjurer. In 'Locrine,' Ate is the prologue, and in 'Pericles,' the poet Gower. The prologue, moreover, of the old German Hamlet contains mystical and allegorical personages, and this circumstance as well as some turns of expression, which forcibly remind us of English poets, and some harsh un-German constructions appear to estab-

1 Cohn's *Shakespeare in Germany.*

2 This opinion was first expressed by Mr. William Bernhardy in an essay well deserving perusal, and entitled *"Shakespeare's Hamlet. Ein literar-historisch kritischer Versuch."* We follow him in the argument given above for the establishment of this conjecture. Mr. Bernhardy's essay is to be found in Hamburger literarisch-kritische Blatter 1857, No. 49-103.

;h the foreign origin of the piece, and that it is a translation. Thus the expression Queen of silence" (Königin der Stille) reminds us of a passage in 'Lust's Dominion,' :t i.:

spotless night
Empress of silence, and the queen of sleep.

Not less striking is the similarity of the address "Woman of ill fortune" Unglücksfrau) to the lines in 'Macbeth' Act iii., sc. 5,

And I the mistress of your charms,
The close contriver of all harms.

ıd we cannot but remember that also Shakespeare in 'Macbeth' Act. ii., sc. 5, speaks "black Hecate's summons." Also the turn of expression in the prologue "in order at those who swim in the sea of murder" ("damit diejenigen, welche in der Mordsee :hwimmen") and the words of Night, "I soar above" ("Ich fahre auf") may be com-ıred with Henry vi. Part I., Act iv., sc. 7, "And in that sea of blood my boy did rench," and 'Macbeth,' Act iii., sc. 5, "I am for the air." Single passages in the erman piece shew that an edition of the original must have been used which contained assages that are in the folio, but not in the first quarto, while other passages prove ıcontrovertibly, that precisely this quarto must have been the source employed by the anslator. Thus, for instance, the Ghost says to Hamlet, "Mark me, Hamlet, for the me draws near when I must return to whence I came" and concludes his speech with ıe words "Thus was I robbed of kingdom, wife and life by this foul tyrant." The ɔrmer is evidently taken from the words which the Ghost uses in our accepted text of amlet:

My hour is almost come,
When I to sulphurous and tormenting flames
Must render up myself.

hile the latter passage corresponds exactly to the order in which the Ghost mentions ıe same things in the original,

Thus was I sleeping by a brother's hand
Of Crowne, of Queene, of life, of dignitie
At once deprived, etc.

As the reader has the entire piece before him in this volume, it will not be neces-ary to call attention to the numerous passages, which, in spite of its dilution by unskil-ul hands, place its early origin beyond all doubt. In other places we can distinctly erceive the hand of the remodeller, who kept in view the circumstances of the theatre f his own time, and which have given the tone to many passages. His utter want of kill is sufficiently proved by his introduction of the comic characters, the peasant Jens nd Phantasmo, the fool, both of whom are altogether out of place in the piece. The ıanner in which the scenes taken from Shakespeare's tragedy have been vulgarized, ıe coarse humour which has been mixed up with the serious incidents, the box on the ars which the ghost gives the sentinel, and other absurdities, must of course be laid o the account of the revisor, just as in the case of the 'English Comedies and Trage-ies,' and not to that of the actors who first brought the piece to Germany. A remark-ble reminiscence, which enables us to form a conclusion respecting the age of the iece, is Hamlet's relation of an incident connected with the players in Act ii. sc. 7. There can be no doubt that this is the incident which, whether fact or fiction, is ıtroduced in the tragedy entitled 'A Warning for fair women,' written a little before 590. In that piece as in this, the advantage of theatrical representations is intended o be proved. The passage is at the end of the piece:

"A woman that had made away her husband,
And sitting to behold a tragedy
At Linne, a town in Norfolk,
Acted by players travelling that way,
Wherein a woman that had murdered hers,
Was ever haunted with her husband's ghost,
The passion written by a feeling pen,
And acted by a good tragedian,
She was so moved with the sight thereof,
As she cried out, the play was made by her,
And openly confessed her husband's murder."

In Hamlet, Act ii., sc. 2, Shakespeare alludes to a similar incident, perhaps the same:

> I have heard
> That guilty creatures, sitting at a play
> Have by the very cunning of the scene
> Been struck so to the soul, that presently
> They have proclaim'd their malefactions;
> For murder, though it have no tongue, will speak
> With most miraculous organ.

Heywood, in his "Apology for actors," relates the same story, and adds that it ha occurred "at Lin, in Norfolke" at the preformance of the 'History of Fryer Francis' b the players of the Earl of Sussex. But then he relates a similar incident which i stated to have happened at the performance of the 'Four sons of Aymon' by Englis comedians at Amsterdam.

> Another of the like wonder happened at Amsterdam in Holland. A company of our English com dians (well knowne) travelling those countryes, as they were before the burgers and other the chie inhabitants, acting the last part of the four Sons of Aymon, towards the last Act of the histor where penitent Rinaldo, like a common labourer, lived in disguise, vowing as his last pennance t labour and carry burdens to the structure of a goodly church there to be erected; whose diligence th labourers envying, since by reason of his stature and strength, hee did usually more work in a da than a dozen of the best (hee working for his conscience, they for their lucres) whereupon by reaso his industry had so much disparaged their living, conspired among themselves to kill him, waitin some opportunity to finde him asleepe, which they might easily doe, since the sorest labourers are th soundest sleepers, and industry is the best preparative to rest. Having spy'd their opportunity, the drave a naile into his temples, of which wound immediately he dyed. As the actors handled this, th audience might on a sodaine understand an outcry, and loud shrike in a remote gallery, and pressin about the place, they might perceive a woman of great gravity strangely amazed, who with a distrac ted and troubled braine oft sighed out these words: "Oh my husband, my husband!" The play withou further interruption proceeded: the woman was to her owne house conducted, without any apparan suspition; every one conjecturing as their fancies led them. In this agony she some few dayes lan guished, and on a time, as certaine as her well disposed neighbours came to comfort her, one among the rest being churchwarden: to him the sexton posts, to tell him of a strange thing happening t him in the ripping up of a grave: See here (quoth he) what I have found; and showes them a fai skull, with a great nayle pierst quite to the brain-pan: But we cannot conjecture to whom it coul belong, nor how long it has laine in the earth the grave being confused, and the flesh consumed. A the report of this accident, the woman, out of the trouble of her afflicted conscience, discovered former murder; for 12 yeares ago, by driving that nayle into that skull, being the head of her hu band, she had treacherously slaine him. This being publickly confest, she was arraigned, condemne adjudged and burned. But I draw my subject to greater length than I purposed: these therefore ou of those infinites I have collected, both for their familiarnesse and latenesse."

It is not a little characteristic of the stage at that time, that the actors who firs performed the German Hamlet did not rest satisfied with the mere allusion as the found it in Shakespeare, but related the incident itself. Whether the passage refers t the incident in Norfolk or to that in Amsterdam, it is a striking evidence that Hamle was transplanted to the German stage at a very early period. The later revisor trans ferred the scene to Strasburg, as being nearer to his audience. It is probable that th company for which this new version was adopted, had come from Strasburg, where w have already seen English players in 1654. We are inclined to believe that the firs form of the version of the piece now before us was made about that time, but that th form in which it is here presented to the reader, and in which it has experienced man alterations and dilutions, is to be ascribed to a more modern hand.

GEN

The Tragedy of King Lear.

Written. Between 1603-1606. The first notice we have of the play is an entry in the Stationers' Register of the 26th., of November, 1607: "A Booke called Master William Shakespeare his Historye of Kinge Lear, as yt was played before the King's Majestie at Whitehall, upon St. Stephen's night at Christmas last, by his Majesties Servants playing usually at the Globe on the Bank-side." This entry shows that it was acted at Court on the 26th., December, 1606, thus fixing the date of composition not later than that year, this being the only piece of external evidence bearing upon the date of the play.

The internal evidence goes to show that it was not written earlier than the year 1603. The names of the fiends mentioned in Act III. Scene iv. by Edgar when feigning madness, with other remarks made by him in the rôle of Tom of Bedlam are taken from Bishop Harsnett's "A Declaration of Egregious Popishe Impostures, to with-draw the harts of Her Maiestie's Subjects from their allegeance, and from the truth of Christian Religion professed in England, under the pretence of casting out devils. PRACTISED *by* EDMUNDS, *alias* Weston, a Jesuit, and diuers Romish Priestes his wicked associates. Where-unto are annexed the Copies of the Confessions, and Examinations of the parties themselues, which were pretended to be possessed, and dispossessed, taken upon oath before his Maiesties Commissioners, for causes Ecclesiastical AT LONDON printed by Iames Roberts, dwelling in Barbican, 1603." This book was published in the year 1603.

The words of Gloucester:

> These late eclipses in the sun and moon
> portend no good to us:

are considered to refer to the eclipse of the moon which took place in October, 1605, followed by an eclipse of the sun in November of the same year.

The mention of:

> machinations, hollowness,
> treachery, and all ruinous disorders follow us
> disquietly to our graves.

is supposed to be an allusion to the Gunpowder Plot of November, 1605; while the description of the storm in Act III. Scene ii. is considered to have reference to the great storm of March, 1606.

In III. iv. 195, Edgar says:

> *I smell the blood of a British man.*

The old metrical line in one of Nash's pamphlets *Have with you to Saffron-Walden*, printed in 1595, reads:

> I smell the blood of an Englishman.

As the names of England, Wales and Scotland were changed to Great Britain by Royal Proclamation in the reign of James I., it is considered that the alteration

from "Englishman" to "British man" in this line is conclusive evidence that the Play was written after James I. was proclaimed King of Great Britain on the 24th., October, 1604.

Published. In the year 1608 there were published two editions of King Lear. The title of the first edition was: "M. William Shak-speare: His True Chronicle Historie of the life and death of King Lear and his three Daughters. *With the vnfortunate life* of Edgar, *sonne* and heire to the Earle of Gloster, and his sullen and assumed humor of Tom of Bedlam: *As it was played before the Kings Maiestie at Whitehall vpon* S. Stephans *night in Christmas Hollidayes.* By his Maiesties seruants playing vsually at the Gloabe on the Bancke-side. London, Printed for *Nathaniel Butter,* and are to be sold at his shop in *Pauls* Church-yard at the signe of the Pide Bull neere *St. Austins Gate.* 1608."

The second edition bore the following title: "M. William Shak-speare His True Chronicle History of the life and death of King Lear, and his three Daughters. *With the vnfortunate life* of Edgar, *sonne* and heire to the Earle of Glocester, and his sullen and assumed humour of Tom of Bedlam. *As it was plaid before the Kings Maiesty at White-Hall* vppon St. Stephen's night, in Christmas Hollidaies. By his Maiesties seruants, playing vsually at the Globe on the Banck-side. Printed for *Nathaniel Butter,* 1608."

Source of the Plot. There are two tragic stories blended in the play; the story of King Lear and his three daughters, and the story of Gloucester and his two sons.

The first is one of those old tales belonging to Legendary History, and is found in many countries, and told by many of the old romancers, in both prose and verse.

It is considered to be of Celtic origin, being first met with in *Historia Britonum,*[1] a Latin compilation of Welsh stories by Geoffrey of Monmouth. It is also found in the *Brut* of Layamon; in the *Gesta Romanorum,*[2] a collection of tales written at the close of the thirteenth century; in Spenser's *Faerie Queene;*[3] in *The Mirrour for Magistrates;*[4] in an old Ballad printed in Percy's *Reliques;*[5] and in Holinshed's *Chronicles.*[6] There is also an old anonymous play entered at Stationers' Hall, on the 14th., May, 1594, entitled: *The True Chronicle History of King Leir, and his three daughters, Gonorill, Ragan, and Cordella. As it hath been divers and sundry times lately acted. London, Printed by Simon Stafford for John Wright, and are to be sold at his shop at Christ's Church door, next Newgate-Market,* 1605. Camden in his *Remains concerning Britain* also tells a similar story of Ina, King of the West Saxons.[7] Although the old anonymous play referred to here may have afforded some hints, it is generally conceded that Shakespeare was indebted to Holinshed for the main source of the plot.

The under-plot—the story of Gloucester and his two sons—is chiefly drawn from a story entitled *The pitifull state, and story of the Paphlagonian unkinde king, and his kinde sonne, first related by the sonne, then by the blind father,* in Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia.*[8]

1 See Appendix I. 2 See Appendix II. 3 See Appendix III. 4 See Appendix IV. 5 See Appendix V. 6 See Appendix VI. 7 See Appendix VII. 8 See Appendix VIII.

Outline of the Play. The play opens with King Lear surrounded by his faithful courtiers in the State room of his palace. He has called a Court together, for, being more than fourscore years old, he has decided to retire from the cares of government, and to divide his kingdom between his three daughters, Goneril, Regan and Cordelia in such proportions as their affections for him seem to deserve. Goneril the eldest daughter is married to the Duke of Albany; the second Regan is married to the Duke of Cornwall, a cruel tyrant; while Cordelia the youngest, has two rival suitors—the Duke of Burgundy and the King of France—for her hand in marriage. To this Court, Lear's three daughters, Albany and Cornwall, together with the Earl of Kent, a young nobleman, and the Earl of Gloucester, are summoned to attend. Gloucester has two sons. Edgar, a young man of nobility and high character; and Edmund—illegitimate—a man of a very cunning and unscrupulous nature, who, on account of the disgrace of his birth, has been banished the kingdom.

Having all assembled, Lear calls upon his daughters to express in words how much they love him. Goneril the eldest is bidden to speak first:

> Tell me, my
> daughters,
> Since now we will divest us both of rule,
> Interest of territory, cares of state,
> Which of you shall we say doth love us most?
> That we our largest bounty may extend
> Where nature doth with merit challenge. Goneril,
> Our eldest-born, speak first.

In words of false flattery, Goneril declares that she loves her father more than words can express, and Lear bestows upon her and her husband a third part of the kingdom:

> Of all these bounds, even from this line to this,
> With shadowy forests and with champains rich'd,
> With plenteous rivers and wide-skirted meads,
> We make thee lady; to thine and Albany's issue
> Be this perpetual.

Regan, the second daughter being next called upon:

> What says our second daughter,
> Our dearest Regan, wife to Cornwall? Speak.

endeavours to surpass Goneril in the same exalted strain, and Lear awards her and her husband another third part of the kingdom, equal in size to Goneril's:

> To thee and thine, hereditary ever,
> Remain this ample third of our fair kingdom,
> No less in space, validity, and pleasure,
> Than that conferr'd on Goneril.

Turning to his youngest daughter Cordelia—whom he loves the best of all—he asks what she has to say to win a third portion of his possessions, more opulent than her sisters:

Now, our joy,
Although the last, not least; to whose young
love
The vines of France and milk of Burgundy
Strive to be interess'd; what can you say to
draw
A third more opulent than your sisters? Speak.

Disgusted with the hollow flattery of her sisters, she replies: "Nothing, my lord." "Nothing" cried Lear. "Nothing" repeats Cordelia. "Nothing will come to nothing: speak again" commanded her father, and Cordelia answers:

I love your majesty
According to my bond; no more nor less.

Disappointed at what Lear considers ingratitude on the part of his favourite child, he requests her to "mend her speech a little," and in a quiet and dignified manner, Cordelia replies:

Good my lord,
You have begot me, bred me, lov'd me: I
Return those duties back as are right fit,
Obey you, love you, and most honour you.
Why have my sisters husbands, if they say
They love you all? Haply, when I shall wed,
That lord whose hand must take my plight shall
carry
Half my love with him, half my care and
duty:
Sure I shall never marry like my sisters,
To love my father all.

Rising from his throne in anger, he curses and disinherits Cordelia, and divides her portion of the kingdom equally between her two sisters and their husbands, reserving to himself the right of being entertained with a hundred knights by his two elder daughters month by month.

Kent his loyal courtier intercedes on Cordelia's behalf, but Lear is too angry to listen to anyone, and bids him to be silent. Kent however, is not to be repelled, and urges Lear to reconsider his decision, but Lear in his madness banishes him for ever from the kingdom for coming between what he calls "the dragon and his wrath":

Five days we do allot thee for provision
To shield thee from diseases of the world;
And on the sixth to turn thy hated back
Upon our kingdom: if on the tenth day following
Thy banish'd trunk be found in our dominions,
The moment is thy death. Away! By Jupiter,
This shall not be revok'd.

Kent bids farewell to the king "Fare thee well, king; sith thus thou wilt appear, Freedom lives hence, and banishment is here," and then turning to Cordelia, says "The gods to their dear shelter take thee, maid, That justly think'st and hast most rightly said!" and to Goneril and Regan:

> And your large speeches may
> your deeds approve,
> That good effects may spring from words of love.
> Thus Kent, O princes! bids you all adieu;
> He 'll shape his old course in a country new.

and bowing to all the company leaves the room.

The Duke of Burgundy and the King of France—rival suitors for the hand of Cordelia—enter with their trains, and Lear asks which of the two wants her, she being now disinherited. Burgundy declines to marry her without a dowry. "I am sorry, then, you have so lost a father That you must lose a husband," to which Cordelia calmly replies "Peace be with Burgundy! Since that respects of fortune are his love, I shall not be his wife."

Stepping forward and kissing the hand of Cordelia, the King of France claims her as his bride, and tells her to bid farewell to her sisters and father:

> Thy dowerless daughter, king, thrown to my chance,
> Is queen of us, of ours, and our fair France:
> Not all the dukes of waterish Burgundy
> Shall buy this unprized precious maid of me.
> Bid them farewell, Cordelia, though unkind:
> Thou losest here, a better where to find.

Turning to her sisters, Cordelia begs them to love their father and to treat him well:

> Use well our father:
> To your professed bosoms I commit him:
> But yet, alas! stood I within his grace,
> I would prefer him to a better place.
> So farewell to you both.

to which Regan scornfully replies "Prescribe not us our duties" while Goneril tells her to strive to content her husband, who has received her for charity's sake "Let your study Be to content your lord, who hath receiv'd you At fortune's alms;" Cordelia and France leave the room, the Court is dissolved, and King Lear and his hundred knights depart in the company of Goneril and her husband the Duke of Albany.

Edmund, the illegitimate son of Gloucester conspires against Edgar his legitimate brother, who is heir to all his father's wealth, and cunningly induces Edgar to leave his father's castle under the pretext of his father's ill-will.

Scarcely a month has passed when Goneril, who receives her father first, begins to weary of his company, and seeks an opportunity of quarrelling with him. She speaks of him:

> Idle old man,
> That still would manage those authorities
> That he hath given away! Now, by my life,
> Old fools are babes again, and must be used
> With checks as flatteries, when they are seen abused.
> Remember what I have said.

She instructs her steward Oswald to be disrespectful to the old king.

After his banishment, Kent follows Cordelia into France, but in order to be near the king when the French army reaches England he returns, and, disguising himself as a servant enters Albany's castle, as, in common with the times the halls of noblemen's castles were always open to any man wishing to take service with the lord. The king returns from hunting and calls for dinner, at the same time telling Oswald that he will speak with Goneril:

> No more of that: I have noted it well. Go
> you, and tell my daughter I would speak with
> her.

Oswald answers rudely, Lear in temper strikes him, and Kent, not enduring to see the old king treated with such contempt trips Oswald by his heels. This pleases Lear, who engages Kent as one of his retinue by the name of Caius:

> I thank thee, fellow; thou servest me, and
> I 'll love thee.

The Fool enters, and indulges in bitter sarcasm on Lear's folly in giving up his kingdom, of which he disapproves.

Goneril now appears, and with frowning face and bitter speech complains to her father of the riotous conduct of his knights:

> Not only, sir, this your all-licens'd fool,
> But other of your insolent retinue
> Do hourly carp and quarrel, breaking forth
> In rank and not-to-be-endured riots.

and demands that he should dismiss one-half of his followers:

> The shame itself doth speak
> For instant remedy; be then desired
> By her, that else will take the thing she begs,
> A little to disquantity your train;

The king denounces his daughter in strong language, and determines to leave her palace and seek the hospitality of Regan:

> Darkness and devils!
> Saddle my horses; call my train together.
> Degenerate bastard! I 'll not trouble thee:
> Yet have I left a daughter.

The altercation brings in Albany, who mildly disapproves of the harsh treatment of Lear. Cursing his own folly at having given away his kingdom, and then Goneril, he expresses a wish that she may be made to feel "How sharper than a serpent's tooth it is To have a thankless child!"

Lear sends Kent (Caius) in advance with a letter of greeting to Regan to announce his coming, and Goneril also sends a letter by her steward Oswald, telling her sister how matters stand, in order to secure her support. Oswald is the first to arrive, and, having read the letter, Regan and her husband the Duke of Cornwall hurry off to the Earl of Gloucester's castle in order not to be "at home" when Lear arrives.

Edmund continues his intrigues against his brother Edgar. He persuades Edgar to flee into the country, and having wounded himself in the arm, represents

to Gloucester that he has been attacked by Edgar because he would not be privy to the assassination of his father. Gloucester is enraged, and determines to disinherit Edgar in favour of Edmund. Cornwall and Regan promise to assist Gloucester in punishing Edgar.

In the courtyard outside the castle of the Earl of Gloucester, the two messengers meet. Kent falls on Oswald and gives him a sound thrashing, with the result that Kent, in spite of his protest that he is the king's messenger, is placed in the stocks. Gloucester objects, but Regan and her husband accept the responsibility.

Edgar disguises himself and wanders about, calling himself "Poor Tom the lunatic" and "Poor Turlygood" singing songs to obtain alms.

Approaching the castle of the Earl of Gloucester, Lear sees his servant Kent in the stocks, and demands to see his daughter and her husband and Gloucester to ask for an explanation. The Fool continues his sarcasm over the predicament. Gloucester comes out and under the pretence that Regan and her husband are "tired with travelling all night" tries to appease the king's anger, but Lear replies "Fetch me a better answer. . . I 'd speak with the Duke of Cornwall and his wife."

Gloucester returns with Regan and Cornwall. Regan greets her father with every outward appearance of cordiality "Hail to your grace!" Kent is set at liberty, and Lear relates to Regan the unkind treatment of Goneril:

> Beloved Regan,
> Thy sister's naught: O Regan! she hath tied
> Sharp-tooth'd unkindness, like a vulture, here.
> [*Points to his heart.*
> I can scarce speak to thee; thou 'lt not believe
> With how deprav'd a quality—O Regan!

Regan justifies her sister's action:

> I cannot think my sister in the least
> Would fail her obligation: if, sir, perchance
> She have restrain'd the riots of your followers,
> 'Tis on such ground, and to such wholesome end,
> As clears her from all blame.

and advises her father to return to Goneril, and "ask for forgiveness", "Therefore I pray you That to our sister you do make return; Say you have wrong'd her, sir." "Ask for forgiveness," shouted Lear. "Never, Regan," and calls down the vengeance of heaven on Goneril. Oswald enters, and at the sound of a trumpet, to the astonishment of Lear, Goneril,—whose letter had warned her sister that she would follow,—appears. Regan again advises her father to return to Goneril to sojourn for the remainder of the month, to dismiss half his train, and then return to her:

> If, till the expiration of your month,
> You will return and sojourn with my sister,
> Dismissing half your train, come then to me:

Lear declares he will never return with Goneril, preferring rather than have half his train cut off to cross over to France and beg a wretched pension of the husband of Cordelia:

> Return to her? and fifty men dismiss'd?
> . . . . . .
> Why, the hot-blooded France, that dowerless took
> Our youngest born, I could as well be brought
> To knee his throne, and, squire-like, pension beg
> To keep base life afoot.

He will stay with Regan, he and his fifty knights, but Regan declares that fifty knights are too many for him, and suggests twenty-five as sufficient:

> I dare avouch it, sir: what! fifty followers
> Is it not well?
> . . . . . .
> If you will come to me,
> For now I spy a danger, I entreat you
> To bring but five-and-twenty; to no more
> Will I give place or notice,

Seeing that Regan wishes to treat him worse than Goneril, Lear offers to return with his eldest daughter, "I 'll go with thee: Thy fifty yet doth double five-and-twenty, And thou art twice her love," but Goneril answers that she has changed her mind and suggests that ten or even five are quite sufficient, "What need you five-and-twenty, ten or five," to which Regan adds "What need one?" In anger, Lear hurls forth threats of vengeance, and the heart-broken king feeling that madness is coming upon him cries out "O fool! I shall go mad," and rushes from the castle followed by Gloucester, the Fool, and the Earl of Kent. Darkness is coming on, a fearful storm of thunder and lightning is commencing, but Lear chooses to face the violence of the elements rather than remain with his unnatural daughters. Gloucester returns to tell Goneril and Regan that the king has called for horse and is departing, but they regard his departure with indifference, and entreat Gloucester not to ask him to stay:

> *Glou.* He calls for horse; but will I know not whither.
> *Corn.* 'Tis best to give him way; he leads himself.
> *Gon.* My lord, entreat him by no means to stay.

But Gloucester answers pityingly, "Alack! the night comes on, and the high winds Do sorely ruffle; for many miles about There 's scarce a bush." Regan replies with a scornful laugh, and counsels Gloucester to close the castle, "Shut up your doors;" "Shut up your doors, my lord; 'tis a wild night: My Regan counsels well: come out o' the storm," added Cornwall, and entering the castle they leave the king with his Fool and Kent to wander forth into the darkness and the tempest.

The storm increases in fury, but the old king wanders upon the heath unmindful of the rattle of the thunder and the blinding flashes of the lightning. Kent, who had become separated from Lear and his knights, comes up with them again. Meanwhile information has reached Kent of the estrangement between Albany and Cornwall, "There is division, Although as yet the face of it be cover'd With

mutual cunning, 'twixt Albany and Cornwall.'' News has been carried to France of the harsh treatment meted out to the old king, and Cordelia is on her way to help her father and had indeed landed at Dover, ''But, true it is, from France there comes a power Into this scatter'd kingdom; who already, Wise in our negligence, have secret feet In some of our best ports.''

The king continues to rage against the fury of the tempest and against his daughters, and Kent tries to induce him to seek shelter in a mud hovel on the heath, while the Fool tries to divert his grief by singing:

He that has and a little tiny wit,
With hey, ho, the wind and the rain,
Must make content with his fortunes fit,
Though the rain it raineth every day.

Gloucester hears of a plot to put the old king to death. He complains to Edmund of the brutal treatment of the old man, and of his determination to protect him. [See III. iii. 1-23.] Edmund determines to use the information as a means of supplanting his father.

Still wandering on the heath, Kent urges the king to take shelter in the hovel from the fury of the storm:

Here is the place, my lord; good my lord, enter:
The tyranny of the open night's too rough
For nature to endure.

The Fool enters first, but dashes out again, for in the glare of a lightning flash he has seen a spirit whose name is ''Poor Tom,'' and Edgar—Gloucester's son—disguised as a madman issues from it. Addressing him, Lear says:

Didst thou give all to thy two daughters?
And art thou come to this?

Lear, Kent and the Fool crowd into the hovel to shelter from the storm, which proceeds with unabated fury. Suddenly through the darkness a light is seen, ''Look! here comes a walking fire,'' and Gloucester, moved with pity for the old king, stands at the entrance to the hovel. He induces Lear to go to a neighbouring farmhouse.

Edmund betrays to Cornwall his father's kindness to Lear, and Cornwall expresses his determination to be avenged.

Lear and his knights are in a room in the farmhouse, where Lear holds a mock trial of his daughters. Edgar keeps up the character of a madman. Gloucester enters, and tells them of the plot to murder the king, and advises them to hurry him off towards Dover, ''Good friend, I prithee, take him in thy arms; I have o'erheard a plot of death upon him. There is a litter ready; lay him on 't, And drive toward Dover, friend, where thou shalt meet Both welcome and protection.''

Cornwall, Regan, Goneril and Edmund hear that the army of Cordelia has landed, and orders are given for the arrest of Gloucester:

Corn. [*To Goneril*] Post speedily to my lord your
husband; show him this letter: the army of
France is landed. Seek out the traitor
Gloucester.

Oswald enters with the news that the king has been conveyed to Dover by Gloucester. Gloucester is arrested and brought a prisoner to his own castle. "Where hast thou sent the king?" demanded Cornwall. "To Dover," answered Gloucester. "Wherefore to Dover?" demanded Regan, and Gloucester replies:

> Because I would not see thy cruel nails
> Pluck out his poor old eyes; nor thy fierce sister
> In his anointed flesh stick boarish fangs.
> . . . . . .
> but I shall see
> The winged vengeance overtake such children.

"See 't shalt thou never," angrily retorted Cornwall, who in a rage tears out one of Gloucester's eyes and stamps upon it. Horrified at such cruelty one of Cornwall's servants protests; "Hold your hand, my lord." "How now, you dog!" shouts Regan. Cornwall draws his sword, and in the fight which ensues he is wounded. Regan seizes another sword, rushes at the servant from behind, and he falls to the ground dead. Cornwall again turns on Gloucester and tears out his other eye, and the unhappy Earl is thrust out of the gates of his castle adrift in the world, "Go thrust him out at gates, and let his smell His way to Dover." Cornwall retires to his room, and Gloucester is led out of the castle by two kindly servants who wash his bleeding face.

Gloucester is led by an old man—a tenant—on the heath. Dismissing his guide he says: "Away, get thee away; good friend, be gone: Thy comforts can do me no good at all;" but the old man replies: "You cannot see your way." "I have no way, and therefore want no eyes; I stumbled when I saw," is Gloucester's reply. Meeting his son Edgar—Poor Tom—whom he does not know, he inquires the way to Dover: "Know'st thou the way to Dover?" and Edgar replies that he knows "Both stile and gate, horse-way and foot-path." Edgar offers to lead him, and giving the old man his arm, they start on their long journey.

Albany, who does not approve of the brutal treatment of Lear, is reproached by Goneril for his tenderness, and she bids him make preparations to meet the French army which has already landed at Dover:

> Milk-liver'd man!
> . . . . . .
> Where 's thy drum?
> France spreads his banners in our noiseless land,
> With plumed helm thy slayer begins threats,
> Whiles thou, a moral fool, sitt'st still, and criest
> "Alack! why does he so?"

A messenger enters with the news that Cornwall has died from the wounds he received at the hand of one of his servants: "O! my good lord, the Duke of Cornwall 's dead; Slain by his servant, going to put out The other eye of Gloucester."

The army of France is at Dover, led by Cordelia, her husband the King of France having returned to his own country on account of important affairs of state:

> *Kent.* Why the King of France is so suddenly gone
> back know you the reason?
> *Gent.* Something he left imperfect in the state,
> which since his coming forth is thought of;

Cordelia discovers her father's whereabouts, and consults a physician who uses every means that medical skill can suggest to cure him of his madness.

Regan—now a widow—falls in love with Edmund, the illegitimate son of Gloucester. Goneril is suspected of having designs in the same direction, and jealousy between the two sisters is aroused. Regan consider she has a prior claim, her husband being dead: "My lord is dead; Edmund and I have talk'd And more convenient is he for my hand Than for your lady's."

Gloucester and Edgar arrive at Dover. Gloucester asks Edgar to lead him to the top of Dover cliff in order that he might leap into the sea. Edgar leads him in a field in which there is a mound. Thinking he is on the edge of the cliff, Gloucester kneels down and prays and then leaps forward. Lear enters, fantastically dressed with wild flowers, accompanied by Gloucester. Oswald appears, and seeing Gloucester, on whose head a high price is set, attempts to arrest him: "A proclaim'd prize! Most happy! That eyeless head of thine was first framed flesh To raise my fortunes. Thou old unhappy traitor, Briefly thyself remember: the sword is out That must destroy thee." Edgar rushes at Oswald, and in the fight which follows, Oswald is slain: "Slave, thou hast slain me. Villain, take my purse. If ever thou wilt thrive, bury my body; And give the letters which thou find'st about me to Edmund Earl of Gloucester; seek him out Upon the English party: O! untimely death." In Oswald's pocket is found a love-letter written by Goneril to Edmund urging him to kill her husband and to take her to be his wife. [See IV. vi. 268-277.]

In a tent in the French camp near Dover Lear lives asleep. His daughter, Cordelia, is tenderly watching over him. Presently he awakes, and recognises Cordelia, and rising from his couch attempts to kneel at her feet. With tears streaming down her face, she cries out: "O! look upon me, sir, And hold your hands in benediction o'er me. No, sir, you must not kneel," and the poor old king looking up into the face of the child he has spurned, asks forgiveness: "You must bear with me. Pray you now, forget and forgive."

The British camp is pitched outside Dover. Goneril and Regan are suspicious of the loyalty of Edmund who is to lead Regan's soldiers against the invading forces. Edgar, disguised, enters, and challenges to fight any champion, should the British army be victorious. Edmund, having shown his love to both Goneril and Regan, debates in his mind which of the two he will choose.

The French camp is attacked by the British troops, and Lear and his daughter Cordelia are taken prisoners.

Lear and Cordelia are brought into the British camp before Edmund, who orders them to prison. Edmund calls a captain and hands him a commission for them both to be put to death. Albany disputes Edmund's right to issue orders, and Regan declares it is by her authority, and this leads to a dispute between the two sisters. Edmund is arrested by Albany on a charge of capital treason, he having been warned that Goneril has plotted the death of Regan, in order to marry him when Albany had been removed. Edgar, disguised as a knight, enters, and charges Edmund with being a traitor, and challenges him to single combat. The trumpet sounds thrice, and Edmund appears. Asked what he had to say against him, Edgar replies: "Thy valour and thy heart, thou art a traitor, False to thy

gods, thy brother, and thy father, Conspirant 'gainst this high illustrious prince, And, from the extremest upward of thy head To the descent and dust below thy foot, A most toad-spotted traitor." They fight, and Edmund falls, severely wounded. Finding himself at the point of death, Edmund confesses the accusation brought against him by Edgar: "What you have charged me with, that have I done, And more, much more; the time will bring it out: 'Tis past, and so am I." Edgar reveals himself to Edmund: "My name is Edgar, and thy father's son. The gods are just, and of our pleasant vices Make instruments to plague us:" A gentleman with a bloody knife enters with the news that Goneril has poisoned her sister Regan, and thinking Edmund, whom she had intended to marry, was dead, has stabbed herself with a jewelled dagger.

Calling Albany, Edmund tells him that he has given secret orders for the execution of Lear and Cordelia:

> I pant for life: some good I mean to do
> Despite of mine own nature. Quickly send,
> Be brief in it, to the castle; for my writ
> Is on the life of Lear and on Cordelia.

Edgar rushes off in haste to the prison, but is too late. Lear enters bearing the dead body of Cordelia in his arms. Cordelia has been hanged, and the old king in desperation had risen against her executioner and killed him: "I kill'd the slave that was a-hanging thee." An officer enters with the news that Edmund is dead. Bending over the body of Cordelia, the king utters a despairing cry: "Thou 'lt come no more, Never, never, never, never, never!" and trying in vain to revive her, falls lifeless across her dead body. Gloucester too, has passed away of a broken-heart after learning that Edgar's treachery was a fabrication of Edmund's.

Turning to Edgar and Kent, Albany begs them to assist him in ruling the kingdom, but Kent shakes his head and answers:

> I have a journey, sir, shortly to go;
> My master calls me, I must not say no.

[According to Holinshed, the two elder daughters are unmarried at the time of the division of the kingdom, while one of the princes of Gallia—Aganippus—asks for the hand of Cordelia by letter. No mention is made of Burgundy. Lear divides the kingdom into two parts,—one part between his two elder daughters, reserving the other part for himself. Goneril and Regan with their husbands rise against Lear and deprive him of the rest of his kingdom. Lear flees to France and takes refuge with his youngest daughter, Cordelia. Cordelia and her husband raise an army and a navy, land near Dover and defeat the army of Goneril and Regan in a battle in which Maglanus and Henninus are slain. Lear is restored to his kingdom which he rules for two years. Cordelia succeeds Lear, and rules for five years, but her two nephews—Margan and Cunedag—objecting to be under the government of a woman, revolt, and take her prisoner, and Cordelia kills herself in despair. *See* Extract.]

[The story in Sidney's *Arcadia* on which the under-plot is based has a happy ending. The two brothers are reconciled and Leonatus is restored to the throne. The Play has a tragic ending. Gloucester and Edmund perish, and Edgar survives. *See* Extract.]

Scene: Britain.

CHARACTERS, PLACE-NAMES, &c.

Ajax. II. ii. 128.

> None of these rogues and cowards
> But Ajax is their fool. [II. ii. 128-129.]

= a bragging fool such as Ajax. An allusion to the legend of Ajax, son of Telamon, who, according to Sophocles being driven mad because Ulysses was awarded the arms of Achilles, slaughtered a whole flock of sheep supposing them to have been the sons of Atreus who had given preference to Ulysses. On coming to his senses again he stabbed himself with a sword.

In *Troilus and Cressida*, Shakespeare represents Ajax as a stupid warrior, the dupe of that sharp-witted rascal, Thersites.

Albion. III. ii. 91.

> Then shall the realm of Albion
> Come to great confusion. [III. ii. 91-92.]

The lines are probably a parody on the *Prophecy*, a poem, falsely attributed to Chaucer. Puttenham in his *Art of Poetry*, 1589, quotes them as follows:—

> When faith fails in priestes saws,
> And lords hests are holden for laws,
> And robbery in tane for purchase,
> And letchery for solace,
> Then shall the realm of Albion
> *Be brought* to great confusion.

Albion was the ancient name for the island of Britain, supposed to have been derived from Albion, a giant, son of Neptune and contemporary of Hercules. When the latter set out on his campaign to subdue the world, Albion stepped over the Straits of Dover to France to oppose his advance, but was slain by Hercules. Cf. Spenser: *Faerie Queene*, IV. vi. xvi.:

> For Albion the sonne of Neptune was,
> Who, for the proofe of his great puissance,
> Out of his Albion did on dry-foot pas
> Into old Gall, that now is cleeped France,
> To fight with Hercules, that did advance
> To vanquish all the world with matchlesse might;
> And there his mortall part by great mischance
> Was slaine; but that which is th' immortall spright
> Lives still, and to this feast with Neptunes seed was dight.

Apollo. I. i. 160.

According to Cæsar, Apollo was one of the Druidical gods. Lear's oath 'by Apollo' is therefore historically correct. Holinshed points out that "a temple of Apollo, which stood in the citie of Troinouant (London), may explain why Lear swears by that deity. The same historian also says that Lear's grandson, Cunedag, built a temple 'to Apollo in Cornewall.'

Athenian. III. iv. 191.

= a philosopher. Lear takes Edgar for Diogenes, the Athenian philosopher.

Attendants. I. i. p. 34, p. 189; I. iv. p. 9; II. i. p. 86; IV. vi. p. 193; V. iii. p. 41.

Bedlam. III. vii. 106.

> Let's follow the old earl, and get the
> Bedlam
> To lead him where he would: [III. vii. 106-107.]

An allusion to Edgar, the pretended lunatic.

Bedlam beggars. II. iii. 14.

See Tom o' Bedlam.

Before Gloucester's Castle.

The Scene of Act II., Scenes ii. and iv.

In Act II., Scene ii. the two messengers —Kent and Oswald—meet. Kent quarrels with Oswald, and falling upon him, gives him a sound beating. Cornwall and Regan come upon the scene, and order Kent to be placed in the stocks. "Regan is not, in fact, a greater monster than Goneril, but she has the power of casting more venom." —*Coleridge.*

In Act II., Scene iv., Lear finding Regan and Cornwall absent from home, follows them to Gloucester's castle. The sight of Kent in the stocks rouses Lear to fury, and he demands from his daughter and Cornwall and Gloucester an explanation. Kent

is set at liberty. Goneril arrives on the scene and the two sisters request Lear to dismiss the whole of his train and live with his daughters alternately as a private individual. Another storm of passion sweeps over him, and he rushes from the castle into the pitiless storm, followed by Gloucester, Kent and his Fool.

Before the Duke of Albany's Palace.

The Scene of Act IV., Scene ii. We return in this scene to the main plot. Goneril is in love with Edmund. Cornwall dies of wounds he received at the hand of one of his servants. On account of Goneril's monstrous conduct, Albany takes a firm stand, and resolves to be Gloucester's avenger.

Bessy. III. vi. 28.

= Elizabeth. See *Come o'er the bourn, Bessy, to me*, under Song.

Blanch. III. vi. 65.

The name of a dog.

British Camp near Dover.

The Scene of Act V., Scenes i. and iii.

Act V., Scene i. This scene shows the British camp on the eve of the battle. Suspicion is aroused as to the loyalty of Edmund who is to lead Regan's soldiers. Edgar enters and hands to Albany the letter written by Goneril to Edmund.

Act V., Scene iii. Lear and Cordelia are brought into the British camp and Edmund hands to a captain a commission for both of them to be put to death. Edmund is arrested by Albany on a charge of capital treason. Edgar charges Edmund with being a traitor, and challenges him to single combat. Edmund falls mortally wounded. He confesses his guilt. Edgar reveals himself to Edmund. News is brought that Goneril has poisoned her sister Regan, and has herself committed suicide. Cordelia is executed in the prison, and Lear after trying in vain to revive her, falls lifeless across her dead body. Edmund dies from the wounds given him by Edgar, and Gloucester too has passed away of a broken-heart. Albany, Edgar and Kent survive, and the latter, who has faithfully served his master through sunshine and storm, thinking his life-work is done, refuses to share in the rule of the realm, and it is left to Albany and Edgar to restore order to a distracted country.

Burgundy. I. i. 84, 259.

> to whose young love
> The vines of France and milk of Burgundy
> Strive to be interess'd; [I. i. 83-85.]

Probably refers to the rich pastures of Burgundy. Perhaps Shakespeare was referring to the pasture lands of South Belgium, as they formed part of Burgundy till the death of Charles the Bold, 1477. In I. i. 259 it is called "waterish Burgundy" a contemptuous allusion to the Duke of Burgundy as a "watery" fellow, though Burgundy was a well watered district.

Caius. V. iii. 284.

= Earl of Kent.

Camelot. II. ii. 87.

A legendary spot where King Arthur chiefly held his court.

> As it fell out on a Pentecost day,
> King Arthur at Camelot kept his court royall,
> With his faire queene dame Guenever the gay;
> And many bold barons sitting in hall;
> With ladies attired in purple and pall;
> And heraults in hewkes, hooting on high,
> Cryed, *Largesse, Largesse, Chevaliers tres-hardie.*
> Percy's *Reliques: King Ryence's Challenge.*

Caxton in his preface to Malory's Morte d'Arthur speaks of it as if it were in Wales, probably meaning Caerleon-upon-Usk, where the Roman amphitheatre is still called Arthur's Round Table. The place referred to by Shakespeare is supposed to be Cadbury or a village called Camel in Somerset:

> Goose, if I had you upon Sarum plain,
> I 'd drive ye cackling home to Camelot.
> [II. ii. 86-87.]

This is supposed to be an allusion to the fact that great quantities of geese were bred on the moors near Camelot.

Centaurs. IV. vi. 127.

In Classic Mythology, monsters with the body of a horse and the head and trunk of a man. They inhabited Mount Pelion in Thessaly.

Chamber in a Farmhouse adjoining the Earl of Gloucester's Castle.

The Scene of Act III., Scene vi. A Continuation of Act III., Scene iv. Lear holds a mock trial of his daughters. Gloucester enters, and advises Lear's removal to Dover, as a plot has been discovered to put the old king to death.

Child Rowland. III. v. 193.

Child Rowland to the dark tower came.
[III. v. 193.]

Hero of the old English ballad *Burd Helen.* *See under* Song.

Country near Dover.

The Scene of Act IV., Scene vi. In this Scene Gloucester intends to commit suicide by leaping from Dover cliff. Lear appears, fantastical dressed with wild flowers and the two plots are once more connected. Oswald meets his death at the hand of Edgar, and in his pocket is found a love-letter written by Goneril to Edmund urging him to kill her husband.

Cordelia. I. i. 62, 76, 94, 244, 251, 261, 270, 283; I. iv. 288; II. ii. 169; III. i. 46; IV. iii. 48; IV. vii. 70; V. i. 66; V. iii. 20, 59, 238, 247, 254, 272.

Youngest daughter of King Lear. She is disinherited by her father because her protestations of love for him are not so effusive as those of her two sisters:

Unhappy that I am, I cannot heave
My heart into my mouth: I love your majesty
According to my bond; no more nor less.
[I. i. 91-93.]

In the first part of the play we see Cordelia loved by her father, and his agony at her supposed indifference to his love draws from him the confession:

I loved her most, and thought to set my rest
On her kind nursery. [I. i. 123-124.]

and in the second part of the play we see how she can love. The faithful Kent is ready to brave exile and even death for Cordelia, and in attempting to defend her, brings upon himself the sentence of banishment. He bids farewell to Cordelia, saying:

The gods to their dear shelter take thee, maid,
That justly think'st and hast most rightly said!
[I. i. 183-184.]

She is beloved even by her father's fool, for we are told by the knight:

Since my young lady's going into France,
sir, the fool hath much pined away. [I. iv. 80-81.]

She is betrothed to the mercenary Duke of Burgundy, who, learning that she has been disinherited by her father, withdraws his offer of marriage:

I am sorry, then, you have so lost a father
That you must lose a husband. [I. i. 247-248.]

Her reply to Burgundy, is full of dignity and modest pride:

Peace be with Burgundy!
Since that respects of fortune are his love,
I shall not be his wife. [I. i. 248-250.]

The King of France learns the cause of Lear's displeasure, and more eagerly presses his suit for Cordelia's hand, and, bidding her bid farewell to her sisters, departs with her shortly to his own country. She accepts calmly the sneer from Goneril concerning her husband:

Let your study
Be to content your lord, who hath receiv'd you
At fortune's alms; [I. i. 278-280.]

In bidding farewell to her sisters she warns them to "use well our father:" [I. i. 272.]

In France she hears of the cruel wrongs inflicted upon her father by Goneril and Regan, and hastens to England with an army to restore him to his throne. In her dealings with her stricken father we have an example of her tender affection and kindness of heart. She will not allow any ill-feeling to arise out of the treatment previously meted out to her by her father. Lear says:

I know you do not love me; for your sisters
Have, as I do remember, done me wrong:
You have some cause, they have not.
[IV. vii. 73-75.]

but Cordelia briefly replies: "No cause, no cause." [IV. vii. 75], and prays:

> Restoration hang
> Thy medicine on my lips, and let this kiss
> Repair those violent harms that my two sisters
> Have in my reverence made! [IV. vii. 26-29.]

In addressing her father she forms a striking contrast to her sisters. They wish to deprive him of all his servants, and he bitterly resents their actions, while Cordelia, knowing his love of retinue and homage, tries to soothe him by addressing him in a manner pleasing to him:

> How does my royal lord? How fares your majesty?
> [IV. vii. 44.]

She bears no malice even towards her sisters, but in her usual quiet and dignified manner condemns them for their treatment of Lear:

> Had you not been their father, these white flakes
> Had challenged pity of him. [IV. vii. 30-31.]

Her full appreciation of the true character of Kent, her champion, when disinherited by her father, she expresses in the following lines:

> O thou good Kent! how shall I live and work
> To match thy goodness? My life will be too short,
> And every measure fail me. [IV. vii. 1-3.]

She makes no outward demonstrations of her grief, when she receives the letter from Kent informing her of the cruelty of her sisters and the wretched condition of Lear; in her sorrow she wishes to be alone:

> There she shook
> The holy water from her heavenly eyes,
> And clamour-moisten'd, then away she started
> To deal with grief alone. [IV. iii. 30-33.]

The tender emotion and simplicity of her character, her quiet but intense feeling, and the extreme misery of the bewildered old Lear are brought before us in the scene in which Lear recognises her, and asks her forgiveness. Cordelia asks for a blessing from her father:

> O! look upon me, sir,
> And hold your hands in benediction o'er me.
> [IV. vii. 57-58.]

and Lear in turn asks forgiveness of his wronged child:

> Pray you now, forget and forgive: [IV. vii. 84.]

She is ambitious, but her chief ambition is to restore her aged father, and when the approach of the British army is announced, Cordelia declares:

> O dear father!
> It is thy business that I go about; [IV. iv. 23-24.]

and

> No blown ambition doth our arms incite,
> But love, dear love, and our aged father's right.
> [IV. iv. 27-28.]

In the engagement between her army, and that of Goneril and Regan, she is defeated and taken captive along with her aged father. At her death her father is almost driven to distraction. He cries out:

> Howl, howl, howl, howl! O! you are men of stones:
> Had I your tongues and eyes, I 'd use them so
> That heaven's vault should crack. She's gone for ever. [V. iii. 258-260.]

Nothing could be better in keeping with her quiet earnest and undemonstrative manner, than the words of her father:

> Her father was ever soft,
> Gentle and low, an excellent thing in woman.
> [V. iii. 273-274.]

Heine says: In the opening scene we get to know the characters of the daughters as well as the mind of the hero, and Cordelia's silent tenderness greatly touches us at the outset. She is a modern Antigone surpassing her ancient sister in warmth of feeling, —a pure spirit as the king only begins to perceive in his madness. Is she perfectly pure? I can see in her some of her father's obstinacy. But true love is very timid and hates mere verbiage; it can only weep and bleed to death. There is great tenderness in Cordelia's sorrowfully bitter allusion to the hypocrisy of her sisters, and it resembles the irony occasionally made use of by the Gospel-Hero, the master of charity."

Hudson remarks: "I know of nothing with which to compare Cordelia, nothing to illustrate her character by. An impersonation of the holiness of womanhood, herself alone is her own parallel; and all the objects that lend beauty when used to illustrate other things seem dumb or ineloquent of meaning beside her. Superior, perhaps, to all the rest of Shakespeare's women in beauty of character, she is nevertheless second to none

of them as a living and breathing reality. . . . After all, I am not sure but it were better to have emphasized her character with the single remark of Schlegel: 'Of Cordelia's heavenly beauty of soul I do not dare to speak.'"

Court before the Duke of Albany's Palace.

The Scene of Act I., Scene v. Lear sends Kent (Caius) with a despatch to Regan to inform her of his proposed visit to her castle. His conversation with his Fool shows that madness is gradually creeping upon him. Coleridge says: "The Fool's conclusion of this act by a grotesque prattling seems to indicate the dislocation of feeling that has begun and is to be continued."

Court within the Castle of the Earl of Gloucester.

The Scene of Act II., Scene i. We return here to the under-plot. Edmund continues his machinations against Edgar, with the result that Edgar is driven from his father's castle. Edmund wounds himself in the arm, and represents to his father that he has been attacked by Edgar, and thus succeeds in prejudicing his father against Edgar. "Thus the secret poison in Edmund's own heart steals forth; and then observe poor Gloster's 'Loyal and natural boy' as if praising the crime of Edmund's birth!" *Coleridge.*

Cupid. IV. vi. 142.

The God of Love, represented as a blind youth, and carrying a bow and arrows. Cf. *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, I. i. 235:

> And therefore is winged Cupid painted blind:

Curan. II. i. 1.

A courtier who gives notice to Edmund, bastard son of the Earl of Gloucester, of the impending visit of the Duke of Cornwall and the Duchess Regan to his father's castle. He asks Edmund if he has heard of the news abroad, but on receiving a reply in the negative, says:

> Have you heard of no likely wars toward,
> 'twixt the Dukes of Cornwall and Albany?
> [II. i. 11-12.]

to which Edmund replies: "Not a word." [II. i. 13.]

Curan bids farewell to Edmund, saying:

> You may do then, in time. Fare you well, sir.
> [II. i. 14.]

Doctor. IV iv. p. 1; IV. vii. p. 1.

Lear is discovered in a bed in Cordelia's tent with a doctor in attendance, and sweet music playing. The doctor, with every means that the skill of medicine can suggest, is partly successful in curing him of his madness. He assures the anxious Cordelia:

> Be by, good madam, when we do awake him;
> I doubt not of his temperance. [IV. vii. 23-24.]

When Lear awakes, and still fails to recognise Cordelia, asking if she is a spirit, Cordelia is almost given to despair, but the doctor exclaims:

> He 's scarce awake; let him alone awhile.
> [IV. vii. 51.]

He tries to comfort Cordelia in her anxiety for her father:

> Be comforted, good madam; the great rage,
> You see, is kill'd in him: and yet it is danger
> To make him even o'er the time he has lost.
> Desire him to go in; trouble him no more
> Till further settling. [IV. vii. 78-82.]

Dolphin. III. iv. 106.

> says suum, mun, hey no nonny.
> Dolphin my boy, my boy; senna! let him
> trot by. [III. iv. 105-107.]

The burthen of a ballad in *Two Noble Kinsmen:*

> *Dolphin, my boy, my boy,*
> *Cease, let him trot by;*
> It seemeth not that such a foe
> From me or you would fly.

The ballad from which this stanza is taken, was written on a battle fought in France, during which the King, unwilling to put the suspected valour of his son the *Dauphin, i.e., Dolphin* (so called and spelt at those times), to the trial, is represented as desirous to restrain him from any attempt to establish an opinion of his courage on an adversary who wears the least appearance of strength; and at last assists in propping up a dead body against a tree for him to try his manhood upon. Therefore, as different

champions are supposed to cross the field, the King always discovers some objection to his attacking each of them, and repeats these two lines as every fresh personage is introduced:

Dolphin, my boy, my boy, etc.

The song I have never seen, but had this account from an old gentleman, who was only able to repeat part of it, and died before I could have supposed the discovery would have been of the least importance to me. *Steeves.* Cf. Jonson: *Bartholomew Fair*, V. iii.: "Od's my life! I am not allied to the scullion yet; he shall be *Dauphin my boy.*"

Dover. III. i. 36; III. vi. 96; III. vii. 21, 54, 55, 56, 58, 97; IV. i. 43, 55, 72.

Duchess of Burgundy. I. i. 245.

Royal Lear,
Give but that portion which yourself proposed,
And here I take Cordelia by the hand,
Duchess of Burgundy. [I. i. 242-245.]

i.e., as Duchess. To make Cordelia, the Duchess of Burgundy, on condition that Lear gives her that portion of the kingdom which he had intended.

Duke of Albany. I. i. 2, 42, 66, 127; II. i. 12, 28; III. i. 21; IV. iii. 49.

Married to Goneril, eldest daughter of King Lear. Lear, it is thought, had more respect for Albany than the Duke of Cornwall, husband to Regan. The Earl of Kent remarks:

I thought the king had more affected the
Duke of Albany than Cornwall. [I. i. 1-2.]

Lear, in rage at the conduct of his daughter Goneril, decides to take up his abode with Regan. Albany enters, and is asked by Lear if he is privy to the indignity bestowed upon his by his daughter. He replies in the negative, whereupon Lear pours out to him his tale in terms of fiercest hatred. Albany tries to calm him, saying:

Pray, sir, be patient. [I. iv. 283.]

and

My lord, I am guiltless, as I am ignorant
Of what hath moved you. [I. iv. 294-295.]

Albany mildly protests to Goneril of he conduct to her father, but out of his love fo her he is blinded to her faults. He exclaims

I cannot be so partial, Goneril,
To the great love I bear you. [I. iv. 333-334.]

but he is immediately silenced by Goneril.

Albany is full of sympathy for Lear an Gloucester. When Goneril, accompanied b Edmund, Gloucester's son, arrives befor the Duke of Albany's palace, Oswald, Gon eril's steward, tells them of the great chang in his master, and the differences betwee husband and wife are now apparent. Oswal remarks:

but never man so changed.
I told him of the army that was landed;
He smiled at it: I told him you were coming;
His answer was "The worse": of Gloucester's treachery,
And of the loyal service of his son,
When I inform'd him, then he call'd me sot,
And told me I had turn'd the wrong side out:
What most he should dislike seems pleasant to him;
What like, offensive. [IV. ii. 3-11.]

Goneril exclaims:

I must change arms at home, and give the distaff
Into my husband's hands. [IV. ii. 17-19.]

Albany appeals to the better nature of Goneril to put aside her evil doings, but at last finds out that it is useless, and sees only her base and mean qualities, and speaks of her, and Regan her sister, as tigers, not daughters of Lear:

Wisdom and goodness to the vile seem vile;
Filths savour but themselves. What have you done?
Tigers, not daughters, what have you perform'd?
A father, and a gracious aged man,
Whose reverence the head-lugg'd bear would lick,
Most barbarous, most degenerate! have you madded
Could my good brother suffer you to do it?
A man, a prince, by him so benefited!
If that the heavens do not their visible spirits
Send quickly down to tame these vile offences,
It will come,
Humanity must perforce prey on itself,
Like monsters of the deep. [IV. ii. 38-50.]

and

See thyself, devil!
Proper deformity seems not in the fiend
So horrid as in woman. [IV. ii. 59-61.]

In his concluding remarks to Goneril he tells her:

> thou art a fiend,
> A woman's shape doth shield thee. [IV. ii. 66-67.]

His sympathies now lie with Lear and Gloucester, and he declares that he will live to avenge the putting out of Gloucester's eyes:

> Gloucester, I live
> To thank thee for the love thou show'dst the king,
> And to revenge thine eyes. [IV. ii. 94-96.]

He fights against France in the defence of his country, and not against Lear. Edmund, Gloucester's son, leads the troops of Regan, whom he is about to marry, when he is accused and suddenly arrested by Albany on a charge of treason. He admits the charge to Albany:

> What you have charged me with, that have I done,
> And more, much more; the time will bring it out:
> 'Tis past, and so am I. [V. iii. 163-165.]

A gentleman enters with a bloody knife, and brings the news of the deaths of Goneril and Regan. Albany commands:

> Produce the bodies, be they alive or dead:
> [*Exit Gentleman.*
> This judgment of the heavens, that makes us tremble,
> Touches us not with pity. [V. iii. 231-233.]

The news of Edmund's death is also brought to Albany, who in reply to the captain, says:

> That 's but a trifle here. [V. iii. 296.]

He now declares his intention of resigning in favour of Lear:

> for us, we will resign,
> During the life of this old majesty,
> To him our absolute power: [V. iii. 299-301.]

Lear, however, dies almost immediately, and Albany declares that the government shall rest with Kent, Edgar, and himself. His readiness to share the honours of government with Kent and Edgar shows the honesty and mildness of his disposition. The play concludes with the words of Edgar:

> The weight of this sad time we must obey;
> Speak what we feel, not what we ought to say.
> The oldest hath borne most: we that are young
> Shall never see so much, nor live so long.
> [V. iii. 324-327.]

According to Holinshed, Albany was one of three divisions of Great Britain, granted by Brutus, an ancient king of the island, to his three sons. "The third and last part of the Iland he [Brute] allotted vnto Albanact his yoongest sonne . . . This latter parcell at the first, tooke the name of Albanactus, who called it Albania. But now a small portion onelie of the region (being vnder the regiment of a duke) reteineth the said denomination, the rest being called Scotland, of certeine Scots that came ouer from Ireland to inhabit in those quarters. It is diuided from Lhoegres [England] also by the Solue and the Firth, yet some doo note the Humber; so that Albania (as Brute left it) conteined all the north part of the Iland that is to be found beyond the aforesaid streame, vnto the point of Cathnesse."

Verity says: "The two Dukes are contrasted no less than their wives. Albany seems in some ways like what Gloucester must have been. He is naturally kind, merciful, just. He is at first as 'guiltless . . . as ignorant' of his wife's treatment of Lear, and afterwards when he perceives her drift protests, though feebly; nor is he present, we must remember, when the king is maddened into leaving Gloucester's castle. He intends, as Edmund foresees, to treat his prisoners generously. He would resign to Lear the throne of which his victory has made him undisputed master. He has not that moral callousness which makes some of the other characters altogether indifferent to the 'judgment of the heavens,' or the sufferings of others. But Albany's good qualities are of the passive type. He hesitates and vacillates, effaces himself and suffers his better instincts to be over-ruled. He shows at his weakest in the scene, where, though disapproving of Goneril's action, he has not resolution enough to press his resistance. His wife treats him contemptuously, underrating his spirit and capacity, until he is 'changed' and goaded into rebuking her. Then, as is often the case with the long-suffering, he astonishes by his vigour, and thenceforth, as the drift of events makes in his favour, he rises more to the height of his responsibility and in our esteem."

Duke of Burgundy. I. i. 34, 45, 127, 189, 190, 196, 238, 248, 267.

One of the suitors for the hand of Cordelia—daughter of King Lear—the other being the King of France. A cold, shallow-hearted fortune-hunter. Lear questions him as to what is the smallest dower he will be satisfied with, and without which he will withdraw his suit. Burgundy replies:

> Most royal majesty,
> I crave no more than what your highness offer'd,
> Nor will you tender less. [I. i. 194-196.]

Cordelia is cast off by her father, and is now dowerless. Lear asks Burgundy if he is still willing to marry Cordelia, to which question he exclaims:

> Pardon me, royal sir;
> Election makes not up on such conditions.
> [I. i. 206-207.]

Lear replies:

> Then leave her, sir; for, by the power that made me,
> I tell you all her wealth. [I. i. 208-209.]

Burgundy tells Lear he is willing to marry Cordelia on certain conditions, saying:

> Royal Lear,
> Give but that portion which yourself proposed,
> And here I take Cordelia by the hand,
> Duchess of Burgundy. [I. i. 242-245.]

but as Lear refuses the conditions, Burgundy, on pretence of expressing sorrow to Cordelia:

> I am sorry, then, you have so lost a father
> That you must lose a husband. [I. i. 247-248.]

"Burgundy, sharply contrasted with the King of France, is a mercenary suitor, to whom personal worth is nothing without a dowry. We are glad that the heavenly Cordelia does not fall into his hands." *Moffatt.*

Duke of Cornwall. I. i. 2, 41, 68, 127; II. i. 3, 12, 24; II. iv. 98, 102; III. i. 21; IV. ii. 70; IV. iii. 49; IV. vii. 85.

Husband of Regan, second daughter of King Lear. In the opening words of the play when the Earls of Kent and Gloucester are discussing Lear's division of his kingdom, Kent remarks:

> I thought the king had more affected the
> Duke of Albany than Cornwall. [I. i. 1-2.]

The remarks prove that Kent had some suspicion of difference between the two dukes, Albany being thought to be a favourite with Lear.

Very little is known of Cornwall throughout the play, and that little is bad.

Lear quarrels with his daughter Goneril, and leaves her intending to take up his abode with Regan and Cornwall, who, however, leave home to avoid receiving him.

Cornwall puts the Earl of Kent in the stocks for his outspoken manner, notwithstanding that Kent declares he is the king's messenger, and the king will take the news ill. Later he again shows his callous, heartless, and cruel manner when he puts out the eyes of the Earl of Gloucester, while attempting to comfort Lear, when he is driven by his children into the violence of the storm. Cornwall exclaims:

> See 't shalt thou never. Fellows, hold the chair.
> Upon these eyes of thine I 'll set my foot.
> [III. vii. 70-71.]

and when he has put out the eyes of Gloucester, Regan, his wife, remarks:

> Go thrust him out of gates, and let him smell
> His way to Dover. [III. vii. 96-97.]

This act of inhumanity of Gloucester's, causes one of his own servants out of horror at his atrocity to attack him after he has plucked out one eye. The servant is killed, but not before Cornwall is mortally wounded, and dies soon afterwards. The news of his death is brought to the Duke of Albany by a messenger:

> O! my good lord, the Duke of Cornwall 's dead;
> Slain by his servant, going to put out
> The other eye of Gloucester. [IV. ii. 70-72.]

Verity says: "The latter (Cornwall) will be ever associated with the most horrible incident in Shakespeare. But independently of the impression left by his savagery in that scene his character, though slightly developed, excites extreme disgust. He is a good illustration how vivid and actual one of the minor *dramatis personæ* can be made through a few strokes. For instance, his vile habit of heartless jesting is in itself a

revelation of meanness and malice and cruelty. He has not one redeeming merit, or hint of a merit, unlike even the 'smiling rogue' Oswald, who is at least a loyal servant."

Earl of Gloucester. I. i. 34; II. i. 120; II. iv. 97, 297; III. v. 18; III. vii. 4, 17, 24; IV. ii. 6, 72, 80, 84, 94; V. v. 9; IV. vi. 117, 182; IV. vii. 89.

A man of a very different stamp from the Earl of Kent. Has been a man of wild and licentious habits,—Edmund, his illegitimate son, being a living witness of his father's past. His intellect is not strong, and he fails to understand the different characters of his sons, Edmund and Edgar. His bastard son Edmund resolves, by the ruin of his legitimate brother, to succeed his father, and through the conspiracy of his brother Edmund, Edgar's loyalty to Gloucester his father is doubted, and upon almost impossible evidence, Gloucester holds him guilty of an almost unnatural crime. He is a man of a superstitious nature:

> These late eclipses in the sun and moon
> portend no good to us: [I. ii. 113-114.]

and not very courageous, though his courage asserts itself when he will not allow the king to perish in the wild storm, without using his every effort to succour him, but invites him to:

> where both fire and food is ready. [III. iv. 164.]

although he steals out when the duke will be ignorant of his absence, and unaware of his help to Lear. Even at the last moment he seems to halt between two opinions:

> My duty cannot suffer
> To obey in all your daughters' hard commands:
> Though their injunction be to bar my doors,
> And let this tyrannous night take hold upon you,
> [III. iv. 159-162.]

It is when he is brought before Regan and Cornwall that he speaks out his mind, and condemns their cruelty to Lear. Regan questions him as to why he has shown kindness to the king, and to where he has been sent. His reply:

> Because I would not see thy cruel nails
> Pluck out his poor old eyes; nor thy fierce sister
> In his anointed flesh stick boarish fangs.
> [III. vii. 59-61.]

and

> but I shall see
> The winged vengeance overtake such children.
> [III. vii. 68-69.]

so angers Regan and Cornwall that orders are given to put out his eyes:

> See 't shalt thou never. Fellows, hold the chair.
> Upon these eyes of thine I 'll set my foot.
> [II. vii. 70-71.]

He is thrust out blind by Regan:

> Go thrust him out at gates, and let him smell
> His way to Dover. [III. vii. 96-97.]

His terrible affliction opens his eyes to the worthlessness of Edmund, and the better, and finer, qualities of his son Edgar. He exclaims:

> O my follies! Then Edgar was abused.
> Kind gods, forgive me that, and prosper him!
> [III. vii. 94-95.]

and

> Ah! dear son Edgar,
> The food of thy abused father's wrath;
> Might I but live to see thee in my touch,
> I 'd say I had eyes again. [IV. i. 21-24.]

The predominant feature of his life is weakness, and before his life closes, he learns that the punishment which has fallen upon him, is in some measure a retribution for his past sins of which he thought so lightly. He dies of a broken heart.

"The similar discord in Gloster's family has arisen from points in Gloster's character entirely opposite to those in Lear's. A good, mild, unexcitable man, of easy mind and manners, lax and superstitious, Gloster has created his own trouble, just as Lear has drawn down his misery upon himself. He has a natural son, through whom his breach of the marriage-vow is to be avenged; he has indeed in addition done everything in education and treatment that could provoke the bastard against him. For nine years he kept him away from his house, and he intends to send him away again; he is ashamed of him, and owns this to a stranger with little delicacy in Edmund's presence. The secret machinations of this base-born second son are in the first place directed

against the legitimate first-born, Edgar, but they re-act upon the father, who credulously allows himself to become the bastard's tool." *Gervinus.*

Earl of Gloucester. III. v. 18
= Edmund.

Earl of Kent. I. i. 27, 121, 145, 154, 187, 303; I. ii. 23, 129; I. iv. 4; III. iv. 174; IV. iii. 29; IV. vii. 1, 91; V. iii. 220, 230, 239, 269, 283, 284.

At the opening of the play, Kent, along with Gloucester, discusses Lear's division of the kingdom amongst his daughters. He champions the cause of Cordelia, when she is rejected and cast away by her father, and strongly opposes Lear's mad condemnation of her. He begs of Lear:

> Reserve thy state;
> And, in thy best consideration, check
> This hideous rashness: answer my life my judgment,
> Thy youngest daughter does not love thee least;
> Not are those empty-hearted whose low sound
> Reverbs no hollowness. [I. i. 149-154.]

He is loyal to his king:

> Royal Lear,
> Whom I have ever honour'd as my king,
> Loved as my father, as my master follow'd,
> As my great patron thought on in my prayers.
> [I. i. 139-142.]

but his loyalty does not prevent him from speaking the truth to him:

> Revoke thy doom;
> Or, whilst I can vent clamour from my throat,
> I 'll tell thee thou dost evil. [I. i. 165-167.]

On account of telling the king that he does evil, he is allowed ten days to betake himself from the kingdom:

> if on the tenth day following
> Thy banish'd trunk be found in our dominions,
> The moment is thy death. Away! By Jupiter,
> This shall not be revok'd. [I. i. 177-180.]

to which Kent replies:

> Fare thee well, king; sith thus thou wilt
> appear,
> Freedom lives hence, and banishment is here.
> [I. i. 181-182.]

He tries to comfort Cordelia, saying:

> The gods to their dear shelter take thee,
> maid,
> That justly think'st and hast most rightly said!
> [I. i. 183-184.]

Sometime later, in disguise, he manages to engage himself as servant to Lear. He shows his affection and respect for the king, when he trips up Oswald, Goneril's steward, who, in accordance with the instructions of Goneril is disrespectful to Lear, who leaves her house for that of Regan's, giving instructions to Kent to go before him to announce his coming. Kent exclaims:

> I will not sleep, my lord, till I have delivered
> your letter. [I. v. 6-7.]

He speaks out the fearless truth concerning Cornwall and Goneril:

> Sir, 'tis my occupation to be plain:
> I have seen better faces in my time
> Than stands on any shoulder that I see
> Before me at this instant. [II. ii. 95-98.]

Regan and Cornwall leave for Gloucester's home to avoid receiving Lear. Kent arrives about the same time, along with Goneril's steward. The two meeting, quarrel, and Regan orders Kent to be put in the stocks, and in this plight he is found by Lear. He shows great fidelity to Lear when he is cast away by his daughters. He joins him when he rushes into the violence of a raging storm, and endeavours to be a comfort to him in his misery. He shares in all his sorrows, and tries to shield him as much as possible from all trouble. Cordelia says of him:

> O thou good Kent! how shall I live and work
> To match thy goodness? My life will be too short,
> And every measure fail me. [IV. vii. 1-3.]

The death of his master, and also of Cordelia, are too much for him. He is heart-broken, and when Albany entreats that he will share the government of the kingdom with Edgar, his answer is:

> I have a journey, sir, shortly to go;
> My master calls me, I must not say no.
> [V. iii. 322-323.]

For Hudson's comment on the character of the Earl of Kent, *see under* Edgar.

Edgar. I. ii. 16, 58, 60, 148; II. i. 92; II. iii. 21; III. vii. 94; IV. i. 21; IV. vi. 40, 182; IV. vii. 90; V. iii. 170.

Son of the Earl of Gloucester. As Cordelia is regarded as the beautiful heroine of the play, so is Edgar the hero. Being an upright, and honourable man he fails to see evil in others, and readily falls into the trap laid by Edmund who seeks to deprive him of his rights, and so succeed his father. He is described by Edmund as:

> a brother noble,
> Whose nature is so far from doing harms
> That he suspects none; [I. ii. 199-201.]

He seems to accept readily Edmund's feigned story of his father's ill-will towards him, and is even persuaded by Edmund to flee from home, thus giving ground for suspicion, instead of first ascertaining from his father the cause of any ill-will. Edmund's plot is so successful that Gloucester says of Edgar:

> the villain shall not 'scape;
> The duke must grant me that: besides his picture
> I will send far and near, that all the kingdom
> May have due note of him; [II. i. 80-83.]

Adopting the disguise of a wandering lunatic, he hides in a wood, and is usually known as "poor Tom":

> Poor Turlygod! poor Tom!
> That 's something yet: Edgar I nothing am.
> [II. iii. 20-21.]

and "Tom's a-cold." [III. iv. 85; 158.]

In this condition he first meets the mad King Lear, and afterwards his father, Gloucester. Like Cordelia he does not allow any feelings of hate to predominate against those who have wronged him, but tenderly cares for his father, when after the blinding of Gloucester they meet on the heath, and endeavours to be a comfort to him in his physical and mental anguish. When Gloucester contemplates suicide, it is Edgar who wins him from it, causing him to exclaim:

> I do remember now; henceforth I 'll bear
> Affliction till I do cry out itself
> "Enough, enough," and die. [IV. vi. 75-77.]

to which Edgar replies:

> Bear free and patient thoughts. [IV. vi. 80.]

Even after all his troubles which he briefly, though eloquently relates [V. iii. 182-200] he behaves charitably towards Edmund, even when his baseness is exposed. In the well-known words, he half apologises for him:

> The gods are just, and of our pleasant vices
> Make instruments to plague us: [V. iii. 171-172.]

His much-to-be-admired conduct stands out in bold relief to the treachery of Edmund, his half-brother.

"If the best grace and happiness of life consist, as this play makes us feel that they do, in a forgetting of self and a living for others, Kent and Edgar are those of Shakespeare's men whom one should most wish to resemble. Strikingly similar in virtues and situation, these two persons are notwithstanding widely different in character. Brothers in magnanimity and in misfortune; equally invincible in fidelity, the one to his King, the other to his father; both driven to disguise themselves, and in their disguise both serving where they stand condemned; Kent, too generous to control himself, is always quick, fiery, and impetuous; Edgar, controlling himself even because of his generosity, is always calm, collected, and deliberate. For, if Edgar be the more judicious and prudent, Kent is the more unselfish of the two; the former disguising himself for his own safety, and then turning his disguise into an opportunity of service; the latter disguising himself merely *in order* to serve, and then perilling his life in the same course whereby the other seeks to preserve it. Nor is Edgar so lost to himself and absorbed in others but that he can and does survive them; whereas Kent's life is so bound up with others, that their death plucks him after." *Hudson.*

Edmund. I. i. 25; I. ii. 17, 20, 26, 106, 127, 154; II. i. 37, 41, 105, 112; III. iii. 1, 22; III. vii. 7, 24, 88, 89; IV. ii. 15; IV. v. 4, 11, 19, 26, 30; IV. vi. 255; V. iii. 83, 113, 126, 168, 238, 240, 296.

Bastard son of the Earl of Gloucester. On account of his bastardy is sent abroad as no career at home lies before him. He is in-

cidentally referred to at the king's palace, when Kent and Gloucester discuss Lear's division of his kingdom. Gloucester exclaims:

> He hath been out nine years, and away he
> shall again. [I. i. 32-33.]

His anger at his enforced exile is probably the cause of a grudge against his father, and also his brother Edgar, who is heir to all his father's wealth, while he can expect nothing, —hence the cause of his murderous resolve to rid himself first of his brother Edgar, and finally his father, in order to succeed to his father's wealth and name.

He craftily induces Edgar to leave Gloucester's castle, and in the meantime wounds himself in the arm, representing to Gloucester that he has been attacked by Edgar, because he would not be privy to the assassination of his father. For his story he receives undeserved praise, and a promise to succeed. Gloucester exclaims:

> and of my land,
> Loyal and natural boy, I 'll work the means
> To make thee capable. [II. i. 84-86.]

For his ostensible loyalty to his father, he also receives the praise of Cornwall:

> For you, Edmund,
> Whose virtue and obedience doth this instant
> So much commend itself, you shall be ours:
> Natures of such deep trust we shall much need;
> You we first seize on. [II. i. 112-116.]

He is the cause of his father's blindness, for while Gloucester tries to comfort Lear against the evil wishes of Goneril and Regan, he is betrayed by Edmund.

He is licentious as is shown in his dealings with Goneril and Regan. This trait in his character may be partly hereditary, and partly due to the fashion of the times.

In battle he leads the troops of Regan, intending afterwards to become her husband, but is suddenly arrested by Albany on a charge of treason:

> Edmund, I arrest thee
> On capital treason; [V. iii. 83-84.]

The one redeeming feature in his character is his personal bravery shown in battle, and also in accepting the single combat with Edgar, when he is fatally wounded. He now confesses his crime, and is forgiven by Edgar:

> What you have charged me with, that have I done,
> And more, much more; the time will bring it out:
> 'Tis past, and so am I. But what art thou
> Thou hast this fortune on me? If thou 'rt noble,
> I do forgive thee. [V. iii. 163-167.]

To almost every person in the play he has proved false and treacherous, and his last act of unfaithfulness is revealed as he lies dying,—that he has given orders for Cordelia and Lear to be put to death. His word can save them, but for Goneril's sake he keeps silent, as Lear's death will benefit her. Hearing of Goneril's death, and being himself at the point of death, he endeavours to save them. His attendants hasten to prevent the sentence being carried out, but all is too late; Cordelia is dead, and Lear dies soon afterwards, broken-hearted:

> I pant for life: some good I mean to do
> Despite of mine own nature. Quickly send,
> Be brief in it, to the castle; for my writ
> Is on the life of Lear and on Cordelia.
> Nay, send in time. [V. iii. 244-248.]

Hudson remarks: "For the union of wit and wickedness, Edmund stands next to Richard and Iago. His strong and nimble intellect, his manifest courage, his energy of character, and his noble person, prepare us on our first acquaintance to expect from him not only great undertakings, but great success in them. But, while his personal advantages naturally generate pride, his disgraces of fortune are such as, from pride, to generate guilt. The circumstances of our first meeting with him, the matter and manner of Gloster's talk about him and to him, go far to explain his conduct; while the subsequent outleakings of his mind in soliloquy let us into his secret springs of action. With a mixture of guilt, shame, and waggery, his father, before his face, and in the presence of one whose respect he craves, makes him and his birth a theme of gross and wanton discourse; at the same time drawing comparisons between him and 'another son some year elder than this,' such as could hardly fail at once to wound his pride, to stimulate his ambition, and to awaken his enmity. Thus the kindly influences of human relationship and household ties are turned to their contraries. He feels himself the victim of a disgrace for which he is not to blame; which he cannot

hope to outgrow; which no degree of personal worth can efface; and from which he sees no escape but in the pomp and circumstances of worldly power."

Field between the British and the French Camps.

The Scene of Act V., Scene ii. The scene of the battle between the British and French forces, in which the latter are victorious. Lear and Cordelia are taken prisoners.

Flibbertigibbet. III. iv. 123; IV. i. 62.

The fiend of whom Edgar claims to be possessed, when he feigns to be a Bedlamite.

This is the fiend who "begins at curfew, and walks till the first cock;" and gives man "the web and the pin, squints the eye, and makes the hare-lip; mildews the white wheat, and hurts the poor creature of earth." In the time of Elizabeth, when the Spaniards intended to invade England, some Jesuits, for the sake of making converts, pretended to cast out four devils from the family of Mr. Edmund Peckham, a Roman Catholic. By order of the Privy Council, Bishop Harsnet wrote and published a full account of the imposture.

Fool. I. iv. p. 104; I. v. p. 1; II. iv. p. 1, p. 289; III. ii. p. 1; III. iv. p. 1; III. vi. p. 1.

Of all Shakespeare's fools, Lear's fool is considered the best beloved. He is described by Kent as "not altogether fool," [I. iv. 162] and by Goneril as "more knave than fool," [I. iv. 336.]

His love for Cordelia is great, for we are told by the Knight that:

> Since my young lady's going into France, sir, the fool hath much pined away. [I. iv. 80-81.]

He disapproves of the king's division of the kingdom among his daughters, exclaiming:

> When thou clovest thy crown i' the middle, and gavest away both parts, thou borest thine ass on thy back o'er the dirt: thou hadst little wit in thy bald crown when thou gavest thy golden one away. [I. iv. 172-176.]

When driven out by his daughters Goneril and Regan, it is to his Fool that Lear turns in his loneliness, and attended only by him faces the violence of the storm, crying:

> O fool! I shall go mad. [II. iv. 289.]

In the play he assumes an important character, and in his plain-spokenness he enjoys the license of tongue belonging to his class. He shows tender devotion to his master, not hesitating to freely speak his mind to, and also concerning, Goneril, whose hypocrisy he is quick to see. We hear him remarking to the king:

> thou
> hast pared thy wit o' both sides, and left nothing i' the middle: [I. iv. 202-204.]

and speaking of Goneril as "one o' the parings." [I. iv. 204-205.]

Goneril frowns, the fool saying:

> Yes, forsooth, I will hold my tongue; so your face bids me, though you say nothing. [I. iv. 213-215.]

In accompanying the king in his pursuit of Regan, his heartfelt sympathy goes out to him in his sorrow in a manner in which he seems to have no other outlet, for he seeks to soothe him by using his wit and merry speech as medicine for grief.

On the heath in the wildness of the raging storm the fool is again Lear's companion, and again in the hovel in which Lear is persuaded to take shelter. The fool knows that his master's wits are gone. His sorrow for him is deep and intense, though not emotional, and with the simple words, "I 'll go to bed at noon." [III. vi. 90], he withdraws from the scene.

The speech though to appearance so trivial is intended by the dramatist to explain that the fool is dying, sinking beneath the burden of the miseries of his master, and the loss of Cordelia.

One short mention is afterwards made concerning him, that of Kent:

> Come, help to bear thy master: [III. vi. 105.]

Douce says: "The fool in this play is the genuine domestic buffoon; but notwithstanding his sarcastical flashes of wit, for which we must give the poet credit, and

ascribe them in some degree to what is called stage effect, he is a mere *natural* with a considerable share of cunning. . . . The kindness which Lear manifests towards his fool, and the latter's extreme familiarity with his master in the midst of the most poignant grief and affliction, may excite surprise in those who are not intimately acquainted with the simple manners of our forefathers. An almost contemporary writer has preserved to us a curious anecdote of William duke of Normandy, afterwards William I. of England, whose life was saved by the attachment and address of his fool.

Coleridge remarks: "The fool is no comic buffoon to make the groundlings laugh,—no forced condescension of Shakespeare's genius to the taste of his audience. Accordingly the poet prepares for his introduction, which he never does with any of his common clowns and fools, by bringing him into living connection with the pathos of the play. He is as wonderful a creation as Caliban;—his wild babblings, and inspired idiocy, articulate and gauge the horrors of the scene."

France. I. i. 84.

> to whose young love
> The vines of France and milk of Burgundy
> Strive to be interess'd; [I. i. 83-84.]

France was noted for its vineyards. The term "France" was unknown until the fifth century, the name being derived from the Franks, a tribe of German barbarians.

France. I. i. 258; I. iv. 80; III. i. 30; III. v. 12; IV. vii. 76.

Frateretto. III. vi. 7.

A devil who tells Edgar that Nero is an angler in the lake of darkness. The name is from Harsnet.

French Camp near Dover.

The Scene of Act IV., Scene iii. This scene is omitted in the Folio. The French army has landed near Dover. The King of France returns to his kingdom and leaves Cordelia in charge of the French troops.

Gentleman. I. v. p. 49; II. iv. p. 1.

Gentleman, Attendant on Cordelia. III. i. p. 1; IV. iii. p. 1; IV. vi. p. 193; IV. vii. p. 1.

In Act III., Scene i., the gentleman is dispatched to Dover by the Earl of Kent with letters to Cordelia, and in Act IV., Scene iii., he relates to Kent in wonderfully descriptive language, the effect which his letter has produced on her:

> she took them, read them in my presence;
> And now and then an ample tear trill'd down
> Her delicate cheek; it seem'd she was a queen
> Over her passion; [IV. iii. 12-15.]

and

> patience and sorrow strove
> Who should express her goodliest. You have seen
> Sunshine and rain at once; her smiles and tears
> Were like a better way; those happy smilets
> That play'd on her ripe lip seem'd not to know
> What guests were in her eyes; which parted thence,
> As pearls from diamonds dropp'd. In brief,
> Sorrow would be a rarity most belov'd,
> If all could so become it. [IV. iii. 17-25.]

and

> Faith, once or twice she heaved the name of "father"
> Pantingly forth, as if it press'd her heart;
> Cried "Sisters! sisters! Shame of ladies! sisters!
> Kent! father! sisters! What? i' the storm, i' the night?
> Let pity not be believed!" There she shook
> The holy water from her heavenly eyes,
> And clamour-moisten'd, then away she started
> To deal with grief alone. [IV. iii. 26-33.]

Attendants take charge of Lear to bring him to Cordelia and the doctor. Lear escapes, and in running away is pursued by them. Cordelia's gentleman attendant describes him:

> A sight most pitiful in the meanest wretch,
> Past speaking of in a king! [IV. vi. 209-210.]

He speaks of Cordelia as:

> one daughter,
> Who redeems nature from the general curse
> Which twain have brought her to. [IV. vi. 210-212.]

Lear is arrayed on a bed in Cordelia's tent, and while in the heaviness of sleep is arrayed in fresh garments by the gentleman attendant on Cordelia. Cordelia asks: "Is he array'd?" [IV. v., 20], and her gentle-

man answers:

> Ay, madam; in the heaviness of sleep
> We put fresh garments on him. [IV. vii. 21-22.]

He questions Kent as to the Duke of Cornwall's death, and is told by him that Edmund, bastard son of Gloucester, is the probable leader of his people.

Germany. IV. vii. 91.

Gloucester. I. v. 1.

The town of Gloucester, which Shakespeare makes the residence of the Duke of Cornwall and Regan. Lear not finding Cornwall and Regan at home follows them to the Earl of Gloucester's castle, which the dramatist conceived to be in the neighbourhood of that city. Our old English Earls usually resided in the counties from whence they took their titles.

Gloucester. IV. ii. 25; V. iii. 91, 152.

= Edmund.

God's spies. V. iii. 17.

= Angels commissioned to survey and report on the lives of men. *Johnson.*

Goneril. I. i. 53, 82; I. iv. 333; II. iv. 32; III. iv. 19; III. vi. 49, 52; IV. ii. 29; IV. vi. 97, 277; V. i. 60.

The eldest daughter of King Lear, and wife of the Duke of Albany. When called upon by her father to express the measure of her love for him, her words afterwards prove to be merely a profession of flattery, gross hypocrisy, and exaggeration:

> Sir, I do love you more than words can wield the matter;
> Dearer than eye-sight, space and liberty;
> Beyond what can be valued rich or rare;
> No less than life, with grace, health, beauty, honour;
> As much as child e'er lov'd, or father found;
> A love that makes breath poor and speech unable;
> Beyond all manner of so much I love you.
> [I. i. 55-61.]

Her sneer at Cordelia concerning France her lover:

> who hath receiv'd you
> At fortune's alms; [I. i. 278-279.]

is in keeping with her nature.

It is Goneril who first speaks to Regan of Lear's rashness in casting out Cordelia, and banishing Kent. They agree that steps must be taken to prevent further rashness:

> We must do something, and i' th' heat.
> [I. i. 310.]

She is partly the cause of her father's madness, and invites Oswald, her steward, to be disrespectful to her father in order to drive him from his stay at her castle to seek a home with Regan, but at the same time she despatches a messenger to her sister inviting her co-operation in the matter. Her professed love is turned to scorn:

> Put on what weary negligence you please,
> You and your fellows; I 'd have it come to question:
> If he distaste it, let him to our sister,
> Whose mind and mine, I know, in that are one,
> [I. iii. 13-16.]

According to Goneril's instructions, Oswald is disrespectful to Lear, when Kent, his servant in disguise, trips him up. Goneril chides with her father for the riot of his train, which she asks him to "disquantity." Lear in rage addresses her as "degenerate bastard" and sets out for Regan's house.

Regan shows no more kindness than Goneril, and Lear in despair determines to ride out in the storm, Goneril exclaiming to Gloucester:

> My lord, entreat him by no means to stay.
> [II. iv. 302.]

Her horrible cruelty and lack of womanliness are again shown in the blinding of Gloucester, and even her husband, Albany, now sees the baseness of her nature, and declares that henceforth his sympathies are with the king and Gloucester.

She is guilty of adultery with Edmund, Gloucester's bastard son, and whom Regan also has designs to marry when she becomes a widow. Goneril's jealousy is evident, and at last she falls to the lowest depths—a murderer—administering poison to Regan, and finally committing suicide. News of her death, and also that of Regan, is brought to Albany by a Gentleman:

> Your lady, sir, your lady: and her sister
> By her is poisoned; she confesses it.
> [V. iii. 227 228.]

Her husband shows no remorse at her death:

> Produce the bodies, be they alive or dead:
> [*Exit Gentleman.*
> This judgment of the heavens, that makes us tremble,
> Touches us not with pity. [V. iii. 231-233.]

Hudson remarks: "There is so much sameness of temper and behaviour in these two she-tigers, that we find it somewhat difficult to distinguish them as individuals; their characteristic traits being, as it were, fused and run together in the heat of a common malice. Both are actuated by an extreme ferocity, which however, up to the time of receiving their portions, we must suppose to have been held in check by a most artful and vigilant selfishness. And the malice of Goneril, the eldest, appears still to be under some restraint, from feeling that her husband is not in sympathy with her. For Albany, though rather timid and tardy in showing it, remains true to the old King; his tardiness probably springing, at least in part, from a reluctance to make a square issue with his wife, who, owing to her superiority of rank and position, had somewhat the advantage of him in their marriage."

Hall in the Duke of Albany's Palace, A.

The Scene of Act I., Scene iv. Kent, after his banishment from the kingdom, follows Cordelia into France, but returns, and disguising himself, enters Albany's castle. Lear strikes Oswald for being disrespectful to him. Oswald is tripped by Kent, and is engaged by Lear as one of his retinue. Goneril complains to her father of the riotous conduct of his knights, and demands the dismissal of one-half of his followers. Lear announces his intention of leaving Goneril and seeking the hospitality of Regan. Goneril sends a letter to Regan by Oswald to prejudice her against her father. "In this Scene and in all the early speeches of Lear, the one general sentiment of filial ingratitude prevails as the main spring of the feelings." *Coleridge.*

Hall in the Earl of Gloucester's Castle, A.

The scene of Act I., Scene ii. In this scene is laid the under-plot; the Gloucester story. The theme of the under-plot and the main story form a very striking parallelism to each other. Edmund, who poses as a victim of society and is anxious to take his revenge, conspires against Edgar, his legitimate brother. Coleridge says: "As soon as a man cannot reconcile himself to reason, how his conscience flies off by way of appeal to nature, who is sure upon such occasions never to find fault, and also how shame sharpens a predisposition in the heart to evil."

Heath, A.

The scene of Act III., Scenes i., ii. and iv.; Act IV., Scene i.

Act III., Scene i. The time is night. A wild storm of thunder and lightning is proceeding on the heath, symbolical of the wild storm of passion in the mind of Lear. So far all has proceeded well with Regan and Cornwall, but in the darkest hour there is a gleam of hope. News arrives that Cordelia has landed at Dover, with an army.

Act III., Scene ii. In another part of the heath, Lear appears accompanied only by his Fool. The storm continues. They meet Kent who tries to induce Lear to seek shelter from the storm.

Act III., Scene iv. In this scene the king is brought into contact with Edgar, the assumed lunatic, which contact brings to a head a climax in the madness of Lear, who appears in full madness in the sixth scene. They are joined by Gloucester, who induces Lear to go to a neighbouring farmhouse. "O, what a world's convention of agonies is here! All external nature in a storm, all moral nature convulsed,—the real madness of Lear, the feigned madness of Edgar, the babbling of the Fool, the desperate fidelity of Kent—surely such a scene was never conceived before or since!" *Coleridge.*

Act IV., Scene i. Continues the action of the under-plot from the closing of the previous Act. Gloucester is entrusted to one

of his tenants who leads him on the heath where he joins Edgar, the supposed lunatic. Edgar undertakes to lead his father to Dover. Phelps' says: "If the heath where Lear wandered in the storm and the one given in the common stage direction at the head of this scene are both identified with Egdon Heath in Dorset, as seems generally to be supposed, Gloucester has a long walk ahead of him to Dover."

Hecate. I. i. 110.

The mysteries of Hecate and the night. [I. i. 110.]

The Greek goddess of sorcery and witchcraft. *See* Macbeth (Shakespeare Dictionary) pp. 91-92.

Herald, A. V. iii. p. 108.

Edmund, bastard son of the Earl of Gloucester, is accused by the Duke of Albany of treason. He throws down his glove of defiance saying:

There 's my exchange: [*Throws down a glove.*
What in the world he is
That names me traitor, villain-like he lies.
[V. iii. 93-99.]

The herald is ordered to sound the trumpet, and read out:

If any man of quality or degree within the lists of the army will maintain upon Edmund, supposed Earl of Gloucester, that he is a manifold traitor, let him appear by the third sound of the trumpet. [V. iii. 111-115.]

After the third sounding of the trumpet by the herald, Edgar appears armed, with a trumpet before him.

Hoberdidance. IV. i. 60.

See Hoppedance.

Hoppedance. III. vi. 33.

Hoppedance cries in Tom's
belly for two white herring. [III. vi. 33-34.]

Hoberdidance the prince of dumbness, and one of the five fiends that possessed 'poor Tom.' The name is taken from Harsnet's *Declaration*. Sarah Williams (one of the pretended demoniacks desposeth, "that if at any time she did belch, as often times she did by reason that shee was troubled with a wind in her stomacke, the priests would say at such times, that then the spirit began to rise in her . . . and that the wind was the devil." And, "as she saith, if they heard any *croaking in her belly* . . . then they would make a wonderful matter of that." *Steevens.*

Jove. II. iv. 231.

I do not bid the thunder-bearer shoot,
Nor tell tales of thee to high-judging Jove.
[II. iv. 230-231.]

A familiar name for Jupiter, the lord of heaven. *Thunder-bearer* = hurling thunderbolts from his seat on Mount Olympus as instruments of his wrath. *High-judging* = the supreme judge of men.

Jug. I. iv. 245.

Whoop, Jug, I love thee. [I. iv. 245.]

An old nickname for Joan, and a colloquialism for a sweetheart, used as a term of endearment. Cf. Heywood: *Rape of Lucrece:*

Arise, arise, my Juggy, my Puggy,
Arise, get up, my dear;
The weather is cold, it blows, it snows;
Oh, let me be lodgèd here.
My Juggy, my Puggy, my honey, my cony,
My love, my dove, my dear;
Oh, oh, the weather is cold, it blows, it snows,
Oh, oh, let me be lodgèd here.
Begone, begone, my Willy, my Billy,
Begone, begone, my dear;
The weather is warm, 'twill do thee no harm;
Thou canst not be lodgèd here.
My Willy, my Billy, my honey, my cony,
My love, my dove, my dear;
Oh, oh, the weather is warm, 'twill do thee no harm
Oh, oh, thou canst not be lodgèd here.

Juno. II. iv. 21.

Sister and wife of Jupiter, the queen of the gods. Sometimes more powerful than her husband Jupiter, *i.e.*, "The gray mare is the better horse."

Jupiter. I. i. 179; II. iv. 21.

Another of Lear's oaths. According to Cæsar, Jupiter was one of the Druidical gods.

Holinshed has the following of Baldud,

Lear's father: "This Baldud took such pleasure in artificial practices and magic, that he taught this art throughout his realm; and to show his cunning in other points, upon a presumptuous pleasure which he had therein, he took upon him to fly in the air; but he fell upon the temple of Apollo, which stood in the city of Troinovant, and there was torn in pieces, after he had ruled the Britons by the space of twenty years." *See* Apollo.

King of France. I. i. 34, 45, 126, 189, 263, 305; I. ii. 23; II. iv. 215; III. i. 24; III. vii. 4, 44; IV. iii. 1; IV. iv. 25; V. i. 25.

Husband of Cordelia, youngest daughter of King Lear.

When Cordelia is cast off by her father, and is dowerless, the Duke of Burgundy withdraws his offer of marriage, while France exclaims:

> Fairest Cordelia, that art most rich, being poor;
> Most choice, forsaken; and most loved, despised!
> Thee and thy virtues here I seize upon:
> [I. i. 251-253.]

While Burgundy proves to be a fortune hunter, cruel and heartless towards Cordelia, France, though he has been besought by Lear to avert his liking to "a more worthier way" proves to be chivalrous and warm-hearted, and claims Cordelia for his bride. To Lear he says:

> This is most strange,
> That she, that even but now was your best object,
> The argument of your praise, balm of your age,
> Most best, most dearest, [I. i. 214-217.]

and

> 'tis strange that from their cold'st neglect
> My love should kindle to inflamed respect.
> Thy dowerless daughter, king, thrown to my chance,
> Is queen to us, of ours, and our fair France:
> [I. i. 255-258.]

He bids Cordelia to bid farewell to her sisters, and says:

> Come, my fair Cordelia. [I. i. 283.]

"The King of France is a noble-minded gentleman, worthy of Cordelia, whom he is delighted to accept for her own personal excellence." *Moffatt.*

Knights of Lear's Train. I. iv. p. 9, 55.

Lady the brach. I. iv. 122.

A bitch of the hunting kind. A hound that runs by scent. Probably the allusion here is to Oswald. Cf. *1. Henry IV.*, III. i. 237:

> I had rather hear Lady, my brach, howl in Irish.

La Far, Marshal of France. IV. iii. 9.

The origin of the name is unknown. 'Marshal of France' is a title not met with before the 16th century.

Lear. I. i. 139, 146, 158, 242; I. iv. 246, 247, 251, 291, 337; IV. iii. 39, 51; V. i. 66; V. ii. 6; V. iii. 215, 247.

A legendary king of Britain, and fabulous founder of the kingdom of Britain. A man of an ungovernable temper, great excitability, and passionate hatred, which along with physical weakness, culminates in madness.

His passionate hatred is well shown in his speech to his daughter Cordelia, when in an outburst of fury he declares that she shall have nothing from him. The same trait is characteristic throughout the play.

> The barbarous Scythian,
> Or he that makes his generation messes
> To gorge his appetite, shall to my bosom
> Be as well neighbour'd, pitied, and relieved,
> As thou my sometime daughter. [I. i. 116-119.]

When the Earl of Kent, his faithful counsellor, attempts to defend Cordelia, Lear, in anger, banishes him from his kingdom:

> if on the tenth day following
> Thy banish'd trunk be found in our dominions,
> The moment is thy death. Away! By Jupiter,
> This shall not be revok'd. [I. i. 177-180.]

and when in anger with his daughter Gon-

eril the same wrath is vented forth upon her:

> Blasts and fogs upon thee!
> The untented woundings of a father's curse
> Pierce every sense about thee! [I. iv. 319-322.]

His division of the kingdom among his daughters, and the manner of the division, the mock trial of the affections of his daughters, are the first acts of his approaching madness, and he is unable to distinguish between the flattery of his elder daughters, Goneril and Regan, and the genuine expressions of his younger daughter Cordelia.

At times his affection towards his three daughters is most marked. When the King of France learns of the banishment of Cordelia, he presses his suit more eagerly with her, although urged by her father:

> To avert your liking a more worthier way
> Than on a wretch whom nature is ashamed
> Almost to acknowledge hers. [I. i. 212-214.]

but France in reply reminds him of his former affection for his daughter:

> This is most strange,
> That she, that even but now was your best object,
> The argument of your praise, balm of your age,
> Most best, most dearest, [I. i. 214-217.]

When Cordelia is taken captive with her father he again shows his passionate affection for her:

> Come, let 's away to prison;
> We two alone will sing like birds i' the cage:
> When thou dost ask me blessing, I 'll kneel down,
> And ask of thee forgiveness: so we 'll live,
> And pray, and sing, and tell old tales, and laugh
> At gilded butterflies, [V. iii. 8-13.]

He is fond of pomp, homage, and outward attention from his servants, and shows great respect to his daughters Goneril and Regan on account of allowing him to live alternately with them, attended by a few hundred knights. For their supposed love he divides between them the share of the kingdom previously intended for his daughter Cordelia:

> Ourself, by monthly course,
> With reservation of an hundred knights
> By you to be sustain'd, shall our abode
> Make with you by due turn. [I. i. 132-135.]

When they tire of their father's company, and deprive him of his attendants, he bitterly resents the falling off in their regard for him. He first complains to Regan of the conduct of Goneril:

> 'Tis not in thee
> To grudge my pleasures, to cut off my train,
> [II. iv. 176-177.]

but when later Regan makes a further reduction of his attendants than Goneril has done, he says:

> What! must I come to you
> With five-and-twenty? Regan, said you so?
> [II. iv. 256-257.]

His youngest daughter Cordelia sees plainly her father's weakness for pomp, as is shown in the careful manner in which she addresses him:

> How does my royal lord? How fares your majesty?
> [IV. vii. 44.]

His speech to his daughter Goneril brings out four distinct traits in his character, irritation and sadness, which are followed by an outburst of rage and hate, and finally an effort to be patient with her:

> I prithee, daughter, do not make me mad:
> I will not trouble thee, my child; farewell.
> We 'll no more meet, no more see one another;
> But yet thou art my flesh, my blood, my daughter;
> Or rather a disease that 's in my flesh,
> Which I must needs call mine: thou art a boil,
> A plague-sore, an embossed carbuncle,
> In my corrupted blood. But I 'll not chide thee;
> Let shame come when it will, I do not call it:
> [II. iv. 221-229.]

His physical weakness is evident in many instances throughout the play. On one occasion he declares to Goneril that he would rather be a slave than return home with her, and later, because Regan entreats him to come to her with but five-and-twenty followers, he forgets what he has said to Goneril, and proposes to return home with her:

> I 'll go with thee:
> Thy fifty yet doth double five-and-twenty,
> And thou art twice her love. [II. iv. 261-264.]

His mind at this point is almost fallen into feebleness, but again his eloquence breaks out in addressing his daughters:

> O! reason not the need; our basest beggars
> Are in the poorest thing superfluous:
> Allow not nature more than nature needs,
> Man's life is cheap as beast's. [II. iv. 267-270.]

the speech concluding with words expressed in an insane rage:

> No, you unnatural hags,
> I will have such revenges on you both
> That all the world shall—I will do such things,
> What they are yet I know not, but they shall be
> The terrors of the earth. You think I 'll weep;
> No, I 'll not weep:
> I have full cause of weeping, but this heart
> Shall break into a hundred thousand flaws
> Or ere I 'll weep. O fool! I shall go mad.
> [II. iv. 281-289.]

The wishes of his daughters that he shall dismiss all his servants are too much for him, and though the time is night, and a terrible storm is raging, he chooses to face its violence, accompanied only by his fool, rather than remain with his ungrateful daughters, saying:

> O! that way madness lies; let me shun that;
> No more of that. [III. iv. 21-22.]

It is thought that Lear was conscious of his own approaching madness, and it is probable that this led him to divide his kingdom among his daughters, lest the cares of state should hasten this climax. He exclaims to his fool:

> O! let me not be mad, not mad, sweet heaven;
> Keep me in temper; I would not be mad!
> [I. v. 47-48.]

and after his almost insane speech to his daughters:

> O fool! I shall go mad. [II. iv. 289.]

and again after leaving his daughters, and facing the violence of the storm:

> My wits begin to turn. [III. ii. 67.]

But before long he is a complete maniac, and is joined in this condition by the faithful Earl of Kent, while Gloucester tries to comfort him in his misery, much against the wishes of Goneril and Regan. Cordelia obtains information of her father's whereabouts, finds him, and comforts him, using every means possible in skill and medicine to cure him of his insanity, though his infirmity remains with him to the last.

Lear's shadow. I. iv. 251.

Douce remarks: "We are told that 'the folio has given these words to the fool.' And so they certainly should be, without the mark of interrogation. They are of no use whatever in Lear's speech; and without this arrangement, the fool's next words, 'which they will make an obedient father,' are unintelligible. It will likewise dispose of Mr. Steevens's subsequent charge against Shakespeare, of inattention to the rules of grammar."

Lipsbury pinfold. II. ii. 8.

> If I had thee in Lipsbury pinfold, I would
> make thee care for me. [II. ii. 8-9.]

Lipsbury a place unidentified. *Pinfold* = pound. The conjecture is that Lipsbury pinfold is a slang expression for a boxing ring. Nares says: "Lipsbury Pinfold, that is, Lipsbury pound. The sentence in which it occurs has the form of a proverbial saying; but no trace of its origin or direct signification has yet been discovered." Capell: *Notes on Lear*, says: "It is not come to knowledge where that Lipsbury is, but this we may know, and that with certainty, *that it was some village or other* fam'd for boxing, that the boxers fought in a ring, or enclos'd circle, and that this ring was called —Lipsbury pinfold: this may satisfy as to the sense; and inquiry may help to further particulars, those that wish for them."

Lord of Gloucester. III. vii. 15.

= Edmund, who had been invested with his father's title. Cf. III. v. 18-19, "True or false, it hath made thee Earl of Gloucester."

Mahu. III. iv. 154-155; IV. i. 61.

> The prince of darkness is a gentleman; Modo
> he 's called, and Mahu. [III. iv. 154-155.]

The name of a fiend that presided over theft. *Maho* was the chief devil that had possession of Sarah Williams; but another of the possessed, named Richard Mainy, was molested by a still more considerable fiend called *Modu*. "Furthermore it is pretended . . . that there remaineth still in mee the prince of all other devils, whose name should be *Modu*." He is elsewhere called, "the prince *Modu*." "When the said priests had dispatched theire business at Hackney (where they had been exorcising

Sarah Williams) they then returned towards mee, uppon pretence to cast out the great Prince *Modu* . . . out mee." *Steevens.*

Harsnet says: "Modo, Master Maynie's devil, was a Grand Commander muster-master over the captains of the seven deadly sins. . . . Maho, Sara's devil, was general Dictator of hell; and yet, for good manners' sake, he was contented of his good nature to make show that himself was under the check of Modu, the grand devil of Master Maynie." Knight quotes the following: "And the earth was Tohu and Bohu" (as we translate it, "without form and void"). These words were in the seventeenth century used proverbially: thus Cudworth's *Intellectual System*, chapter ii. section ii., 'With Democritus he made the world, not the offspring of mind and understanding, but of dark senseless matter, of *Tohu* and *Bohu*, or confused chaos;' and again, sec. xvii., 'Here it is plain that all is *Tohu* and *Bohu*—chaos and confusion.' It is worth attention that, in that strange wild philosophy of Manichæism, the evil principle is the same as chaos—the Tohu and Bohu of the Bible. Take the following remarkable passage: 'On the side of that bright and holy land was the deep and immense land of *darkness*, wherein dwelt fiery bodies, pestilent races. There were boundless darknesses, emanating from the same nature, countless with their progeny; beyond which were muddy and turbid waters, with their inhabitants, within which were horrible and vehement winds, with their *princes* and producers.' *See* Modo.

Merlin.

> This prophecy Merlin shall make; for I live before his time. [III. ii. 95-96.]

The magician attached to the Court of King Arthur. Mention is made of Merlin's prophecies in *1. Henry IV.*, III. i. 150:

> Of the dreamer Merlin and his prophecies,

Probably they are taken from Holinshed. "This was done (as some haue said) through a foolish credit giuen to a vaine prophesie, as though king Henrie was *the moldwarpe*, curssed of Gods owne mouth, and they three were the *dragon*, the *lion*, and the woolfe, which should diuide this realme betweene them."

Before his time = an anachronism. According to legend King Lear was contemporary with Joash, King of Judah.

Messengers. IV. ii. p. 69; IV. iv. p. 20.

Modo. III. iv. 154; IV. i. 61.

> The prince of darkness is a gentleman; Modo he 's called, and Mahu. [III. iv. 154-155.]

The name of a fiend in Harsnet's *Declaration.* In the first passage he is termed "the prince of darkness" and in the second as the fiend of murder. *See* Mahu.

Nero. III. vi. 8.

The name is probably taken from Rabelais' *History of Gargantua and Pantagruel* where Nero is represented as a fiddler, and Trajan an angler, but here Nero takes the place of Trajan, who angled for frogs. The name here is an anachronism, Nero having reigned from A.D. 54-68.

O. I. iv. 211.

> Thou wast a pretty fellow when thou hadst no need to care for her frowning; now thou art an O without a figure. [I. iv. 209-211.]

A mere cipher, valueless unless preceded by a digit.

Obidicut. IV. i. 60.

The fiend of lust and one of the five that possessed "poor Tom." The name is taken from Harsnet's *Declaration.*

Officer, An, employed by Edmund. V. iii. p. 223.

In attendance upon Edmund, bastard son of the Earl of Gloucester, and instructed by him to carry a note to the castle where Lear and Cordelia are imprisoned. The note is

a warrant for the execution of Lear and Cordelia.

> Take thou this note; [*Giving a paper.*
> Go follow them to prison.
> One step I have advanc'd thee; if thou dost
> As this instructs thee, thou dost make thy way
> To noble fortunes; know thou this, that men
> Are as the time is; to be tender-minded
> Does not become a sword; thy great employment
> Will not bear question; either say thou 'lt do 't,
> Or thrive by other means. [V. iii. 28-35.]

The officer's reply is:

> I cannot draw a cart nor eat dried oats;
> If it be man's work I 'll do it. [V. iii. 39-40.]

Towards the end of the play he enters with a bloody knife, and informs Albany of the deaths of Goneril and Regan:

> *Gent.* Help, help! O, help!
> *Edg.* What kind of help?
> *Alb.* Speak, man.
> *Edg.* What means that bloody knife?
> *Gent.* 'Tis hot, it smokes;
> It came even from the heart of—O! she 's dead,
> *Alb.* Who dead? speak, man.
> *Gent.* Your lady, sir, your lady: and her sister
> By her is poisoned; she confesses it.
> [V. iii. 223-227.]

Officers. V. i. p. 1; V. iii. p. 1, p. 41, p. 258, p. 296.

Old Man. IV. i. p. 9.

A tenant to the Earl of Gloucester. He leads blind Gloucester on the heath, saying:

> O my good lord!
> I have been your tenant, and your father's tenant,
> These fourscore years. [IV. i. 12-14.]

Gloucester bids him:

> Away, get thee away; good friend, be gone:
> [IV. i. 15.]

but the old man replies:

> You cannot see your way. [IV. i. 17.]

Edgar disguised, known as "poor mad Tom" is also on the heath, and Gloucester bids the old man bring some clothes for him, whereupon the old man exclaims:

> I 'll bring him the best 'parel that I have,
> [IV. i. 49.]

Oswald. I. iv. 335, 348, 355.

Oswald, steward to Goneril, is invited by her to treat Lear with disrespect on account of his having struck one of her servants for chiding his fool, thinking in this manner to bring matters to a head to prevent the further entertaining of her father.

In accordance with Goneril's instructions Oswald is disrespectful to Lear, who strikes him, when Kent—disguised as servant to Lear,—trips him up. Goneril chides with her father for the riot, and also the number of his train, afterwards dismissing Oswald to Regan her sister with an account of the happenings. His character is well described by Kent:

> A knave, a rascal, an eater of broken meats; a base, proud, shallow, beggarly, three-suited, hundred-pound, filthy worsted-stocking knave; a lily-livered, action-taking knave, a whoreson, glass-gazing, super-serviceable, finical rogue; one-trunk-inheriting slave; one that wouldst be a bawd in way of good service, and art nothing but the composition of a knave, beggar, coward, pandar, and the son and heir of a mongrel bitch: one whom I will beat into clamorous whining if thou deniest the least syllable of thy addition. [II. ii. 13.24.]

Kent draws his sword, and Oswald cries:

> Help, ho! murder! help! [II. ii. 42.]

which brings in Cornwall, Regan, and Gloucester, and addressing Gloucester, Kent says:

> No contraries hold more antipathy
> Than I and such a knave. [II. ii. 90-91.]

It is Oswald who announces that the king has been conveyed away by Gloucester towards Dover:

> My Lord of Gloucester hath convey'd him hence:
> Some five or six or thirty of his knights,
> Hot questrists after him, met him at gate:
> Who, with some other of the lord's dependants,
> Are gone with him towards Dover, [III. vii. 17-21.]

thus causing Gloucester to be brought in, fastened in a chair, and blinded.

Outside the Duke of Albany's palace Oswald meets Goneril and Edmund, and tells them of the great change in the duke, who now sees through the wickedness of Goneril and Regan, and is full of sympathy for Lear. Oswald has promised Regan to slay Gloucester when they meet:

> Would I could meet him, madam: I would show
> What party I do follow. [IV. v. 39-40.]

but in the attempt to slay him, he is slain by Edgar who plays the part of a yokel.

Oswald dying, makes a last request to Edgar, saying:

> Slave, thou hast slain me. Villain, take my purse.
> If ever thou wilt thrive, bury my body;
> And give the letters which thou find'st about me
> To Edmund Earl of Gloucester; seek him out
> Upon the English party: O! untimely death.
> Death! [IV. vi. 252-257.]

"Oswald is a court flunkey, willing to lend himself for any purpose, however bad, to those he deems his superiors, from considerations of gain. His principle of action is that enunciated by the Fool: 'Let go thy hold when a great wheel runs down a hill,' etc. Kent sums up his character in language more strong than complimentary." *Moffatt.*

Persian attire. III. vi. 84.

> only I do not like the fashion of
> your garments: you will say they are Persian
> attire. [III. vi. 83-85.]

Probably an allusion to a Persian Embassy which visited England in the reign of James I.; or, to Clytus refusing the Persian robes offered him by Alexander. The Persian robes were very gorgeous.

Phœbus' front. II. ii. 111.

In Greek mythology the sun-god, because he drove the chariot of the sun. Craig says: "Kent purposely adopts the pompous and affected style of the courtier."

Pillicock sat on Pellicock's hill. III. iv. 78.

A reminiscence of an old ballad. Craig says: *The History of King Leir* may have suggested it, *Six Old Plays, etc.:*

> I am as kind as is the pelican
> That kills itself to save her young
> ones' lives.

Malone says: "The reader may find it explained in Minsheu's *Dictionary: Killico* is one of the devils mentioned in Harsnet's *Declaration.*

Regan. I. i. 68; II. i. 4, 26, 104; II. iv. 131, 135, 136, 139, 160, 173, 191, 197, 233, 257, 312; III. iv. 19; III. vi. 79; III. vii. 100.

Second daughter of King Lear, and married to the Duke of Cornwall. Under profession of unbounded love for her father she receives the half of his kingdom:

> I am made of that self metal as my sister,
> And prize me at her worth. In my true heart
> I find she names my very deed of love;
> Only she comes too short: that I profess
> Myself an enemy to all other joys
> Which the most precious square of sense possesses,
> And find I am alone felicitate
> In your dear highness' love. [I. i. 69-76.]

In all evil doings she follows the lead of her sister Goneril, with whom she rules her father, and together they commit the most ghastly and beastly cruelty.

She refuses to entertain Lear and his suite when they have been dismissed by Goneril. Lear complains to Regan of the cruelty of Goneril in "abating half his train"; expecting to receive kindness at her hands:

> 'Tis not in thee
> To grudge my pleasures, to cut off my train,
> [II. iv. 176-177.]

but when Regan further reduces his retinue he says with much pathos:

> What! must I come to you
> With five-and-twenty? Regan, said you so?
> [II. iv. 256-257.]

Her cruelty and hatred are shown in her treatment of Gloucester. Gloucester aids the king when his life is in danger. Oswald announces that Lear is sent to Dover by Gloucester, and for his kind actions we find Regan addressing him as: "O filthy traitor!" [III. vii. 34] at the same time plucking his beard.

The replies of Gloucester as to the safety of Lear so incense Regan and Goneril that Cornwall plucks out his eyes, Regan saying:

> Go thrust him out at gates, and let him smell
> His way to Dover. [III. vii. 96-97.]

Meanwhile Cornwall is stabbed by one of his servants and is led out by Regan who

carries her cruelties still further by promising Oswald that there is a reward for Gloucester's murder:

> If you do chance to hear of that blind traitor,
> Preferment falls on him that cuts him off.
> [IV. v. 38-39.]

Her husband being dead, she designs to marry Edmund, Gloucester's bastard son, and for whom Goneril also has designs. Thus jealousy between the two sisters is aroused. Regan asserts her claims on Edmund to be the greater:

> Edmund and I have talk'd
> And more convenient is he for my hand
> Than for your lady's. [IV. v. 30-32.]

Edmund leads Regan's troops in battle, and is to become her husband. Goneril's jealousy breaks out, and quarrel results, but is stopped by the indisposition of Regan:

> Lady, I am not well; else I should answer
> From a full-flowing stomach. [V. iii. 74-75.]

Goneril has administered poison to her. Regan is despatched out of life by her sister. Her death, and also that of Goneril is announced to Albany by a gentleman attendant:

> Your lady, sir, your lady: and her sister
> By her is poisoned; she confesses it.
> [V. iii. 227-228.]

Hudson remarks: "There is so much sameness of temper and behaviour in these two she-tigers, that we find it somewhat difficult to distinguish them as individuals; their characteristic traits being, as it were, fused and run together in the heat of a common malice. Both are actuated by an extreme ferocity, which however, up to the time of receiving their portions, we must suppose to have been held in check by a most artful and vigilant selfishness. . . . Regan, on the other hand, has in Cornwall a husband whose heart beats in perfect unison with her own against her father; and the confidence of his sympathy appears to discharge her malice entirely from the restraints of caution, and to give it a peculiar quickness and alertness of action."

Room in Gloucester's Castle.

The Scene of Act III., Scenes iii., v. and vii.; Act IV., Scene v.

Act III., Scene iii. Continues the under-plot. Gloucester purposes intervening secretly on Lear's behalf, and confides his intentions to Edmund. Suspicion is aroused that Gloucester is acting in unison with 'France' and this leads to a closer relationship between Edmund, Cornwall and Regan. The scene also brings the plot and the under-plot together, and from this time they are closely interwoven.

Act III., Scene v. Returns to the machinations of Edmund who betrays to Regan and Cornwall his father's sympathy for the old king. He has supplanted his brother Edgar, and has been declared heir to his father's wealth. He now crowns his villainy by supplanting his father, and is created by Cornwall, Earl of Gloucester.

Act III., Scene vii. A continuation of the under-plot, which is brought to a crisis by the blinding of Gloucester by Cornwall. Enraged at such cruelty Cornwall is attacked and wounded by one of his servants. The servant in turn is slain by Regan. Gloucester is thrust out of the castle adrift in the world.

Act IV., Scene v. This scene does not advance the plot, but shows that jealousy has arisen between the two sisters, both being in love with Edmund.

Room in the Duke of Albany's Palace, A.

The Scene of Act I., Scene iii. In this scene we return to the main plot. It further illustrates Lear's violent nature. Having struck one of her gentlemen, for "chiding his Fool," Goneril makes the occasion an excuse to interfere with Lear's attendants, and instructs Oswald, her steward, to be disrespectful to her father. "The Steward should be placed in exact antithesis to Kent, as the only character of utter irredeemable baseness in Shakspeare." *Coleridge.*

Sarum plain. II. ii. 86.

= Salisbury Common.

Scythian. I. i. 116.

> The barbarous Scythian,
> Or he that makes his generation messes
> To gorge his appetite, [I. i. 116-118.]

The Scythians were noted for their bar-

barous customs. According to Herodotus they ate their aged relations. Cf. *Titus Andronicus*, I. i. 131:

Was ever Scythia half so barbarous?

Servants. II. i. p. 38; II. ii. p. 48; II. iv. p. 129; IV. vii. p. 21.

Servants to Cornwall. III. vii. p. 1; p. 29.

Three in number, and one of whom brings the wicked career of Cornwall to a close. Cornwall is about to put out the eyes of Gloucester, whereupon one of his servants begs of him:

Hold your hand, my lord.
I have served you ever since I was a child,
But better service have I never done you
Than now to bid you hold. [III. vii. 75-78.]

For his speech to the king, Regan, Cornwall's wife, addresses him as dog, with the result that an angry quarrel ensues, and the servant draws his sword. Regan with a sword runs at him from behind, with the result that he is slain.

A second servant wounds Cornwall who is led out by Regan, the servant exclaiming:

I 'll never care what wickedness I do
If this man come to good. [III. vii. 102-103.]

He afterwards suggests procuring the Bedlam—Edgar in disguise—to lead the blind Earl of Gloucester where he would go, while a third servant out of sympathy for Gloucester, and disgusted with the actions of his master seeks a remedy to soothe the earl's wounds:

I 'll fetch some flax and whites of eggs
To apply to his bleeding face. [III. vii. 109-110.]

Smulkin. III. iv. 151.

One of the spirits cast out of Trayford. The name is found in Harsnet's *Declaration.*

Soldiers. IV. iv. p. 1; V. i. p. 1, p. 18; V. ii. p. 1; V. iii. p. 1.

Song.

Child Rowland to the dark tower came,
His word was still, Fie, foh, and fum,
I smell the blood of a British man.
[III. iv. 193-195.]

Fragments of an old ballad. In Child's *English and Scottish Ballads* [*Child Rowland and Burd Ellen*] we have the following lines:

With fi, fi, fo, and fum!
I smell the blood of a Christian man!
Be he dead, be he living, wi' my brand
I 'll clash his harns frae his harn-pan.

The lines in the popular story of *Jack the Giant Killer* read:

Fee, faw, fum,
I smell the blood of an Englishman;
Be he alive, or be he dead,
I 'll grind his bones to make me bread.

In the days of chivalry *Child* or *Childe* was a title given to a knight.

Song.

Come o'er the bourn, Bessy, to me,—
Her boat hath a leak,
And she must not speak
Why she dares not come over to thee.
[III. vi. 28-31.]

According to Chappell an allusion to an old ballad by William Birch, entitled *A Songe between the Quenes Majestie and Englande*, written in 1558. England is supposed to be addressing Queen Elizabeth. This song was entered on the books of the Stationers' Company in 1564.

Song.

Fools had ne'er less grace in a year;
For wise men are grown foppish,
And know not how their wits to wear,
Their manners are so apish. [I. iv. 179-182.]

Then they for sudden joy did weep,
And I for sorrow sung,
That such a king should play bo-peep,
And go the fools among. [I. iv. 189-192.]

Snatches of song sung by the Fool. So, in *The Rape of Lucrece* by Heywood:

When Tarquin first in court began,
And was approved King,
Some men for sodden joy 'gan weep,
And I for sorrow sing.

The fourth and fifth lines are considered to be a parody of the first two lines of the ballad of *Sir Lancelot Du Lake:*

WHEN Arthur first in court began,
And was approved king.

See Percy's *Reliques.*

Song.

He that has and a little tiny wit,
With hey, ho, the wind and the rain,
Must make content with his fortunes fit,
Though the rain it raineth every day.
[III. ii. 74-88.]

A part, though with variations, of the song sung by the Clown in the *Twelfth Night,* V. i. 393-396:

When that I was and a little tiny boy,
With hey, ho, the wind and the rain;
A foolish thing was but a toy,
For the rain it raineth every day.

Song.

Sleepest or wakest thou, jolly shepherd?
They sleep be in the corn;
And for one blast of thy minikin mouth,
Thy sheep shall take no harm. [III. vi. 44-47.]

Probably from some old pastoral ballad.

Song.

Swithold footed thrice the old;
He met the night-mare, and her nine-fold;
Bid her alight,
And her troth plight,
And aroint thee, witch, aroint thee!
[III. iv. 129-133.]

In this song, sung by Edgar, Swithold is represented as having power to protect against the nightmare. Swithold is a corruption of Withold or Vitalis.

State Room in King Lear's Palace, A.

The Scene of Act I., Scene i. In this, the opening scene, we are introduced to a Court in a State Room of the King's Palace. Lear has decided to abdicate and to divide the kingdom between his three daughters, Goneril, Regan and Cordelia. It will, however, be seen that the division has been made before the scene opens, and is known to Gloucester and Kent, and probably to Burgundy and France. The kingdom is divided equally between Goneril and Regan. Cordelia is disinherited and disowned. The Duke of Burgundy—a suitor for the hand of Cordelia—declines to marry her without a dowry, but the King of France accepts her as his wife. Kent is banished from the kingdom for interceding on Cordelia's behalf. "There is something of obscurity or inaccuracy," says Johnson, "in this preparatory scene. The King has already divided his kingdom, and yet when he enters he examines his daughters, to discover in what proportions he should divide it."

Sweetheart. III. vi. 65.

The name of a dog.

Swithold. III. iv. 129.

Swithold footed thrice the old;
He met the night-mare, and her nine-fold;
Bid her alight,
And her troth plight,
And aroint thee, witch, aroint thee!
[III. iv. 129-133.]

= Vitalis, represented as having power against the nightmare. Buck says: "This stanza means that Saint Withold (or Saint Vitalis, the traditional protector from the nightmare or incubus) crossed the wold, or down, three times, met the nightmare and her nine imps, made her alight from her mount and swear not to harm any one, and then dismissed her. These lines are probably a popular charm against the nightmare, and as such would be familiar to Bedlamites who were supposed to be conversant with charms and incantations." Cf. Scot: *Discovery of Witchcraft:* "But in truth, this *Incubus* is a bodily difeafe (as hath been faid) although it extend unto the trouble of the mind, which of fome is called the Mare, oppreffing many in their fleep fo fore, as they are not able to call for help, or ftir themfelves under the burthen of that heavy humor; which is ingendred of a thick vapor proceeding from the crudity and rawnefs in the ftomach: which afcending up into the head, oppreffeth the brain, infomuch as many are infeebled thereby, as being nightly haunted therewith. They are moft troubled with this difeafe, that being thereunto fubject, lie right upward; fo as, to turn and lie on the one fide, is prefent remedy. Like-

wife, if any hear the groaning of the party, fpeak unto him, fo as he wake him, he is prefently relieved. Howbeit, there are Magical cures for it; as for example:

S. George, S. George, our ladies knight,
He walkt by day, *fo* did he by night:
Until *fuch* time as he her found,
He her beat, and he her bound,
Until her troth *fhe* to him plight,
He would not come to her that night.

Tent in the French Camp.

The Scene of Act IV., Scenes iv. and vii.

Act IV., Scene iv. A very unimportant scene as it does not materially affect the action of the play. Cordelia re-appears and consults a physician with reference to her father's madness.

Act IV., Scene vii. This scene shows the meeting of Lear and Cordelia. Lear is asleep in a tent in the French camp tenderly watched over by Cordelia. He is restored to sanity, and becomes reconciled to Cordelia.

Theban. III. iv. 168.

I 'll talk a word with this name learned Theban.
What is your study? [III. iv. 168-169.]

Probably an allusion to Thebes being the first place in Western Europe where the use of letters was introduced from Phœnicia; or, it my have reference to the fact that it was the birthplace of the famous soothsayer Tiresias.

Tom. II. iii. 20; III. iv. 38, 42, 50, 58, 61, 137; III. vi. 32, 33, 66, 73, 78, 115; IV. i. 26, 57, 59; IV. ii. 80.

See Tom o' Bedlam.

Tom o' Bedlam. I. ii. 151.

my cue is villanous melancholy,
with a sigh like Tom o' Bedlam. [I. ii. 150-151.]

A cant name for Bedlam beggars, sturdy vagabonds who, in the days of Shakespeare, were to be found in various parts of England. They pretended to have been confined in Bedlam—the hospital of St. Mary of Bethlehem, a royal foundation for lunatics. In *Rogues and Vagabonds of Shakespeare's Youth* edited by Viles and Furnivall we read: "An Abraham man is he that walketh bare armed, and bare legged, and fayneth hym selfe mad, and caryeth a packe of wool, or a stycke with baken on it, or such lyke toy, and nameth himselfe poore Tom. . . . These Abrahom men be those that fayne themselues to haue beene mad, and haue bene kept eyther in Bethelem or in some other pryson a good tyme, *and* not one amongst twenty that euer came in pryson for any such cause: yet wyll they saye howe pitiously and most extreamely they haue bene beaten, and dealt with all. Some of these be merye and verye pleasant, they wyll daunce and sing; some others be as colde and reasonable to talke wyth all. These begge money; eyther when they come at Farmours howses they wyll demaunde Baken, eyther chéese, or wooll, or any thinge that is worthe money."

Decker: *Bellman of London* says: "He swears he has been in Bedlam and will talk frantikely of purpose. You see pins stuck in sundry places in his naked flesh, especially in his arms, which pain he gladly puts himself to only to make you believe he is out of his wits. He calls himself Poor Tom and coming near anybody calls out Poor Tom's a-cold. Some do nothing but sing songs fashioned out of their own brains; some will dance, others will do nothing but either laugh or weep, others are dogged and spying but a small company in a house will compel the servants through fear to give them what they demand."

Harrison: *Description of England in Shakspere's Youth* [Edited by Furnivall] says there were twenty-three sorts of Bedlamites:

Rufflers.	Of women kind.
Uprightmen.	
Hookers or Anglers.	Demanders for glimmar or fire.
Roges.	
Wild roges.	Baudie bafkets.
Priggers or pranfers.	Mortes.
Palliards.	Autem mortes.
Fraters.	Walking mortes.
Abrams.	Doxes.
Frefhwater mariners, or whipiacks.	Delles.
	Kinching mortes.
Dummerers.	Kinching cooes.
Drunken tinkers.	
Swadders or Pedlers.	
Jarkemen or patricoes.	

Cf. Jonson: *The Devil is an Ass*, V. ii.:

Your best song's Tom o' Bethlem.

D'Israeli in his *Curiosities of Literature* gives a Tom-a-Bedlam song, of which the following is the first stanza and chorus:

From the hag and hungry goblin
That into rags would rend ye,
All the spirits that stand
By the naked man,
In the book of moons defend ye!
That of your five sound senses
You never be forsaken;
Nor travel from
Yourselves with Tom
Abroad, to beg your bacon.

Chorus.

Nor never sing any food and feeding,
Money, drink, or clothing;
Come dame or maid,
Be not afraid,
For Tom will injure nothing.

Tom's a-cold. III. iv. 85, 158, 184; IV. i. 52.

"The peculiar cry of Bedlam beggars at all seasons." *Furness.*

Tom's food. III. iv. 150.

Horse to ride, and weapon to wear,
But mice and rats and such small deer,
Have been Tom's food for seven long year.
[III. iv. 148-150.]

This distich is part of the description given in the old metrical romance of Sir Bevis, of the hardships suffered by Bevis when confined for seven years in a dungeon:

Rats and mice, and such small deer,
Was his meat that seven year.

Tray. III. vi. 65.

The name of a dog.

Turk. III. iv. 96.

Wine loved I deeply, dice dearly, and in woman out-paramoured the Turk:
[III. iv. 95-96.]

An allusion to the Sultan of Turkey who is allowed to have a large harem. Cf. *Henry V.*, V. ii. 216-219:

Shall not thou and I, between Saint Denis and Saint George, compound a boy, half French, half English, that shall go to Constantinople and take the Turk by the beard?

Turlygod. II. iii. 20.

Poor Turlygod! poor Tom! [II. iii. 20.]

Supposed to be a corruption of Turlupin, a fraternity of naked beggars. Douce remarks: "The Turlupins were a fanatical sect that over-ran France, Italy, and Germany, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. They were at first known by the names of *Beghards* or *Beghins*, and brethren and sisters of the free spirit. Their manners and appearance exhibited the strongest indications of lunacy and distraction. The common people alone called them *Turlupins;* a name which, though it has excited much doubt and controversy, seems obviously to be connected with the *wolvish howlings* which these people in all probability would make when influenced by their religious ravings. Their subsequent appellation of *the fraternity of poor men* might have been the cause why the wandering rogues called *Bedlam beggars*, and one of whom Edgar personates, assumed or obtained the title of *Turlupins* or *Turlygoods*, especially if their mode of asking alms was accompanied by the gesticulations of madmen. *Turlupino* and *Turluru* are old Italian terms for a fool or madman; and the Flemings had a proverb, *As unfortunate as Turlupin and his children.*"

Ursa Major. I. ii. 144-145.

My father compounded with my mother under the dragon's tail, and my nativity was under *Ursa major;* [I. i. 142-145.]

A constellation representing a bear with an enormous tail. It has a figure of a wagon and is sometimes called the Cynosura, which is considered to mean "dog's tail."

Why, Tom, your wife's a perfect star;
In truth, no woman's finer
Says Tom, "Your simile is just,
My wife's an Ursa Minor. E.C.B. in Brewer.

Vanity. II. ii. 38.

you come with letters against the king, and take Vanity the puppet's part against the royalty of her father.
[II. ii. 37-39.]

An allusion to the mysteries or allegorical shows, in which Lady Vanity was a com-

mon character. Cf. Jonson: *Volpone; or, The Fox*, II. iii.:

> Get you a cittern, lady Vanity,
> And be a dealer with the virtuous man;

and *The Devil is an Ass*, I. i.:

> *Sat.* What Vice?
> What kind wouldst thou have it of?
> *Pug.* Why any: Fraud,
> Or Covetousness, or lady Vanity
> Or old Iniquity.

So Marlow: *Jew of Malta*, II.:

> *Slave.* Alas, sir, I am a very youth!
> *Bara.* A youth! I'll buy you, and marry you to lady Vanity, if you do well.

Wood, A.

The Scene of Act II., Scene iii.

Continues the under-plot. It gives the assumed madness of Edgar, who has left his father's castle and lives in the wood, calling himself 'Poor Tom.'

"Edgar's assumed madness serves the great purpose of taking off part of the shock which would otherwise be caused by the true madness of Lear, . . . In Edgar's ravings Shakspeare all the while lets you see a fixed purpose, a practical end in view;" *Coleridge.*

APPENDIX I.

The Story of King Lear and his Three Daughters.

[From *Histories of the Kings of Britain*, by Geoffrey of Monmouth.]

WHEN Bladud was thus given over to the destinies, his son Lear was next raised to the kingdom, and ruled the country after manly fashion for three-score years. He it was that builded the city on the river Soar, that in the British is called Kaerleir, but in the Saxon, Leicester. Male issue was denied unto him, his only children being three daughters named Goneril, Regan, and Cordelia, whom all he did love with marvellous affection, but most of all the youngest born, to wit, Cordelia. And when that he began to be upon the verge of eld, he thought to divide his kingdom amongst them, and to marry them unto such husbands as were worthy to have them along with their share of the kingdom. But that he might know which of them was most worthy of the largest share, he went unto them to make inquiry of each as to which of them did most love himself. When, accordingly, he asked of Goneril how much she loved him, she first called all the gods of heaven to witness that her father was dearer to her heart than the very soul that dwelt within her body. Unto whom said her father: "For this, that thou hast set mine old age before thine own life, thee, my dearest daughter, will I marry unto whatsoever youth shall be thy choice, together with the third part of Britain." Next, Regan, that was second, fain to take ensample of her sister and to wheedle her father into doing her an equal kindness, made answer with a solemn oath that she could no otherwise express her thought than by saying that she loved him better than all the world beside. The credulous father thereupon promised to marry her with the same dignity as her elder sister, with another third part of the kingdom for her share. But the last, Cordelia, when she saw how her father had been cajoled by the flatteries of her sisters who had already spoken and desiring to make trial of him otherwise, went on to make answer unto him thus: "Father mine, is there a daughter anywhere that presumeth to love her father more than a father? None such, I trow, there is that durst confess as much, save she were trying to hide the truth in words of jest. For myself, I have ever loved thee as a father, nor never from that love will I be turned aside. Albeit that thou art bent on wringing more from me, yet hearken to the true measure of my love. Ask of me no more, but let this be mine answer: So much as thou hast, so much art thou worth, and so much do I love thee." Thereupon, forthwith, her father, thinking that she had thus spoken out of the abundance of her heart, waxed mightily indignant, nor did he tarry to make known what his answer would be. "For that thou hast so despised thy father's old age that thou hast disdained to love me even as well as these thy sisters love me, I also will disdain thee, nor never in my realm shalt thou have share with thy sisters. Howbeit, sith that thou art my daughter, I say not but that I will marry thee upon terms of some kind unto some stranger that is of other land than mine, if so be that fortune shall offer such as one; only be sure of this, that never will I trouble me to

marry thee with such honour as thy sisters, inasmuch as, whereas up to this time I have loved thee better than the others, it now seemeth that thou lovest me less than they."

Straightway thereupon, by counsel of the nobles of the realm, he giveth the twain sisters unto two Dukes, of Cornwall, to wit, and Albany, together with one moiety only of the island so long as he should live, but after his death he willed that they should have the whole of the kingdom of Britain. Now it so fell out about this time that Aganippus, King of the Franks, hearing report of Cordelia's beauty, forthwith despatched his envoys to the King, beseeching him that Cordelia might be entrusted to their charge as his bride whom he would marry with due rite of the wedding-torch. But her father, still persisting in his wrath, made answer that right willingly would he give her, but that needs must it be without land or fee, seeing that he had shared his kingdom along with all his gold and silver betwixt Cordelia's sisters Goneril and Regan. When this word was brought unto Aganippus, for that he was on fire with love of the damsel, he sent again unto King Lear saying that enow had he of gold and silver and other possessions, for that one-third part of Gaul was his, and that he was fain to marry the damsel only that he might have sons by her to inherit his land. So at last the bargain was struck, and Cordelia was sent to Gaul to be married unto Aganippus.

SOME long time after, when Lear began to wax more sluggish by reason of age, the foresaid Dukes, with whom and his two daughters he had divided Britain, rebelled against him and took away from him the realm and the kingly power which up to that time he had held right manfully and gloriously. Howbeit, concord was restored, and one of his sons-in-law, Maglaunus, Duke of Albany, agreed to maintain him with threescore knights, so that he should not be without some semblance of state. But after that he had sojourned with his son-in-law two years, his daughter Goneril began to wax indignant at the number of his knights, who flung gibes at her servants for that their rations were not more plentiful. Whereupon, after speaking to her husband, she ordered her father to be content with a service of thirty knights and to dismiss the other thirty that he had. The King, taking this in dudgeon, left Maglaunus, and betook him to Henvin, Duke of Cornwall, unto whom he had married his other daughter. Here, at first, he was received with honour, but a year had not passed before discord again arose betwixt those of the King's household and those of the Duke's, insomuch as that Regan, waxing indignant, ordered her father to dismiss all his company save five knights only to do him service. Her father, beyond measure aggrieved thereat, returned once more to his eldest daughter, thinking to move her to pity and to persuade her to maintain himself and his retinue. Howbeit, she had never renounced her first indignation, but swore by all the gods of Heaven that never should he take up his abode with her save he contented himself with the service of a single knight and were quit of all the rest. Moreover, she upbraided the old man for that, having nothing of his own to give away, he should be minded to go about with such a retinue; so that finding she would not give way to his wishes one single tittle, he at last obeyed and remained content with one knight only, leaving the rest to go their way. But when the remembrance of his former dignity came back unto him, bearing witness to the misery of the estate to which he was now reduced, he began to bethink him of going to his youngest daughter oversea. Howbeit, he sore misdoubted that she would do nought for him, seeing that he had held her, as I have said, in such scanty honour in the matter of her marriage. Natheless, disdaining any longer to endure so mean a life, he betook him across the Channel into Gaul. But when he found that two other princes were making the passage at the same time, and that he himself had been assigned but the third place, he brake forth into tears and sobbing, and cried aloud: "Ye destinies that do pursue your wonted way marked out by irrevocable degree, wherefore was it your will ever to uplift me to happiness so fleeting? For a keener grief it is to call to mind that lost happiness than to suffer the presence of the unhappiness that cometh after. For the memory of the days when in the midst of hundreds of thousands of warriors I went to batter down the walls of cities and to lay waste the provinces of mine enemies is more grievous unto me than the calamity that hath overtaken me in the meanness of mine estate, which hath incited them that but now were grovelling under my feet to desert my feebleness. O angry fortune! will the day ever come wherein I may requite the evil turn that hath thus driven forth the length of my days and my poverty? O Cordelia, my daughter, how true were the words wherein thou didst make answer unto me, when I did ask of thee how much thou didst love me! For thou saidst, 'So much as thou hast, so much art thou worth, and so much do I love thee.' So long, therefore, as I had that which was mine to give, so long seemed I of worth unto them that were the lovers, not of myself but of my gifts. They loved me at times, but better loved they the presents I made

unto them. Now that the presents are no longer forthcoming, they too have gone their ways. But with what face, O thou dearest of my children, shall I dare appear before thee? I who, wroth with thee for these thy words, was minded to marry thee less honourably than thy sisters, who, after all the kindnesses I have conferred upon them have allowed me to become an outcast and a beggar?"

Landing at last, his mind filled with these reflections and others of a like kind, he came to Karitia, where his daughter lived, and waiting without the city, sent a messenger to tell her into what indigence he had fallen, and to beseech his daughter's compassion inasmuch as he had neither food nor clothing. On hearing the tidings, Cordelia was much moved and wept bitterly. When she made inquiry how many armed men he had with him, the messengers told her that he had none save a single knight, who was waiting with him without the city. Then took she as much gold and silver as was needful and gave it unto the messenger, bidding him take her father to another city, where he should bathe him, clothe him, and nurse him, feigning that he was a sick man. She commanded also that he should have a retinue of forty knights well appointed and armed, and that then he should duly announce his arrival to Aganippus and herself. The messenger accordingly forthwith attended King Lear into another city, and hid him there in secret until that he had fully accomplished all that Cordelia had borne him on hand to do.

As soon therefore, as he was meetly arrayed in kingly apparel and invested with the ensigns of royalty and a train of retainers, he sent word unto Aganippus and his daughter that he had been driven out of the realm of Britain by his sons-in-law, and had come unto them in order that by their assistance he might be able to recover his kingdom. They accordingly, with the great counsellors and nobles, came forth to receive him with all honour, and placed in his hands the power over the whole of Gaul until such time as they had restored him unto his former dignity.

In the meanwhile, Aganippus sent envoys throughout the whole of Gaul to summon every knight bearing arms therein to spare no pains in coming to help him to recover the kingdom of Britain for his father-in-law, King Lear. When they had all made them ready, Lear led the assembled host together with Aganippus and his daughter into Britain, fought a battle with his sons-in-law, and won the victory, again bringing them all under his own dominion. In the third year thereafter he died, and Aganippus died also, and Cordelia, now mistress of the helm of state in Britain, buried her father in a certain underground chamber which she had bidden be made under the river Soar at Leicester. This underground chamber was founded in honour of the two-faced Janus, and there, when the yearly celebration of the day came round, did all the workmen of the city set hand unto such work as they were about to be busied upon throughout the year.

Now, when Cordelia had governed the kingdom in peace for five years, two sons of her sisters began ot harass her, Margan, to wit, and Cunedag, that had been born unto the Dukes Maglaunus and Henvin, both of them youths of notable likelihood and prowess, Margan being son of Maglaunus and Cunedag of Henvin. These, after the deaths of their fathers, had succeeded them in their dukedoms, and now took it in high dudgeon that Britain should be subject to the rule of a woman. They therefore assembled their hosts and rebelled against the Queen, nor were they minded to put an end to their outrages until after laying waste a number of provinces, they had defeated her in several battles, and had at last taken her and put her in prison, wherein, overwhelmed with grief for the loss of her kingdom, she slew herself. Forthwith the youths divided the island between them, whereof that part which stretcheth from the Humber towards Caithness fell to Margan's share, and the other, on the other side of the river, that vergeth toward the West, was allotted to Cunedag. After the space of two years, certain of them that rejoiced in making disturbance in the realm, joined them with Margan and began to tempt him to walk in crooked paths, saying that foul shame it was he, the eldest born, should not have dominion over the whole island; so that, what with this and other grievances, they at last egged him on to march with an army into Cunedag's territories, and thus began to heap fuel on the fire they had kindled. On the war breaking out, Cunedag with all his host marched out to meet him, and in the battle that was fought inflicted no small slaughter, driving Margan in flight before him, and afterwards following his flight from province to province, until at last he overtook and slew him in a

village of Wales, which after that Margan was slain there hath been called by his name, Margan to wit, ever since by the country folk even unto this day. Cunedag, accordingly, having won the victory, possessed himself of the monarchy of the whole island and governed the same gloriously for three-and-thirty years. At that time Isaiah and Hosea prophesied, and Rome was founded the eleventh of the Kalends of May by the twin-brethren, Romulus and Remus.

APPENDIX II.

The Story of King Lear and his Daughters.

[From *Gesta Romanorum*, (Early English Text Society, XXXIII).]

Leyre was some tyme kyng of bretayne the more, that now is called Englond. this kyng leyre made the towne of leycetur, and called it after his name leycetur. this kyng had thre doughters; the name of the fyrste doughter was Gonoryll; the seconde was Regan; the thrid Cordell, that was beste taughte, and wiseste. leyre, here[1] fadre,[2] was feble and olde, and wolde marie his doughters or he deyed,[3] But fyrste he wolde wete,[4] which lorded hym moste, shuld be beste mariede. On a day he askid his Eldiste doughter, how mych she louyd hym? "Sir," she seide, "I loue you as mych as myn owne lyfe." "for sothe," seide the kyng, "that is a grete loue; I may no more aske." Then he asked the seconde doughter, how mych she louyd hym? she sayde, she louyd hym aboue all Criatures of the worlde. "for sothe," seide leyre, "I may no more aske." Than[5] he asked of the yongeste doughter, how mych she louyd hym? "Sir," she seide, "my systers han seide to you wordes of glosyng,[6] but I say to you trouthe.[7] I loue you as mych as I owe to loue my Fadire, and for to make you more Certayne how mcyh loue is worthe, I shall say you, as mych as ye han, so mych are ye worthe, and so mych I loue you." leyre wenyd[8] that she had skorned,[9] and was worthe, and seide, that she shuld neuer haue lande of hym; But his othere doughters, that mych louyd hym, shuld departe[10] the lande betwene hem,[11] be Euyn[12] porcyons,[13] and she shuld be disheried.[14] And he maried the Eldiste doughter to Managles, the kyng of Scotlonde; and the tothere to Hanemos, Erle of cornwaylle; and the mariage was thus made of the tone[15] and of the tothere, that the kyng of Scottes and the Erle of cornwayle shuld departe grete bretayne, aftere his dissese,[16] so that[17] Cordell, his yongeste dougter, shuld not haue of his. This maydyn Cordell was so fayre, and so wele taughte, that it was mervayle, so that Agape, kyng of Fraunce, herde speke so grete of this maydyn Cordell, that he sente to kyng leyre, that he wolde gyfe hym here to wife. leyre sente worde agayne, that he had departed[18] his lande bytwene his ij.[19] Eldiste doughters; and so he had no more lande, the which he myght marie Cordell, his yougeste doughter, with. when Agape herde this answere, he sente agayne to leyre, and seide, he asked no thing with here, but alonly[20] here bodie, and here clothing. And leyre, here fadre, made here wele to be arayed, and Clenly, and sente here to the kyng of Fraunce; and he Ioyfully ressayued[21] here, and weddid here, with grete worship, and made here queen of Fraunce. The kyng of Scottes and the Erle of Cornwayle, that had weddid the[22] Eldiste doughters of kyng leyre, wolde not abide till after his dethe for to haue the londe, but werred[23] harde vppon hym, and putt hym in so grete distresse, that they token[24] so awaye the reawm;[25] but on this wise they ordeyned[26] betwix hem, that the toon[27] of hem shuld withholde hym in soiorne all his lyfe, with xl. knyghtis, and here squyers,[28] that he myght worshipfully go to what partie he wolde. Managles, kyng of scottes, resseyued with hym leyre in the manere afore seide; and or a yere were passed, Gonorell, the wife, and doughter of leyre, was so anoyed[29] and dissesed[30] of hym and of his meany,[31] that she spake to here housbonde, that x. knyghtes and here squyers shuld be putt from here fadire. leyre he come[32] right heuy,[33] and his meany, that was putt away, and his state apayred,[34] therfore men hadd hym in the lesse reuerence; wherfore he thought to go into Cornwaylle, for to preve[35] Regan, his other doughter. and when he was Comyn to here, the Erle and his doughter resseyued hym with grete solempnite, and helde hym with hem, with his thretty[36] knyghtes and his squyers; but he had skarsly[37] dwelled there a yere, but that his doughter was yrke[38] of him and of his meany, that here housbond and she helde hym in so grete vyolete[39] and represse,[40] that of thretty knyghtes and here squyeres they putt hym vnto oon[41] alone. than was leyre more sorowfull than Euer he was before, and

1 her. 2 father. 3 died. 4 know. 5 then. 6 flattery. 7 truth. 8 thought. 9 scorned. 10 divide. 11 them. 12 equal. 13 portions. 14 disinherited. 15 one. 16 decease. 17 that with: MS. 18 divided. 19 two. 20 only. 21 received. 22 his MS. 23 were. 24 took. 25 realm. 26 arranged. 27 two. 28 squires. 29 annoyed. 30 displeased 31 retinue. 32 become. 33 grieved. 34 reduced. 35 prove. 36 thirty. 37 scarcely. 38 tired. 39 contempt. 40 subjection. 41 one.

eide, "alas! that Euer I was borne, for now am I more vile then Euer I was before, ette it had ben better to haue dwelled still with my fyrste doughter." and [he] wente gayne into Scotlonde, to his Eldyste doughter. but when the kyng and his wife sawe hat, and the myschefe of leyre, they ressayued hym, and tokyn away the knyght, and ıutt to hym a squyere. then was leyre more sorowfull then Euer he was be-fore, and ıe-gan Gretly for to sorowe, and pleyne[1] hym piteously, and seide, "alas! alas! I haue euyd[2] to longe, that it is fallen to me; now am I pore[3] that was wonte to haue so nekille;[4] now haue I no Frende ne[5] kynne[6] that wil me good. Cordell, my doughter, eide me full wele, and that I haue now fowndyn;[7] for she seide me as mych as I had, o mych was I worthe, and so mych louyd shuld I be. now wote I wele, that myn othere loughters han[8] flatered me; now they take no Force. now be-houys me for nede to go nd proffere myn yougeste doughter Cordell, to whame[9] I wolde gyfe no lande ne enemente, for she seide she louyd me als mekill as she ought to loue here Fadre." and ın this maner [he] pleyned longe. and atte laste he wente ouere the see,[10] with his quyere, and Come into Fraunce; and he asked where the queen shuld be fowndyn, and ıen tolde hym. He come to the Cite, and sente his squyere to the queen, for to saye ere, that here Fadre was comyn for nede, for to gete some good and helpe of here. he squyere wente, and tolde in ordre to the queen, how his ij. doughters had lefte hym. ordell, the queen, toke golde and syluer grete plente, and toke it to the squyere, and eide to hym in Cownsayll, that he shuld bere that Tresoure to here Fadre, and that he huld go to some good towne, and araye hym richely of riall[11] clothing, with-holdyng ith hym xl^ti^ knyghtes of oone leveraye; and when he were redye, he shuld sende vnto he kyng, here lorde, that he was comyn to speke with hym, and to se his doughter. the quyere commaundid the queen to god, and come to leyre, his lorde, and toke to hym is tresoure, and seide his message. wherfore leyre wente ferre thense to anothere ite, and did after the ordynaunce of his doughter; and afterward he come to the kyng, ıere he soiourned with his wife. leyre sente to the kyng of Fraunce, and tolde Cordell, is doughter, that he was comyn into Fraunce, for to speke with hem. when the kyng erde this, he commaundid all his men to take here horse; and the queen also com- ıaundid all here men to take here horse; and all they ridden to-gedre.[12] The kyng and ıe queen Come with a grete worship agayne hym, ressayued hym with grete nobley. he kyng commaundid throw[13] all his reawme, that all shuld be intendaunte to king yre, the Fadre of his wife, as to hym self. When leyre had dwelled there with the yng of fraunce a monethe, he tolde the kyng and the queen how his ij. doughters had erued hym. wherfore kyng Agape assembled a grete powere of folke, and sente hem ith leyre in to bretayne; and Cordell, his doughter, Come with hym, for to haue the ınde after here fadre. And they passed the see, and foughtyn with the felouns,[14] and lowen[15] hem; and leyre toke agayne his londe, and leuyd after iij. yere in pease; and fterwarde he died, and Cordell, his doughter, did hym be beried[16] at leycetur. and after ıe dethe of here fadre, Cordell helde the lande of Bretayne.

Here may men se what fayre flaterynge wordes done, that vntrewly fullfillen the e-heste that[17] they make; and here also mony men may here, what comys to hem that ayen the truth, as Cordell did; For it is written, they that glosen[18] the, and praysen[19] ıe, dysseyuen the, and they that tellen the [the] truthe and the sothe, they louen the, nd are thy good Frendes, &c.

1 complained. 2 lived. 3 poor. 4 much. 5 nor. 6 kin. 7 found. 8 have. 9 whom. 10 sea. 11 royal. 12 together. 13 through. 14 villains. 15 slew. 16 buried. 17 that that. MS. 18 flatter. 19 praise

APPENDIX III.

From Spenser's *Faerie Queene.* Book ii, Canto x, Stanzas 27-32.

Next him king Leyr in happie peace long raynd,
But had no issue male him to succeed,
But three faire daughters, which were well uptraind
In all that seemed fitt for kingly seed;
Mongst whom his Realme he equally decreed
To have divided: Tho, when feeble age
Nigh to his utmost date he saw proceed,
He cald his daughters, and with speeches sage
Inquyrd, which of them most did love her parentage.

The eldest Gonorill gan to protest,
That she much more than her owne life him lov'd;
And Regan greater love to him profest
Then all the world, whenever it were proov'd;
But Cordeill said she lov'd him as behoov'd:
Whose simple answere, wanting colours fayre
To paint it forth, him to displeasaunce moov'd,
That in his crown he counted her no hayre,
But twixt the other twain his Kingdom whole did shayre.

So wedded th' one to Maglan king of Scottes,
And th' other to the king of Cambria,
And twixt them shayrd his Realme by equall lottes;
But, without dowre, the wise Cordelia
Was sent to Aganip of Celtica:
Their aged syre, thus eased of his crowne,
A private life in Albania
With Gonorill, long had in great renowne,
That nought him griev'd to beene from rule deposed downe.

But true it is that, when the oyle is spent,
The light goes out, and weeke is throwne away;
So, when he had resignd his regiment,
His daughter gan despise his drouping day,
And wearie wax of his continuall stay:
Tho to his daughter Regan he repayrd,
Who him at first well used every way;
But, when of his departure she despayrd,
Her bountie she abated, and his cheare empayrd.

The wretched man gan then avise too late,
That love is not where most it is profest;
Too truely tryde in his extremest state!
At last, resolv'd likewise to prove the rest,
He to Cordelia himselfe addrest,
Who with entyre affection him receav'd,
As for her syre and king her seemed best;
And after all an army strong she leav'd,
To war on those which him had of his Realme bereav'd.

So to his crowne she him restord againe;
In which he dyde, made ripe for death by eld,
And after wild it should to her remaine:
Who peaceably the same long time did weld,
And all mens harts in dew obedience held;
Till that her sisters children, woxen strong,
Through proud ambition against her rebeld,
And overcommen kept in prison long,
Till weary of that wretched life herselfe she hong.

APPENDIX IV.

The Story of Queene Cordila. By John Higgins.

[From "*The Mirrour for Magistrates.*"]

My grandsire *Bladud* hight, that found the bathes by skill,
A fethered King that practis'd high to soare,
Whereby hee felt the fall, God wot against his will,
And neuer went, road, raygnd, nor spake, nor flew no more.
After whose death my father *Leire* therefore
Was chosen King, by right apparent heyre,
Which after built the towne of *Leircestere.*

Hee had three daughters, first and eld'st hight *Gonerell,*
Next after her his yonger *Ragan* was begot:
The third and last was I the yongest, nam'd *Cordell.*
Vs all our father *Leire* did loue to well, God wot.
But minding her that lou'd him best to note,
Because hee had no sonne t'enioy his land,
Hee thought to guerdon most where fauour most hee fand.

/hat though I yongest were, yet men mee
iudg'd more wise .
han either *Gonerell* or *Ragan* more of age,
nd fairer farre: wherefore my sisters did
despise
[y grace and giefts, and sought to wrecke
to wage.
ut yet though vice on vertue dye with rage,
It cannot keepe her vnderneath to
drowne:
For still she flittes aboue, and reaps
renowne.

[y father thought to wed vs vnto princely
peeres,
nd vnto them and theirs deuide and part
the land.
or both my sisters first hee cal'd (as first
their yeares
equir'd), their minds, and loue, and
fauoure t'vnderstand.
Quoth hee) all doubts of duty to aband,
I must assay your friendly faithes to
proue:
My daughters, tell mee how you doe mee
loue.

/hich when they aunswerd him they lou'd
their father more
'hen they themselues did loue, or any
worldly wight,
[e praised them, and sayd hee would
therefore
'he louing kindnes they deseru'd in fine
requite.
o found my sisters fauour in his sight.
By flattery faire they won their fathers
heart;
Which after turned hym and mee to
smart.

ut not content with this, hee asked mee
likewise
[I did not him loue and honour well.
[o cause (quoth I) there is I should your
grace despise:
or nature so doth binde and duty mee
compell
'o loue you, as I ought my father, well.
Yet shortely I may chaunce, if Fortune
will,
To finde in heart to beare another more
good will.

'hus much I sayd of nuptiall loues that
ment,
[ot minding once of hatred vile or ire.
nd partly taxing them, for which intent
'hey set my fathers heart on wrathfull fire.
Shee neuer shall to any part aspire
Of this my realme (quoth hee) among'st
you twayne:
But shall without all dowry aie remaine."

Then to *Maglaurus* Prince, with Albany hee
gaue
My sister *Gonerell*, the eldest of vs all:
And eke my sister *Ragan* to *Hinniue* to
haue,
And for her dowry *Camber* and *Cornwall*.
These after him should haue his Kingdome
all.
Betweene them both hee gaue it franke
and free,
But nought at all he gaue of dowry mee.

At last it chaunst a Prince of *Fraunce* to
heare my fame,
My beauty braue, my wit was blaz'd abroad
ech where.
My noble vertues prais'd mee to my fathers
blame,
Who did for flattery mee lesse friendly
fauour beare.
Which when this worthy Prince (I say) did
heare,
Hee sent ambassage, lik'd mee more then
life,
And soone obtayned mee to bee his wife.

Prince *Aganippus* reau'd mee of my woe,
And that for vertues sake, of dowryes all
the best:
So I contented was to Fraunce my father fro
For to depart, and hoapt t'enioy some
greater rest.
Where liuing well belou'd, my ioyes
encreast:
I gate more fauour in that Prince his
sight,
Then euer Princesse of a Princely wight.

But while that I these ioyes so well enioy'd
in *Fraunce*,
My father *Leire* in *Britayne* waxt unweldly
old,
Whereon his daughters more themselues
aloft t'aduance
Desir'd the Realme to rule it as they wolde.
Their former loue and friendship waxed
cold.
Their husbands rebels voyde of reason
quite
Rose vp, rebeld, bereft his crowne and
right:

Caus'd him agree they might in parts equall
Deuide the Realme, and promist him a gard
Of sixty Knights on him attending still at
call.
But in six monthes such was his hap to
hard,
That *Gonerell* of his retinue barde
The half of them, shee and her husband
reft,
And scarce alow'd the other halfe they
left.

Eke as in *Albany* lay hee lamenting fates,
When as my sister so sought all his vtter spoyle:
The meaner vpstart courtiers thought themselues his mates,
His daughter him disdayn'd and forced not his foyle.
Then was hee fayne for succoure his to toyle
With halfe his trayne to *Cornwall*, there to lie
In greatest neede, his *Ragans* loue to try.

So when hee came to *Cornwall*, shee with ioy
Receiued him, and Prince *Maglaurus* did the like.
There hee abode a yeare, and liu'd without anoy:
But then they tooke all his retinue from him quite
Saue only ten, and shew'd him daily spite:
Which he bewayl'd complayning durst not striue.
Though in disdayne they last alow'd but fiue.

What more despite could deuelish beasts deuise,
Then ioy their fathers woefull days to see?
What vipers vile could so their King despise,
Or so vnkinde, so curst, so cruell bee?
From thence agayn hee went to *Albany*,
Where they bereau'd his seruants all saue one,
Bad him content him selfe with that, or none.

Eke at what time hee ask'd of them to haue his gard,
To gard his noble grace where so hee went:
They cal'd him doting foole, all his requests debard,
Demaunding if with life hee were not well content:
Then hee to late his rigour did repent
Gaynst mee, my sisters' fawning loue that knew,
Found flattery false, that seem'd so fai in vew.

To make it short, to *Fraunce* hee came at last to mee,
And told mee how my sisters euell their father vsde.
Then humbly I besought my noble King free,
That he would aide my father thus by his abusde:
Who nought at all my humble hest refusd
But sent to euery coast of *Fraunce* for aide,
Whereby King *Leir* might home bee we conueyde.

The souldiours gathered from ech quarte of the land
Came at the length to know the noble Princes will:
Who did commit them vuto captaynes euer band,
And I likewise of loue and reuerent mee good will
Desir'd my Lord, he would not take it ill
If I departed for a space withall,
To take a part, or ease my father's thral

Hee granted my request: Thence wee ariue here,
And of our *Britaynes* came to aide likewis his right
Full many subiects, good and stout that were:
By martiall feats, and force, by subiects sword and might,
The *British* Kings were fayne to yeeld ou right:
Which wonne, my father well this Realm did guide
Three yeares in peace, and after that he dyde.

APPENDIX V.

A Lamentable Song of the Death of King Leir and his Three Daughters.[1]

[*To the Tune of "When Flying Fame."*]

KING Leir once ruled in this land
With princely power and peace;
And had all things with heart's content,
That might his joys increase.
Amongst those things that nature gave,
Three daughters fair had he,
So princely seeming beautiful,
As fairer could not be.

So on a time it pleas'd the king
A question thus to move,
Which of his daughters to his grace
Could shew the dearest love:
'For to my age you bring content,'
Quoth he, 'then let me hear,
Which of you three in plighted troth
The kindest will appear.'

[1] Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry.

o whom the eldest thus began;
'Dear father, mind,' quoth she,
Before your face, to do you good,
My blood shall render'd be:
nd for your sake my bleeding heart
Shall here be cut in twain,
re that I see your reverend age
The smallest grief sustain.'

And so will I,' the second said;
'Dear father, for your sake,
he worst of all extremities
I'll gentle undertake:
nd serve your highness night and day
With diligence and love;
hat sweet content and quietness
Discomforts may remove.'

In doing so, you glad my soul,'
The aged king reply'd;
But what sayst thou, my youngest girl,
How is thy love allay'd?'
My love' (quoth young Cordelia then)
'Which to your grace I owe,
hall be the duty of a child,
And that is all I'll show.'

And wilt thou shew no more,' quoth he,
'Than doth thy duty bind?
well perceive thy love is small,
When as no more I find.
Henceforth I banish thee my court,
Thou art no child of mine;
Nor any part of this my realm
By favour shall be thine.

Thy elder sisters' loves are more
Than well I can demand,
To whom I equally bestow
My kingdome and my land,
My pompal state and all my goods,
That lovingly I may
With those thy sisters be maintain'd
Until my dying day.'

Thus flattering speeches won renown,
By these two sisters here;
The third had causeless banishment,
Yet was her love more dear:
For poor Cordelia patiently
Went wandering up and down,
Unhelp'd, unpity'd, gentle maid,
Through many an English town:

Untill at last in famous France
She gentler fortunes found;
Though poor and bare, yet she was deem'd
The fairest on the ground:
Where, when the king her virtues heard,
And this fair lady seen,
With full consent of all his court
He made his wife and queen.

Her father king Leir this while
With his two daughters staid:
Forgetful of their promis'd loves,
Full soon the same decay'd;
And living in queen Ragan's court,
The eldest of the twain,
She took from him his chiefest means,
And most of all his train.

For whereas twenty men were wont
To wait with bended knee:
She gave allowance but to ten,
And after scarce to three;
Nay, one she thought too much for him;
So took she all away,
In hope that in her court, good king,
He would no longer stay.

'Am I rewarded thus,' quoth he,
'In giving all I have
Unto my children, and to beg
For what I lately gave?
I'll go unto my Gonorell:
My second child, I know,
Will be more kind and pitiful,
And will relieve my woe.'

Full fast he hies then to her court;
Where, when she heard his moan,
Return'd him answer, That 'she griev'd,
That all his means were gone:
But no way could relieve his wants;
Yet, if that he would stay
Within her kitchen, he should have
What scullions gave away.'

When he had heard, with bitter tears,
He made his answer then;
'In what I did let me be made
Example to all men.
I will return again,' quoth he,
'Unto my Ragan's court;
She will not use me thus, I hope,
But in a kinder sort.'

Where when he came, she gave command
To drive him thence away:
When he was well within her court
(She said) he would not stay.
Then back again to Gonorell
The woeful king did hie,
That in her kitchens he might have
What scullion boys set by.

But there of that he was deny'd,
Which she had promis'd late:
For once refusing, he should not
Come after to her gate.
Thus, twixt his daughters, for relief
He wandered up and down;
Being glad to feed on beggars' food,
That lately wore a crown.

And calling to remembrance then
His youngest daughter's words,
That said the duty of a child
Was all that love affords:
But doubting to repair to her,
Whom he had banish'd so,
Grew frantick mad; for in his mind
He bore the wounds of woe:

Which made him rend his milk-white locks,
And tresses from his head,
And all with blood bestain his cheeks,
With age and honour spread.
To hills and woods and watry founts,
He made his hourly moan,
Till hills and woods, and sensless things,
Did seem to sigh and groan.

Even thus possest with discontents,
He passed ore to France,
In hopes from fair Cordelia there,
To find some gentler chance;
Most virtuous dame! which when she heard
Of this her father's grief,
As duty bound, she quickly sent
Him comfort and relief:

And by a train of noble peers,
In brave and gallant sort,
She gave in charge he should be brought
To Aganippus' court;

Whose royal king, with noble mind
So freely gave consent,
To muster up his knights at arms,
To fame and courage bent.

And so to England came with speed,
To repossesse king Leir,
And drive his daughters from their thrones
By his Cordelia dear.
Where she, true-hearted noble queen,
Was in the battel slain;
Yet he, good king, in his old days,
Possesst his crown again.

But when he heard Cordelia's death,
Who died indeed for love
Of her dear father, in whose cause
She did this battle move;
He swooning fell upon her breast,
From whence he never parted;
But on her bosom left his life,
That was so truly hearted.

The lords and nobles when they saw
The end of these events,
The other sisters unto death
They doomed by consents;
And being dead, their crowns they left
Unto the next of kin:
Thus have you seen the fall of pride,
And disobedient sin.

APPENDIX VI.

The Account of Lear, Tenth Ruler of Britain.

[*From Shakespeare's Holinshed. The Chronicle and the Historical Plays compared* by W. G. Boswell-Stone.]

THE FIFT CHAPTER.

[Hol. i. H.E. 12/2/59.] Leir the sonne of Baldud was admitted ruler ouer the Britaines, in the yeare of the world 3105, at what time Joas reigned in Juda. This Leir was a prince of right noble demeanor, gouerning his land and subiects in great wealth. He made the towne of Caerleir now called Leicester, which standeth vpon the riuer of Sore. It is written that he had by his wife three daughters without other issue, whose names were Gonorilla, Regan, and Cordeilla,[1] which daughters he greatly loued, but specially Cordeilla the yoongest farre aboue the two elder. When this Leir therefore was come to great yeres, & began to waxe vnweldie through age, he thought to vnderstand the affections of his daughters towards him, and preferre hir whome he best loued, to the

[1] The earliest occurrence of the familiar spelling "Cordelia" is, I believe, to be found in the *Faerie Queene*, II. x. 29. The form "Cordell" occurs in the *Mirour for Magistrates* (ed. Haslewood), stanza 7. "Cordella" is the spelling in the older Leir.

succession ouer the kingdome.[1] Whervpon he first asked Gonorilla the eldest, how well she loued him: who calling hir gods to record, protested that she loued him more than hir owne life, which by right and reason should be most deere vnto hir. With which answer the father being well pleased, turned to the second, and demanded of hir how well she loued him: who answered (confirming hir saiengs with great othes) that she loued him more than toong could expresse, and farre aboue all other creatures of the world.

Then called he his yoongest daughter Cordeilla before him, and asked of hir what account she made of him, vnto whome she made this answer as followeth: "Knowing "the great loue and fatherlie zeale that you haue alwaies borne towards me (for the which "I maie not answere you otherwise than I thinke, and as my conscience leadeth me) "I protest vnto you, that I haue loued you ever, and will continuallie (while I liue) loue "you as my naturall father. And if you would more vnderstand of the loue that I beare "you, assertaine your selfe, that so much as you haue, so much you are worth, and so "much I loue you, and no more." The father being nothing content with this answer, married his two eldest daughters, the one vnto Henninus the duke of Cornewall, and the other vnto Maglanus the duke of Albania, betwixt whome he willed and ordeined that his land should be diuided after his death, and the one halfe thereof immediatlie should be assigned to them in hand: but for the third daughter Cordeilla he reserued nothing.

Neuertheless it fortuned that one of the princes of Gallia (which now is called France) whose name was Aganippus, hearing of the beautie, womanhood, and good conditions of the said Cordeilla, desired to haue hir in mariage, and sent ouer to hir father, requiring that he might haue hir to wife: to whome answer was made, that he might haue his daughter, but as for anie dower he could haue none, for all was promised and assured to hir other sisters alreadie. Aganippus notwithstanding this answer of deniall to receiue anie thing by way of dower with Cordeilla, tooke hir to wife, onlie moued thereto (I saie) for respect of hir person and amiable vertues. This Aganippus was one of the twelue kings that ruled Gallia in those daies, as in the British historie it is recorded. But to proceed.

After that Leir was fallen into age, the two dukes that had married his two eldest daughters, thinking it long yer the gouernment of the land did come to their hands, arose against him in armour, and reft from him the gouernance of the land, vpon conditions to be continued for terme of life: by the which he was put to his portion, that is, to liue after a rate assigned to him for the maintenance of his estate, which in processe of time was diminished as well by Maglanus as by Henninus. But the greatest griefe that Leir tooke, was to see the vnkindnesse of his daughters, which seemed to thinke that all was too much which their father had, the same being neuer so little: in so much that going from the one to the other, he was brought to that miserie, that scarslie they

1 According to *Hist. Britt.* II. xi. 30, Lear "cogitavit regnum suum ipsis dividere," and wished to ascertain the measure of each daughter's love for him, "ut sciret quae illarum *majori regni parte dignior esset.*" Cf. *Lear* I. i. 37-38; 48; 51-53:

> Know that we have
> divided
> In three our kingdom;
> . . . . . .
> Tell me, my
> daughters,
> . . . . . .
> Which of you shall we say doth love us most?
> That we our *largest bounty may extend*
> *Where nature doth with merit challenge.*

So the *Mirour for Magistrates* (i. 125):

> But minding her that *lou'd him best* to note,
> Because he had no sonne t'enjoy his land,
> He thought to guerdon *most where fauour most he fand.*

The *Faerie Queene* and the old play make Lear propose to divide his kingdom equally between his three daughters.

would allow him one seruant to wait vpon him.[1]

In the end, such was the vnkindnesse, or (as I maie saie) the vnnaturalnesse which he found in his two daughters, notwithstanding their faire and pleasant words vttered in time past, that being constreined of necessitie, he fled the land, & sailed into Gallia, there to seeke some comfort of his yongest daughter Cordeilla, whom before time he hated. The ladie Cordeilla hearing that he was arriued in poore estate, she first sent to him priuilie a certeine summe of monie to apparell himselfe withall, and to reteine a certeine number of seruants that might attend vpon him in honorable wise, as apperteined to the estate which he had borne: and then so accompanied, she appointed him to come to the court, which he did, and was so ioifullie, honorablie, and louinglie receiued, both by his sonne in law Aganippus, and also by his daughter Cordeilla, that his hart was greatlie comforted: for he was no lesse honored, than if he had beene king of the whole countrie himselfe.

Now when he had informed his sonne in law and his daughter in what sort he had beene vsed by his other daughters, Aganippus caused a mightie armie to be put in a readinesse, and likewise a great nauie of ships to be rigged, to passe ouer into Britaine with Leir his father in law, to see him againe restored to his kingdome. It was accorded, that Cordeilla should also go with him to take possession of the land, the which he promised to leaue vnto hir, as the rightfull inheritour after his decesse, notwithstanding any former grant made to hir sisters or to their husbands in anie maner of wise.

Herevpon, when this armie and nauie of ships were readie, Leir and his daughter Cordeilla with hir husband tooke the sea, and arriuing in Britaine, fought with their enimies, and discomfited them in battell, in the which Maglanus and Henninus were slaine: and then was Leir restored to his kingdome, which he ruled after this by the space of two yeeres, and then died, fortie yeeres after he first began to reigne. His bodie was buried at Leicester in a vaut vnder the chanell of the riuer of Sore beneath the towne.

The gunarchie of queene Cordeilla, how she was vanquished, of hir imprisonment and selfe-murther: the contention betweene Cunedag and Margan nephewes for gouernement, and the euill end thereof.

The Sixt Chapter.

CORDEILLA the yoongest daughter of Leir was admitted Q. and supreme gouernesse of Britaine, in the yéere of the world 3155, before the bylding of Rome 54, Vzia then reigning in Iuda, and Ieroboam ouer Israell. This Cordeilla after hir fathers deceasse ruled the land of Britaine right worthilie during the space of fiue yéeres, in which meane time hir husband died, and then about the end of those fiue yéeres, hir two nephewes Margan and Cunedag, sonnes to hir aforesaid sisters, disdaining to be vnder the gouernment of a woman, leuied warre against hir, and destroied a great part of the land, and finallie tooke hir prisoner, and laid hir fast in ward, wherewith she tooke such griefe, being a woman of a manlie courage, and despairing to recouer libertie, there she slue hirselfe, when she had reigned (as before is mentioned) the tearm of fiue yéeres.[2]

[1] We learn from *Hist. Britt.* II. xii. 31 that, after the duke's revolt, Albany maintained Lear and a retinue of sixty knights. But, when two years had elapsed, "indignata est Gonorilla filia *ob multitudinem militum ejus, qui convicia ministris inferebant*, quia eis profusior epinomia non praebebatur" Albany reduced Lear's attendance to thirty knights. Lear then went to live with Cornwall, but strife broke out between the retainers of the several households, and Regan dismissed all save five of Lear's knights. He returned to Gonorilla, who allowed him one knight. This last wrong caused Lear's departure to France. The *Mirour for Magistrates* mentions the successive reductions of Lear's followers; but none of the sources which I have enumerated above has aught to say about the dissensions between Lear's knights and his sons-in-laws' households.

[2] Shakspere was perhaps indebted to Holinshed for something more than the story of Lear: *a* There being (according to Hol. i. H.E. 12/2/55) a "temple of Apollo, which stood in the citie of Troinouant" (London), may explain why Lear swears by that deity (Lear, I. i. 160). Holinshed also says (H.E. 14/1/37) that Lear's grandson, Cunedag, built a temple "to Apollo in Cornewall." *b* Lear's comparison of himself to a dragon (Lear, I. i. 122) may have been suggested by the fact that a later British king "was surnamed Pendragon, . . . for that Merline the great prophet likened him to a dragons head, that at the time of his natiuite maruelouslie appeared in the firmament at the corner of a blazing star, as is reported. But others suppose he was so called of his wisdome and serpentine subtiltie, or for that he gaue the dragons head in his banner." (Hol. i. H.E. 87/2/7).

APPENDIX VII.

Extract from Camden's *Remains concerning Britain.*

"Ina, king of West Saxons, had three daughters, of whom upon a time he demanded whether they did love him, and so would do during their lives, above all others: the two elder sware deeply they would; the youngest, but the wisest, told her father flatly, without flattery, that albeit she did love, honour, and reverence him, and so would whilst she lived, as much as nature and daughterly dutie at the uttermost could expect, yet she did think that one day it would come to passe that she should affect another more fervently, meaning her husband, when she were married; who being made one flesh with her, as God by commandment had told, and nature had taught her, she was to cleave fast to, forsaking father and mother, kiffe and kinne."

APPENDIX VIII.

The Story of the Paphalgonian Unkind King.

[From Sidney's *Arcadia*, 1674, Lib. II. *pp.* 132-136.]

The pitifull state and storie of the Paphalgonian unkinde king, and his kind sonne; first related by the son, then by the blind father. The three Princes assaulted by Plexirtus and his traine; assisted by their King of Pontus and his troupes. Plexirtus succoured and saved by two brothers, that vertuously loved a most vicious man. Beseeged by the new King; he submitteth, and is pardoned. The two Princes depart to aide the Queene of Lycia.

It was in the Kingdom of *Galatia*, the feafon being (as in the depth of Winter) very cold, and as then fuddenly grown to fo extreme and foul a ftorm, that never any Winter (I think) brought forth a fouler child: fo that the Princes were even compelled by the hail, that the pride of the wind blew into their faces, to feek fome fhrouding place, which a certain hollow rock offering unto them, they made it their fhield againft the tempefts fury. And fo ftaying there, till the violence thereof was paffed, they heard the fpeech of a couple, who not perceiving them, being hid within that rude Canopy, held a ftrange and pitiful difputation, which made them ftep out, yet in fuch fort as they might fee unfeen. There they perceived an aged man, and a young, fcarcely come to the age of a man, both poorly arrayed, extremely weather-beaten; the old man blind, the young man leading him: and yet through all thofe miferies, in both there feemed to appear a kind of noblenefs, not fuitable to that affliction. But the firft words they heard, were thefe of the old man. Well *Leonatus*, faid he, fince I cannot perfwade thee to lead me to that which fhoulf end my grief and my trouble, let me now intreat thee to leave me: fear not, my mifery cannot be greater than it is, and nothing doth become me but mifery: fear not the danger of my blind fteps, I cannot fall worfe than I am: and do not I pray thee, do not obftinately continue to infect thee with my wretchednefs: but flie, flie from this Region only worthy of me. Dear father, anfwered he, do not take away from me the only remnant of my happinefs: while I have power to do you fervice, I am not wholly miferable. Ah my fon (faid he, and with that he groaned, as if forrow strave to break his heart) how evil fits it me to have fuch a fon, and how much doth thy kindnefs upbraid my wickednefs? Thefe doleful fpeeches, and fome others of like purpofe (well fhewing they had not been born to the fortune they were in (moved the Princes to go out unto them, and afk the younger what they were? Sirs (anfwered he with a good grace, and made the more agreeable by a certain noble kind of pitioufnefs) I fee well you are ftrangers, that know not our mifery, fo well here known, that no man dare know, but that we muft be miferable. Indeed out ftate is fuch, as though nothing is fo needful unto us as pity, yet nothing is more dangerous unto us, than to make our felves fo known as may ftir pity; but your prefence promifeth that cruelty fhall not over-run hate: and if it did, in truth our ftate is funk below the degree of fear.

This old man (whom I lead) was lately rightful Prince of this Country of *Paphlagonia*, by the hard-hearted ungratefulnefs of a fon of his, deprived not only of his Kingdom (whereof no foreign forces were ever able to fpoil him) but of his fight, the riches which Nature grants to the pooreft creatures: whereby, and by other his unnatural dealings, he hath been driven to fuch grief as even now he would have had me to have led him to the top of this Rock, thence to caft himfelf headlong to death: and fo would have made me, who received my life of him, to be the worker of his deftruction. But noble Gentlemen, faid he, if either of you have a father, and feel what dutiful affection is ingrafted in a fons heart, let me intreat you to convey this afflicted Prince to fome place of reft and fecurity: amongft your worthy acts it fhall be none of the leaft, that a King of fuch might and fame, and fo unjuftly oppreffed, is in any fort by you relieved.

But before they could make him anfwer, his Father began to fpeak. Ah my Son, faid he, how evil an hiftorian are you, that leave out the chief knot of all the difcourfe? my wickednefs, my wickednefs! and if thou doeft it to fpare my ears (the only fenfe now left me proper for knowledg) affure thy felf thou doeft miftake me: and I take witnefs of that Sun which you fee (with that he caft up his blind eyes, as if he would hunt for light) and with my felf in worfe cafe than I do with my felf, which is as evil as may be, if I fpeak untruly, that nothing is fo welcome to my thoughts, as the publifhing of my fhame. Therefore know you Gentlemen (to whom from my heart I wifh that it may not prove fome ominous foretoken of miffortune to have met with fuch a mifer as I am) that whatfoever my Son (O God, that truth binds me to reproach him with the name of my Son) hath faid is true. But befides thofe truths, this alfo is true, that having had, in lawful Marriage, of a Mother fit to bear Royal Children, this Son (fuch a one as partly you fee, and better fhall know by my fhort declaration) and fo enjoyed the expectations in the world of him, till he was grown to juftifie their expectations (fo as I needed envy no father for the chief comfort of mortality, to leave another ones-felf after me) I was carried by a Baftard Son of mine (if at leaft I be bound to believe the words of that bafe woman my Concubine, his mother) firft to miflike, then to hate, laftly to deftroy, or to do my beft to deftroy this Son (I think you think) undeferving deftruction. What ways fhe ufed to bring me to it, if I fhould tell you, I fhould tedioufly trouble you with as much poyfonous hypocrifie, defperate fraud, fmooth malice, hidden ambition, and fmiling envy, as in any living perfon could be harboured: but I lift it not; no remembrance of naughtinefs delights me but mine own; and me thinks, the accufing his traps might in fome manner excufe my fault, which certainly I loath to do. But the conclufion is, that I gave order to fome fervants of mine, whom I thought as apt for fuch charities as my felf, to lead him out into a Forreft, and there to kill him.

But thofe Thieves (better natured to my Son than my felf) fpared his life, letting him go to learn to live poorly: which he did, giving himfelf to be a private Souldier in a Country here by: but as he was ready to be greatly advanced for fome noble pieces of fervice which he did, he heard news of me: who (drunk in my affection to that unlawful and unnaturol Son of mine) fuffered my felf fo to be governed by him, that all Favors and Punifhments paffed by him, all Offices, and places of importance diftributed to his Favorites; fo that ere I was aware, I had left my felf nothing but the name of a King: which he fhortly weary of too, with many indignities if any thing may be called an indignity, which was laid upon me) threw me out of my Sea, and put out my eyes, and then (proud in his Tyranny) let me go, neither imprifoning, nor killing me; but rather delighting to make me feel mifery; mifery indeed, if ever there were any; full of wretchednefs, fuller of difgrace, and fulleft of guiltinefs. And as he came to the Crown of my diftreffed life, no body daring to fhew fo much charity, as to lend me a hand to guide my dark fteps; till this fon of mine (God knows worthy of a more virtuous, and more forunat father) forgetting my abominnable wrongs, not reckoning danger, and neglecting the prefent good way he was in of doing himfelf good, came hither to do this kind office you fee him perform towards me, to my unfpeakable grief; not only becaufe his kindnefs is a glafs even to my blind eyes of my naughtinefs, but that above all griefs, it grieves me he fhould defperately adventure the lofs of his well-deferving life for mine, that yet owe more to Fortune for my deferts, as if he would carry mud in a cheft of Chryftal: for well I know, he that now Reigneth, how much foever (and with good reafon) he difpifeth me, of all men difpifed; yet he will not let flip any advantage to make away him, whofe juft title (ennobled by courage and goodnefs) may one day fhake the feat of a never fecure tyrannie. And for this caufe I craved of him to lead me to the top of this rock, indeed I muft confefs, with meaning to free him from fo ferpentine a companion, as I am. But he finding what I purpofed, only therein fince he was born, fhewed himfelf difobedient unto me. And now Gentlemen, you have the true ftory, which I pray you publifh to the world, that my mifchievous proceedings may be the glory of his filial piety, the only reward now left for fo great a merit. And if it may be, let me obtain that of you, which my fon denies me: for never was there more pity in faving any, than in ending me; both becaufe therein my agonie fhall end, and fo you fhall preferve this excellent young man, who elfe wilfully follows his own ruine.

The matter in it felf lamentable, lamentably expreffed by the old Prince (which needed not to take to himfelf the geftures of pity, fince his face could not put off the marks thereof) greatly moved the two Princes to compaffion, which could not ftay in fuch hearts as theirs without feeking remedy. But by and by the occafion was prefented: for *Plexirtus* (fo was the Baftard called) came thither with forty horfe, only of purpofe to murder his brother, of whofe coming he had foon advertifement, and thought no eyes of fufficient credit in fuch a matter, but his own, and therefore came himfelf to be actor

and fpectator. And as foon as he came, not regarding the weak (as he thought) guard but of two men, commanded fome of his followers to fet their hands to his, in the killing of *Leonatus*. But the young Prince (though not otherwife armed but with a fword) how falfly foever he was dealt with by others, would not betray himfelf; but bravely drawing it out, made the death of the firft that affayled him, warn his fellows to come more warily after him. But then *Pyrocles* and *Mufidorus* were quickly become parties (fo juft a defence deferving as much as old friendfhip) and fo did behave among that company (more injurious than valiant) that many of them loft their lives for their wicked mafter.

Yet perhaps had the number of them at laft prevailed, if the King of *Pontus* (lately by them made fo) had not come unlooked for to their fuccor. Who (having had a dream which had fixt his imagination vehemently upon fome great danger, prefently to follow thofe two Princes, whom he moft dearly loved) was come in all hafte, following as well as he could their track with a hundred horfes in that Countery, which he thought (confidering who then reigned) a fit place enough to make the ftage of any Tragedy.

But then the match had been fo ill made for *Plexirtus*, that his ill-led life, and worfegotten honour fhould have tumbled together to deftruction; had there not come in *Tydeus* and *Telenor*, with forty or fifty in their fuit, to the defence of *Plexirtus*. Thefe two were brothers, of the nobleft houfe of that Country, brought up from their infancy with *Plexirtus*, men of fuch prowefs, as not to know fear in themfelves, and yet to teach it in others that fhould deal with them: for they had often made their lives triumph over moft terrible dangers, never difmayed, and ever fortunate; and truely no more fetled in valor, than difpofed to goodnefs and juftice, if either they had lighted on a better friend, or could have learned to make friendfhip a Child, and not the father of Virtue. But bringing up (rather then choice) having firft knit their minds unto him (indeed crafty enough, either to hide his faults, or never to fhew them, but when they might pay home) they willingly held out the courfe, rather to fatisfie him, than all the world; and rather to be good friends, than good men: fo as though they did not like the evil he did, yet they liked him that did the evil; and though not councellers of the offence, yet protectors of the offender. Now they having heard of this fodain going out with fo fmall a company, in a Country full of evil-wifhing minds towards him (though they knew not the caufe) followed him; till they found him in fuch cafe, as they were to venture their lives, or elfe he to lofe his: which they did with fuch force of mind and body, that truly I may juftly fay, *Pyrocles* and *Mufidorus* had never till then found any that could make them fo well repeat their hardeft leffion in the feats of arms. And briefly fo they did; that by fo unjuft means, as unjuftly he kept it, by force of ftranger fouldiers in *Cittadels*, the neafts of Tyranny ond [and] Murtherers of Liberty; difarming all his own Countreymen, that no man durft fhew himfelf a well-willer of mine; so fay the truth (I think) few of them being fo (confidering my cruel folly to my good Son, and foolifh kindnefs to my unkind Baftard:) but if there were any who felt a pitty of fo great a fall, and had yet any fparks of unflain [unstained] duty left in them towards me; yet durft they not fhew it, fcarcely with giving me Alms at their doors; which yet was the only fuftenance if they overcame not, yet were they not overcome, but carried away that ungrateful mafter of theirs to a place of fecurity, howfoever the Princes laboured to the contrary. But this matter being thus far begun, it became not the conftancy of the Princes fo to leave it, but in all hafte making forces both in *Pontus* and *Phrygia*, they had in few days left him but only that one ftrong place where he was. For, fear having been the only knot that had faftned his people unto him, that once united by a greater force, they all fcattered from him, like fo many birds whofe Cage had been broken.

In which feason the blind King (having in the chief City of his Realm fet the Crown upon his fon *Leonatus's* head) with many tears (both of joy and forrow) fetting forth to the whole people, his own fault and his fons virtue, after he had kift him, and forc'd his fon to accept honor of him (as of his new-become fubject) even in a moment died, as it fhould feem, his heart broken with unkindnefs and affliction, ftretched fo far beyond his limits with his accefs of comfort, as it was able no longer to keep fafe his vital fpirits. But the new King (having no lefs lovingly performed all duties to him dead, than alive) purfued on the fiege of his unatural brother, as much for the revenge of his Father, as the eftablifhing of his own quiet. In which fiege truly I cannot but acknowledge the prowefs of thofe two brothers, than whom the Princes never found in all their travel, two of greater ability to perform, nor of abler skill for conduct.

But *Plexirtus* finding that if nothing elfe, famine would at laft bring him to deftruction, though better by humblenefs to creep, where by pride he could not march. For certainly fo had nature formed him, and the exercife of craft conformed him to all turningnefs of flights, that though no man had lefs goodnefs in his foul than he, no man

could better find the places whence arguments might grow of good to another; though no man felt lefs pity; no man could tell better how to ftir pity; no man more impudent to deny, where proofs were not manifeft; no man more ready to confefs with a repenting manner of aggravating his own evil, where denyal will but make the [the] fault fouler. Now he took this way, that having gotten a pafport for one (that pretended he would put *Plexirtus* alive into his hands) to fpeak with the King his brother, he himfelf (though much againft the minds of the valiant brothers, who rather wifhed to die in brave defence with a Rope about his neck, bare-footed, came to offer himfelf to the difcretion of *Leonatus*. Where what fubmiffion he ufed, how cunningly in making greater the fault, he made the faultinefs the lefs, how artificially he could fet out the torments of his own Confcience, with the burdenfome cumber he had found of his ambitious defires, how finely feeming to defire nothing but death, as afhamed to live, he begg'd life in the refufing it; I am not cunning enough to be able to expref: but fo fell out of it, that though at firft fight *Leonatus* faw him with no other eye, than as the Murderer of his Father, and anger already began to paint revenge in many colors, ere long he had not only gotten pity, but pardon; and if not an excufe of the fault paft, yet an opinion of a future amendment: while the poor Villains (chief Minifter of his wickednefs, now betrayed by the Author thereof) were delivered to many cruel forts of death; he fo handling it, that it rather feemed, he had more come into the defence of an unremediable mifchief already committed, than that they had done it at firft by confent.

In fuch fort the Princes left thefe reconciled Brothers (*Plexirtus* in all his behaviour carrying him in far lower degree of fervice, than the ever-noble nature of *Leonatus* would fuffer him) and taking likewife their leavs of their good friend the King of *Pontus* (who returned to enjoy fome benefit, both of his Wife and Kingdome) they privately went thence, having only with them the two valiant Brothers, who would needs accompany them through divers places; they four doing acts more dangerous, though lefs famous, becaufe they were but private Chivalries: till hearing of the Fair and Virtuous Queen *Erona* of *Lycia*, befieged by the puiffant King of *Armenia*, they bent themfelves to her fuccor, both becaufe the weaker (and weaker as being a Lady) and partly becaufe they heard the King of *Armenia* had in his company three of the moft famous men living, for matters of Arms, that were known to be in the world. Whereof one was the Prince *Plangus* (whofe name was fweetned by your breath, peerlefs Lady, when the laft day it pleafed you to mention him unto me:) the other two were two great Princes (though holding of him) *Barzanes* and *Euardus*, men of Giant-like both hugenefs and force: in which two efpecially, the truft the King had of Victory was repofed. And of them, thofe Brothers *Tydeus* and *Telenor* (fufficient Judges in War-like matters) fpake fo high commendation, that the two Princes had even a youthful longing to have fome trial of their Virtue. And therefore as foon as they were entered into *Lycia*, they joyned themfelves with them that faithfully ferved the poor Queen, at that time befieged: and ere long animated in fuch fort their almoft overthrown hearts, that they went by force to relieve the Town, though they were deprived of a great part of their ftrength by the parting of the two Brothers, who were fent for in all hafte to return to their olf Friend and Mafter *Plexirtus;* who (willingly hood-winking themfelves from feeing his faults, and binding themfelves to believe what he faid) often abufed the Virtue of Courage to defend his foul Vice of Injuftice. But now they were fent for to advance a Conqueft he was about; while *Pyrocles* and *Mufidorus* perfued the deliry [delivery] of the Queen *Erona*.

Life and Death of King John.

Written. Between 1592 and 1598. It is first mentioned by Francis Meres in his *Palladis Tamia* or *Wit's Treasury* published 1598, thus showing that it was written before that date. The quotation in Act I. Scene i. "Knight, knight, good mother, Basilisco-like" is an allusion to the play of *Soliman and Perseda*, which was entered at the Stationers' Hall, in November, 1592. From this inference it is assumed that the Play could not have been written earlier than 1592. Chatillon's description of the English fleet in Act II. Scene i. may refer to the fleet which was sent against Spain in 1596 thus showing that the Play was written in or after that year.

Published. 1623.

Source of the Plot. The Play is founded on an earlier one—which Shakespeare follows very closely—published in two parts in the year 1591.[1] Part I. of this play is entitled "The Troublesome Reign of *John*, King of *England*, with the *discovery of King* Richard Cordelion's Base sone (vulgarly named, the Bastard Fawconbridge): *also the* death of King *John* at *Swinstead Abbey*." As it was (sundry times) publicly acted by the Queen's Majesty's Players, in the honourable City of London. [Device.] Imprinted at London for *Sampson Clarke, and are to be sold at his shop, on the back*side of the *Royall Exchange*, 1591. The Title of the second part is "The Second Part of the troublesome Reign of King *John, containing the death* of Arthur Plantaginet, the landing of Lewis, and the poisoning of King John at Swinstead *Abbey*." As it was (sundry times) publicly acted by the Queen's Majesty's Players, in the honourable City of London. [Device] Imprinted at London for *Sampson Clarke, and are to be sold at his shop, on the back*side of the *Royall Exchange*, 1591. The author is unknown, though the writing has been attributed to Shakespeare. "The publisher of the 2nd Quarto of this play, in 1611, John Helme, put on its title page that it was 'Written by W. Sh.' The publisher of the 3rd Quarto in 1622 altered this into 'Written by W. Shakespeare.'"

The *Troublesome Reign* is based on the account of *King John* in Holinshed's *Chronicles*, but great liberty has been taken with historical facts, especially as regards their chronological sequence, and the prominence given to Faulconbridge, to whom Holinshed makes but a brief reference.

Outline of the Play. The Play opens very abruptly in King John's Palace at Northampton. The king is accompanied by his mother—Queen Elinor—and the

[1] See Appendix.

Earls of Pembroke, Essex and Salisbury, when the French Ambassador—Chatillon—enters, with a claim by King Philip of France, acting on behalf of Arthur Plantagenet, son of John's elder brother Geoffrey, to the sovereignty of England and its dependencies:

> To this fair island and the territories,
> To Ireland, Poictiers, Anjou, Touraine, Maine,
> Desiring thee to lay aside the sword
> Which sways usurpingly these several titles,
> And put the same into young Arthur's hand,
> Thy nephew and right royal sovereign.

That John is a usurper is evidenced from the admission of his mother, Queen Elinor:

> Your strong possession much more than your right,
> Or else it must go wrong with you and me:
> So much my conscience whispers in your ear,
> Which none but heaven and you and I shall hear.

The claim is accompanied by a threat in case of refusal, to an appeal to arms:

> *K. John.* What follows if we disallow of this?
> *Chat.* The proud control of fierce and bloody war,
> To enforce these rights so forcibly withheld.

John meets the threat with defiance and war is at once declared, his defiance of France being of a very manly note:

> Bear mine to him, and so depart in peace:
> Be thou as lightning in the eyes of France;
> For ere thou canst report I will be there,
> The thunder of my cannon shall be heard:
> So hence! Be thou the trumpet of our wrath
> And sullen presage of your own decay.
> An honourable conduct let him have:
> Pembroke, look to 't. Farewell, Chatillon.

After the departure of Chatillon, the Sheriff of Northamptonshire enters and introduces two brothers, Robert and Philip Faulconbridge, in order that the king may decide which of the two is the rightful heir to the estates of the late Sir Robert Faulconbridge. Robert, the younger, bases his claim on the ground that his brother Philip is an illegitimate son of his mother by the late Richard Cœur-de-Lion. Philip bears a strong likeness to Richard, on which Elinor and John remark:

> *Eli.* He hath a trick of Cœur-de-lion's face;
> The accent of his tongue affecteth him.
> Do you not read some tokens of my son
> In the large composition of this man?
> *K. John.* Mine eye hath well examined his parts
> And finds them perfect Richard.

and on being asked by Queen Elinor whether he is willing to forsake his fortune and follow the fortunes of the king, Philip, being convinced of his illegitimacy, consents:

Eli. I like thee well: wilt thou forsake thy fortune,
Bequeath thy land to him and follow me?
I am a soldier and now bound to France.
Bast. . . . . . .
Madam, I 'll follow you unto the death.

He is then knighted by the king as Sir Richard Faulconbridge and Plantagenet:

K. John. What is thy name?
Bast. Philip, my liege, so is my name begun;
Philip, good old sir Robert's wife's eldest son.
K. John. From henceforth bear his name whose form thou bear'st:
Kneel thou down Philip, but rise more great,
Arise sir Richard and Plantagenet.

and becomes the hero of the Play, the representative of a brave and honourable Englishman.

Lady Faulconbridge enters and confesses that Richard Cœur-de-Lion is the natural father of Philip:

Lady F. Hast thou denied thyself a Faulconbridge?
Bast. As faithfully as I deny the devil.
Lady F. King Richard Cœur-de-lion was thy father:

The next Act opens before the city of Angiers in France. The Duke of Austria with his forces, and King Philip of France with his forces and accompanied by the Dauphin, Arthur and Constance approach the city in opposite directions with the intention of besieging it, when Chatillon enters with John's defiance, and at the same time informs them that the King of England with a large army, and accompanied by Queen Elinor and the Lady Blanch of Spain, is rapidly approaching:

His marches are expedient to this town,
His forces strong, his soldiers confident.
With him along is come the mother-queen,
An Ate, stirring him to blood and strife;
With her her niece, the Lady Blanch of Spain;
With them a bastard of the king's deceased;
And all the unsettled humours of the land,
Rash, inconsiderate, fiery voluntaries,
With ladies' faces and fierce dragons' spleens,
Have sold their fortunes at their native homes,
Bearing their birthrights proudly on their backs,

On the arrival of the English forces, a bitter dispute ensues between John and Philip, Elinor and Constance, Faulconbridge and the Duke of Austria. This vituperation is ended by Philip ordering a trumpet to be sounded, summoning a deputation from Angiers:

Some trumpet summon hither to the walls
These men of Angiers: let us hear them speak
Whose title they admit, Arthur's or John's.

Certain citizens appear, and one, who acts as spokesman, demands to know the cause they are "warn'd" to the walls:

First Cit. Who is it that hath warn'd us to the walls?
K. Phi. 'Tis France, for England.
K. John. England, for itself.
You men of Angiers, and my loving subjects,—
K. Phi. You loving men of Angiers, Arthur's subjects,
Our trumpet call'd you to this gentle parle,—

The puzzled citizens listen to both sides and agree to open their gates to the "King of England" when it has been decided by a resort to arms whether it is John or Arthur:

First Cit. In brief, we are the king of England's subjects:
For him, and in his right, we hold this town.
K. John. Acknowledge then the king, and let me in.
First Cit. That can we not; but he that proves the king,
To him will we prove loyal: till that time
Have we ramm'd up our gates against the world.

In the battle which follows each side claims the victory, and the two kings again demand the surrender of the city, but the citizens decline to recognise either as the victor, and Faulconbridge proposes a combination of the English and French forces to bring the city into submission, after which the English and French shall decide to which of the two the city shall belong:

Bast. By heaven, these scroyles of Angiers flout you,
kings,
And stand securely on their battlements,
. . . . . .
By east and west let France and England mount
Their battering cannon charged to the mouths,
. . . . . .
K. John. Now, by the sky that hangs above our heads,
I like it well. France, shall we knit our powers
And lay this Angiers even with the ground;
Then after fight who shall be king of it?
. . . . . .
K. Phi. Let it be so.

Preparations are made for the combined assault, when on the suggestion of one of the chief citizens a compromise is agreed to, that the Dauphin Lewis should marry the Lady Blanch [see II. i. 423-454], and with her receive the five English provinces of France—Volquessen, Anjou, Touraine, Maine and Poictiers—with 30,000 marks of English money as a dowry:

K. John. Then do I give Volquessen, Touraine, Maine,
Poictiers, and Anjou, these five provinces,
With her to thee; and this addition more,
Full thirty thousand marks of English coin.
Philip of France, if thou be pleased withal,
Command thy son and daughter to join hands.
K. Phi. It likes us well; young princes, close your
hands.

to which Austria adds:

> And your lips too ; for I am well assured
> That I did so when I was first assured.

As a sop to Constance, John creates Arthur Duke of Bretagne, Earl of Richmond and Lord of Angiers:

> We will heal up all ;
> For we 'll create young Arthur Duke of Bretagne
> And Earl of Richmond ; and this rich fair town
> We make him lord of.

and Philip on his part agrees to throw over Arthur's claim to the English throne. With the exception of Constance—who is not present—they all accept these conditions, and the match is concluded. This disgraceful transaction is denounced by Faulconbridge in a mocking speech on the meanness of the two kings in perverting the ways of justice and uprightness. [See II. i. 561-598.]

Seeing the prospects of her son Arthur ruined at the marriage between the Dauphin and Blanch, Constance vehemently denounces the agreement in the presence of Arthur and the Earl of Salisbury:

> *Const.* Gone to be married! gone to swear a peace!
> False blood to false blood join'd! gone to be friends!
> Shall Lewis have Blanch, and Blanch those provinces?
> It is not so ; thou hast misspoke, misheard ;

but Salisbury assures her that it is really true:

> As true as I believe you think them false
> That give you cause to prove my saying true.

On the appearance of the two kings, with Lewis, Blanch, Elinor, Faulconbridge and Austria, a fierce altercation of words takes place:

> *K. Phi.* 'Tis true, fair daughter ; and this blessed day
> Ever in France shall be kept festival:
> . . . . . .
> The yearly course that brings this day about
> Shall never see it but a holiday.
>
> *Const.* A wicked day, and not a holy day! [*Rising.*
> What hath this day deserved? what hath it done,
> That it in golden letters should be set
> Among the high tides in the calendar?

Constance bitterly reproaches Philip and the Duke of Austria—whom she denounces as a bragging fool—for having abandoned the cause of her son. To Philip she exclaims:

> You have beguiled me with a counterfeit
> Resembling majesty, which being touch'd and tried,
> Proves valueless: you are forsworn, forsworn ;
> You came in arms to spill mine enemies' blood,
> But now in arms you strengthen it with yours:

and to Austria:

> O Lymoges! O Austria! thou dost shame
> That bloody spoil: thou slave, thou wretch, thou
> coward!
> Thou little valiant, great in villainy!
> . . . . . .
> What a fool art thou,
> A ramping fool, to brag and stamp and swear
> Upon my party!

At this point the play takes up an entirely new point of interest, for Pandulph the Pope's legate, enters and calls upon John to acknowledge Stephen Langton, as Archbishop of Canterbury:

> Hail, you anointed deputies of heaven!
> To thee, King John, my holy errand is.
> I Pandulph, of fair Milan cardinal,
> And from Pope Innocent the legate here,
> Do in his name religiously demand
> Why thou against the church, our holy mother,
> So wilfully doth spurn; and force perforce
> Keep Stephen Langton, chosen archbishop
> Of Canterbury, from that holy see:
> This, in our foresaid holy father's name,
> Pope Innocent, I do demand of thee.

but John tells him that no Italian priest has a right to exercise power in the realm of England:

> and from the mouth of England
> Add thus much more, that no Italian priest
> Shall tithe or toll in our dominions;

Upon John's refusal to comply with the Pope's demand, Pandulph curses and excommunicates him:

> Then, by the lawful power that I have,
> Thou shalt stand cursed and excommunicate:

Constance takes the opportunity of appealing to the Pope's legate against the desertion of her son's—Arthur's—cause as the rightful heir to the realm:

> O, lawful let it be
> That I have room with Rome to curse awhile!
> Good father cardinal, cry thou amen
> To my keen curses; for without my wrong
> There is no tongue hath power to curse him right.

but Pandulph tells her that "There's law and warrant, lady, for his curse."

Pandulph denounces Philip's conduct as a violation of his oaths, and calls upon him, under pain of excommunication, to break with John:

> Philip of France, on peril of a curse,
> Let go the hand of that arch-heretic;
> And raise the power of France upon his head,
> Unless he do submit himself to Rome.

Philip very reluctantly obeys the legate's command, and takes up Arthur's cause once more, with the result that John again declares war against France:

K. Phi. Thy rage shall burn thee up, and thou shalt turn
To ashes, ere our blood shall quench that fire:
Look to thyself, thou art in jeopardy.
K. John. No more than he that threats. To arms let 's
hie!

The next scene—a short one—depicts the battle between the English and French forces on the plains outside Angiers. Faulconbridge enters bearing the head of Austria whom he has killed:

Austria's head lie there,
While Philip breathes

Arthur is taken prisoner, and handed over to the custody of Hubert de Burgh, a Norman knight. Queen Elinor has been on the point of being taken prisoner by the French forces, but has been rescued by Faulconbridge:

K. John. Hubert, keep this boy. Philip, make up:
My mother is assailed in our tent,
And ta'en, I fear.
Bast. My lord, I rescued her;
Her highness is in safety, fear you not:

In another part of the plain a meeting takes place between John, Elinor, Faulconbridge, Hubert and others. John decides that the Queen shall stay behind under a safe guard:

So shall it be: your grace shall
stay behind
So strongly guarded.

and turning to Arthur says:

Cousin, look not
sad:
Thy grandam loves thee; and thy uncle will
As dear be to thee as thy father was.

He then commissions Faulconbridge to return to England to raise money for the carrying on of the war by plundering the religious houses:

Cousin, away for England!
haste before:
And, ere our coming, see thou shake the bags
Of hoarding abbots; imprisoned angels
Set at liberty: the fat ribs of peace
Must by the hungry now be fed upon:
Use our commission in his utmost force.

Faulconbridge retires on his mission, exclaiming:

Bell, book, and candle shall not drive me back,
When gold and silver becks me to come on.

On his departure, John, turning to Hubert, cautiously sounds him on the subject of murdering Arthur, to which Hubert ultimately agrees, and Arthur is sent to England in his charge:

K. John. Come hither, Hubert. O my gentle Hubert,
We owe thee much!

. . . . . .

Give me thy hand. I had a thing to say,
But I will fit it with some better time.
By heaven, Hubert, I am almost ashamed
To say what good respect I have of thee.

Hub. I am much bounden to your majesty.

K. John. Good friend, thou hast no cause to say so yet,
But thou shalt have;

. . . . . .

I had a thing to say, but let it go:
The sun is in the heaven, and the proud day,
Attended with the pleasures of the world,
Is all too wanton and too full of gawds
To give me audience:

. . . . . .

if that thou couldst see me without eyes,
Hear me without thine ears, and make reply
Without a tongue, using conceit alone,
Without eyes, ears and harmful sound of words;
Then, in despite of brooded watchful day,
I would unto thy bosom pour my thoughts:
But, ah, I will not! yet I love thee well;
And, by my troth, I think thou lovest me well.

Hub. So well, that what you bid me undertake,
Though that my death were adjunct to my act,
By heaven, I would do it.

K. John. Do not I know thou wouldst?
Good Hubert, Hubert, Hubert, throw thine eye
On yon young boy; I 'll tell thee what, my friend,
He is a very serpent in my way;
And wheresoe'er this foot of mine doth tread,
He lies before me: dost thou understand me?
Thou art his keeper.

Hub. And I 'll keep him so,
That he shall not offend your majesty,

K. John. Death.

Hub. My Lord?

K. John. A grave.

Hub. He shall not live.

K. John. Enough.
I could be merry now. Hubert, I love thee;

The next scene depicts the effect upon King Philip of the defeat of the French forces before Angiers and the losses sustained by the dispersal of his fleet in a storm:

K. Phi. So, by a roaring tempest on the flood,
A whole armado of convicted sail
Is scattered and disjoin'd from fellowship.

Pand. Courage and comfort! all shall yet go well.

K. Phi. What can go well, when we have run so ill?
Are we not beaten? Is not Angiers lost?
Arthur ta'en prisoner? divers dear friends slain?
And bloody England into England gone,

Constance is in despair over the loss of her son, whose death she fears, and notwithstanding the solicitations of Pandulph, refuses to be comforted:

Pand. Lady, you utter madness, and not sorrow.
Const. Thou art not holy to belie me so;
I am not mad: this hair I tear is mine;
My name is Constance; I was Geffrey's wife;
Young Arthur is my son, and he is lost:
I am not mad: I would to heaven I were!
For then, 'tis like I should forget myself:

Relying on the certainty of the execution of Arthur by John, and the discontent occasioned by the plundering of the religious houses, Pandulph urges the Dauphin to invade England to overthrow John, to which scheme the Dauphin agrees.

The fourth Act opens in a room in a castle in England, and is one of the best of the Play. Hubert enters, accompanied by the executioners, and prepares to carry out the king's orders to burn out Arthur's eyes with hot irons. The executioners are told to stand behind the arras to await the signal:

Heat me these irons hot; and look thou stand
Within the arras: when I strike my foot
Upon the bosom of the ground, rush forth,
And bind the boy which you shall find with me
Fast to the chair: be heedful: hence, and watch.

Hubert calls Arthur who coming in bids Hubert "good morrow," to which Hubert replies "Good morrow, little prince." Arthur tells Hubert he is suspicious that his uncle John means him harm, and wishes he were Hubert's son instead:

And so I would be here, but that I doubt
My uncle practises more harm to me:
He is afraid of me and I of him:
Is it my fault that I was Geffrey's son?
No, indeed, is 't not; and I would to heaven
I were your son, so you would love me, Hubert.

This talk so overcomes Hubert that he turns aside lest "mercy which lies dead" should awaken in him. Noticing the paleness of Hubert's face, Arthur tenderly inquires if he is sick. "Are you sick, Hubert? you look pale to-day: In sooth, I would you were a little sick, That I might sit all night and watch with you:" This child-like affection proves so moving that Hubert turns aside once more, exclaiming "His words do take possession of my bosom." With tears falling down his cheeks he turns to the young prince and shows him the warrant of execution. The boy—and merely a boy—pleads with Hubert for mercy, reminding him of several acts of kindness he has from time to time performed for him:

Have you the heart? When your head did but
ache,
I knit my hankercher about your brows,
The best I had, a princess wrought it me,
And I did never ask it you again;
And with my hand at midnight held your head,
And like the watchful minutes of the hour,
Still and anon cheer'd up the heavy time,
. . . . . .
Will you put out mine eyes?
These eyes that never did nor never shall
So much as frown on you.

to which pleading Hubert makes answer: "I have sworn to do it; And with hot irons must I burn them out." Fearing lest his courage should fail him, Hubert stamps his foot, and with the words "Come forth" the executioners, with a cord, irons, etc., enter. "Do as I bid you do," commands Hubert, but Arthur promises if he will only send the men away he will sit "as quiet as a lamb" and "then forgive him":

O, save me, Hubert, save me! my eyes are out
Even with the fierce looks of these bloody men.
. . . . . .
For heaven's sake, Hubert, let me be not bound!
Nay, hear me, Hubert, drive these men away,
And I will sit as quiet as a lamb;
. . . . . .
Thrust but these men away, and I 'll forgive you,

Hubert sends the men away, the first executioner exclaiming as he departs: "I am best pleased to be from such a deed." When the men are gone, Arthur again pleads piteously for mercy:

Hubert, if you will, cut out my tongue,
So I may keep mine eyes: O, spare mine eyes,

and Hubert is so overcome that he abandons his gruesome task, bidding Arthur to "see to live":

Well, see to live: I will not touch thine eye
For all the treasure that thine uncle owes:

promising to deceive King John by false news of his death:

Arth. O heaven! I thank you, Hubert.
Hub. Silence; no more: go closely in with me:
Much danger do I undergo for thee.

We now come to the turning-point of the play, as from now onwards the authority and power of the king decline. The scene is John's palace where we find him re-crowned, presiding over a council. The Earls of Pembroke and Salisbury describe to John the growing discontent of the nation on account of the cruel imprisonment of his young nephew Arthur, and John, notwithstanding his secret orders to Hubert, promises to liberate him:

Let it be so: I do commit his youth
To your direction.

Hubert enters, and the king taking him apart is told that Arthur is dead. On the news being communicated to the nobles they throw off their allegiance and quit the king's presence. A messenger enters with the tidings that both Queen Elinor and Constance have died within three days of each other:

> My liege, her ear
> Is stopp'd with dust; the first of April died
> Your noble mother: and, as I hear, my lord,
> The Lady Constance in a frenzy died
> Three days before:

and that a large French army, with Lewis the Dauphin in command, has landed in England. Immediately afterwards Faulconbridge enters and describes his success in raising funds from the plundering of the abbeys. Faulconbridge brings with him a prophet named Peter whom he has arrested for prophesying that before Ascension-day John would lose his crown. John describes him as an "idle dreamer" and orders him to be taken to prison and executed at noon on Ascension-day:

> Hubert, away with him; imprison him;
> And on that day at noon, whereon he says
> I shall yield up my crown, let him be hang'd.

Turning to Faulconbridge the king requests him to use his endeavours to persuade the revolted nobles to return to their allegiance. On Faulconbridge's departure Hubert re-enters, and informs the king of the dangerous condition of the country on account of the reported death of Arthur. John lays the guilt for Arthur's death on Hubert, whereupon Hubert informs him that Arthur is not dead:

> Young Arthur is alive: this hand of mine
> Is yet a maiden and an innocent hand.

and John eagerly exhorts Hubert to communicate the welcome news to the revolting nobles with all possible speed:

> Doth Arthur live? O, haste thee to the peers,
> Throw this report on their incensed rage,
> And make them tame to their obedience!
> . . . . . .
> O, answer not, but to my closet bring
> The angry lords with all expedient haste.
> I conjure thee but slowly; run more fast.

The third scene of this Act opens before the castle in which Arthur is imprisoned. Disguised as a "ship-boy" he appears on the walls with the purpose of escaping, and in leaping from the battlements, is killed:

> The wall is high, and yet will I leap down:
> Good ground, be pitiful and hurt me not!
> There 's few or none do know me: if they did,
> This ship-boy's semblance hath disguised me quite.
> I am afraid; and yet I 'll venture it.
> If I get down, and do not break my limbs,
> I 'll find a thousand shifts to get away:
> As good to die and go, as die and stay. [*Leaps down.*
> O me! my uncle's spirit is in these stones:
> Heaven take my soul, and England keep my bones! [*Dies.*

The Lords Pembroke, Salisbury and Bigot enter and are discussing the proposal of joining the Dauphin at St. Edmundsbury, when they are met by Faulconbridge who invites them to return to their allegiance:

> Once more to-day well met, distemper'd lords!
> The king by me requests your presence straight.

He has scarcely delivered his message when they see the dead body of Arthur lying outside the prison walls:

> *Pem.* O death, made proud with pure and princely beauty!
> The earth had not a hole to hide this deed.
> *Sal.* Murder, as hating what himself hath done,
> Doth lay it open to urge on revenge.
> *Big.* Or, when he doom'd this beauty to a grave,
> Found it too precious-princely for a grave.

Hubert, ignorant of the death of Arthur, enters to assure the nobles that the young prince is still alive, at the same time telling them the king requests their presence:

> Lords, I am hot with haste in seeking you:
> Arthur doth live; the king hath sent for you.

The nobles accuse him of the crime, and an angry colloquy ensues between Hubert and the nobles. With tears in his eyes, he strenuously denies the accusation, but the lords disbelieve him and request him to return and tell the king that they have decided to join the Dauphin at St. Edmundsbury. Hubert is ordered to take away the body of Arthur for burial, and Faulconbridge forthwith departs to wait upon the king:

> Bear away that child
> And follow me with speed: I 'll to the king:
> A thousand businesses are brief in hand,
> And heaven itself doth frown upon the land.

The opening of the fifth Act shows us John's humiliation. Seeing his only course is to make peace with Rome, he, on Ascension-day—as Peter of Pomfret had prophesied [*see* IV. ii. 151-152]—agrees to the terms offered by Pandulph and yields up his crown, which is returned to him by the Pope's legate conditionally upon his submission to the papal see:

> *K. John.* Thus have I yielded up into your hand
> The circle of my glory. [*Giving the crown.*
> *Pand.* Take again
> From this my hand, as holding of the pope
> Your sovereign greatness and authority.

and Pandulph in return promises to order Lewis to lay down his arms and return home:

> On this Ascension-day, remember well,
> Upon your oath of service to the pope,
> Go I to make the French lay down their arms.

The mention of Ascension-day by Pandulph, brings to John's mind the prophecy of the hermit Peter to which John exclaims:

Is this Ascension-day? Did not the prophet
Say that before Ascension-day at noon
My crown I should give off? Even so I have:
I did suppose it should be on constraint;
But, heaven be thank'd, it is but voluntary.

Faulconbridge brings the news that almost the whole of the county of Kent has been overrun by the French, that Arthur is after all dead, and that the rebellious nobles have joined the Dauphin. On being told by John of the "happy peace" he has just concluded with the pope's legate, Faulconbridge denounces such an inglorious submission to "a beardless boy." He will not listen to submission, and as we have seen previously in the play, it is Faulconbridge and not the king who stands for the spirit of the nation:

shall a beardless boy,
A cocker'd silken wanton, brave our fields,
And flesh his spirit in a warlike soil,
Mocking the air with colours idly spread,
And find no check? Let us, my liege, to arms:
. . . . . .
K. John. Have thou the ordering of this present time.
Bast. Away, then, with good courage! yet, I know,
Our party may well meet a prouder foe.

The next scene is the Dauphin's camp at St. Edmundsbury. The English nobles have entered into an agreement with the Dauphin. Pandulph appears, and in accordance with his promise to King John, commands Lewis to lay down his arms, as John has made submission to Rome:

Hail, noble prince of France!
The next is this, King John had reconciled
Himself to Rome; his spirit is come in,
That so stood out against the holy church,
The great metropolis and see of Rome:
Therefore thy threatening colours now wind up;
And tame the savage spirit of wild war,
That, like a lion foster'd up at hand,
It may lie gently at the foot of peace,
And be no further harmful than in show.

Lewis indignantly repudiates the authority of Rome in civil matters, and tells Pandulph that he is the instigator of the war, at the same time reminding him that he—the Dauphin—possesses through his wife—who is Arthur's heir—the right to England's crown:

Your grace shall pardon me, I will not back:
I am too high-born to be propertied,
. . . . . .
Your breath first kindled the dead coal of wars
Between this chastised kingdom and myself,
. . . . . .
And come ye now to tell me John hath made
His peace with Rome? What is that peace to me?
I, by the honour of my marriage-bed,
After young Arthur, claim this land for mine;

"You look but on the outside of this work," replies Pandulph, to which Lewis makes answer "Outside or inside, I will not return." Faulconbridge enters and on being told that Pandulph's mission has been unsuccessful, declares John's readiness to take the field and drive out the invaders.

A battle is in progress between the English and French forces. John, already weighed wth fever, is told by Hubert that the battle is going against him:

K. John. How goes the day with us? O, tell me, Hubert.
Hun. Badly, I fear. How fares your majesty?
K. John. This fever, that hath troubled me so long,
Lies heavy on me; O, my heart is sick.

A messenger enters saying that Faulconbridge desires the king to leave the field:

Mess. My lord, your valiant kinsman, Faulconbridge,
Desires your majesty to leave the field
And send him word by me which way you go.
K. John. Tell him, towards Swinstead, to the abbey there.

At the same time the messenger tells him to be of good comfort, for the French forces are falling back on receipt of the news that their reinforcements have been wrecked on the Goodwin sands:

Be of good comfort; for the great supply
That was expected by the Dauphin here,
Are wrack'd three nights ago on Goodwin Sands.
This news was brought to Richard but even now:
The French fight coldly, and retire themselves.

John calls for his litter and retires towards Swinstead.

In another part of the battlefield, the fight, owing to the bravery of Faulconbridge, is going against the Dauphin. A French lord—Melun—wounded to death enters, and tells the English nobles that the Dauphin has taken an oath, if he should be victorious—to put them to death, and advises them to return to the allegiance of King John.

Mel. Lead me to the revolts of England here.
Sal. When we were happy we had other names.
Pem. It is the Count Melun.
Sal. Wounded to death.
Mel. Fly, noble English, you are bought and sold;
Unthread the rude eye of rebellion
And welcome home again discarded faith.
Seek out King John and fall before his feet;
For if the French be lords of this loud day,
He means to recompense the pains you take
By cutting off your heads:

In the French camp, Lewis is congratulating himself on his supposed victory:

O, bravely came we off,
When with a volley of our needless shot,
After such bloody toil, we bid good-night;
And wound our tottering colours clearly up,
Last in the field, and almost lords of it!

when a messenger enters and informs him that the Count Melun is dead, that the English lords—owing to the dying representation of Melun—have returned to their allegiance, and that his supplies have been lost on the Goodwin Sands:

> The Count Melun is slain; the English lords
> By his persuasion are again fall'n off,
> And your supply, which you have wish'd so long,
> Are cast away and sunk on Goodwin Sands.

The next scene is in the neighbourhood of Swinstead Abbey. Hubert meets with Faulconbridge and informs him that the king has been poisoned by a monk and is lying almost speechless:

> The king, I fear, is poison'd by a monk:
> I left him almost speechless.

and that the rebellious nobles have returned to their allegiance, and are now assembled round the death-bed of the king, having been pardoned on the intercession of Prince Henry:

> Why, know you not? the lords are all come back,
> And brought Prince Henry in their company;
> At whose request the king hath pardon'd them,
> And they are all about his majesty.

Faulconbridge in reply announces that half his forces and supplies have been lost in the Wash.

Prince Henry and the nobles are conversing in the orchard of Swinstead Abbey. The king, still raging owing to being poisoned, is brought out in a chair into the open, when Faulconbridge enters, and tells him of the loss of part of the army in the Wash. On hearing this bad news the king expires:

> For in a night the best part of my power,
> As I upon advantage did remove,
> Were in the Washes all unwarily
> Devoured by the unexpected flood. [*The King dies.*

Salisbury informs them that Pandulph has persuaded the Dauphin to make terms of peace, and that part of the French forces are already on their way home. Prince Henry concludes an honourable peace with France, and after announcing that the late king will—according to his wish—be buried at Worcester:

> At Worcester must his body be interr'd;
> For so he will'd it.

the play ends with a fine patriotic outburst by Faulconbridge, the lines of which are the most quoted of all the play:

> This England never did, nor never shall,
> Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror,
> But when it first did help to wound itself.
> Now these her princes are come home again,
> Come the three corners of the world in arms,
> And we shall shock them. Nought shall make us
> rue,
> If England to itself do rest but true.

Scene. Partly in England, and partly in France.

CHARACTERS, PLACE-NAMES, &c.

Absey. I. i. 196.

> that is question now;
> And then comes answer like an Absey book:
> [I. i. 195-196.]

An A B C book, a primer containing the alphabet and a few elementary lessons in the form of a catechism.

Alcides. II. i. 144.

> It lies as sightly on the back of him
> As great Alcides shows upon an ass:
> [II. i. 143-144.]

A common name of Hercules as the grandson of Alceus, noted for his great strength and his twelve labours. The first of his labours was the fight with the Nemean lion, which he slew and the skin of which he wore ever afterwards. Theobald explains the passage thus: "That lion's skin, which my great father King Richard once wore, looks as uncouthly on thy back, as that other noble hide, which was borne by Hercules, would look on the back of an ass." A double allusion was intended; first, to the fable of the ass in the lion's skin; then Richard I. is finely set in competition with Alcides, as Austria is satirically coupled with the ass.

Alps. I. i. 202.

The great mountain range in Europe.

Amazons. V. ii. 155.

> For your own ladies and pale-visaged maids
> Like Amazons come tripping after drums,
> [V. ii. 154-155.]

A nation of women in Ancient Greek mythology who were famous for their bravery in war, said to have inhabited the neighbourhood of the Caucasus. In his defiance of the French army Faulconbridge compares the English women and their daughters to the Amazons.

Angiers. II. i. 1, 17, 22, 199, 203, 204, 300, 312, 367, 373; II. i. 399, 536; III. iv. 6.

= Angers. The ancient capital of the duchy and province of Anjou.

Anjou. I. i. 11, 152, 487, 528.

An ancient province of France, the capital of which was Angiers now called Angers. Henry II., the first of the Plantagenet line of English kings and the father of John, succeeded in 1151 to Normandy and Maine, and from his father Geoffrey, Count of Anjou, inherited Anjou and Touraine. The province was seized by Philip Augustus of France in 1204.

Apennines. I. i. 202.

A branch of the Alps extending nearly the whole length of Italy.

Arthur, Duke of Bretagne. I. i. 9, 14; II. i. p. 1, 2, 153, 156, 200, 204, 301, 311, 551, 562; III. i. p. 1; III. ii. p. 5; III. iii. p. 1; III. iv. 7, 47, 89, 103, 123, 131, 139, 141, 143, 144, 160, 163; IV. i. p. 9, 33; IV. ii. 52, 85, 165, 187, 202, 204, 227, 251, 260; IV. iii. p. 1, 75; V. i. 38; V. ii. 94.

The posthumous son of Geoffrey Plantagenet, fourth son of Henry II., and Constance of Brittany, and nephew of King John.

He has a prior claim to the throne of England, being the son of John's elder brother, and representations on his behalf are made by Philip, King of France:

> *Chat.* Philip of France, in right and true behalf
> Of thy deceased brother Geffrey's son,
> Arthur Plantagenet, lays most lawful claim
> To this fair island and the territories,
> To Ireland, Poictiers, Anjou, Touraine, Maine,
> [I. i. 8-11.]

John refuses to acknowledge the claim, proclaims war, and crosses over to France with a large army. A battle is fought between the English and French forces which proves indecisive, and a compromise is agreed to, that Lewis the Dauphin shall marry Blanch of Spain, and that the English provinces in France shall be given her as a dowry.

With the intention of appeasing his mother Constance, Arthur is created Duke of Bretagne, Earl of Richmond and Lord of Angiers, and thus his prospects of attaining the throne of England are shattered. Seeing her son's cause abandoned, Constance gives voice to her feelings in no uncertain way.

In a second battle Arthur is taken prisoner, and handed over into the safe keeping of a Norman knight, Hubert de Burgh. John sounds Hubert on the subject of getting rid of Arthur:

> Hubert, throw thine eye
> On yon young boy; I 'll tell thee what, my friend,
> He is a very serpent in my way; [III. iii. 59-61.]

and Arthur is taken to England and imprisoned in a castle.

Having made preparations for the carrying out of the king's orders, Hubert instructs the executioners to heat their irons, and to await behind the arras for his signal:

> Heat me these irons hot; and look thou stand
> Within the arras: when I strike my foot
> Upon the bosom of the ground, rush forth,
> And bind the boy which you shall find with me
> Fast to the chair: be heedful: hence, and watch.
> [IV. i. 1-5.]

Arthur appears, and enters into conversation with Hubert in an innocent, childlike manner, telling him of his fears that his uncle does not wish him well, and wishes he were Hubert's son that he might have someone to love him:

> and I would to heaven
> I were your son, so you would love me, Hubert.
> [IV. i. 23-24.]

Turning to the boy, Hubert shows him the deed of execution, and Arthur pleads for mercy in a most pathetic manner, at the same time reminding Hubert of the many acts of kindness he has done him, never showing any feeling but love towards him:

> Have you the heart? When your head did but ache,
> I knit my handkercher about your brows,
> The best I had, a princess wrought it me,
> And I did never ask it you again;
> And with my hand at midnight held your head,
> And like the watchful minutes to the hour,
> Still and anon cheer'd up the heavy time,
> Saying, "What lack you?" and "Where lies your grief?"
> Or, "What good love may I perform for you?"
> . . . . . .
> Will you put out mine eyes?
> These eyes that never did nor never shall
> So much as frown on you. [IV. i. 41-58.]

This pleading so moves Hubert, that fearing he shall lose his courage, he gives the signal for the executioners to enter. On seeing the fierce looks of these men, Arthur begs that they be sent away, promising to do whatever he is told:

> Thrust but these men away, and I 'll forgive you.
> Whatever torment you do put me to. [IV. i. 83-84.]

When the men are sent away, Arthur again pleads for mercy which so softens Hubert's heart that he tells Arthur he may "keep his eyes" at the same time vowing to make John believe his orders have been carried out and that Arthur is dead.

Hubert enters and the king taking him aside learns of Arthur's supposed death. [In the *Troublesome Reign* Hubert relates aloud Arthur's supposed death, over which John openly rejoices.]

Arthur is kept a prisoner, but in making an attempt to escape by jumping from the walls of the castle in which he is confined he is killed:

> The wall is high, and yet will I leap down:
> Good ground, be pitiful and hurt me not!
> There 's few or none do know me: if they did,
> This ship-boy's semblance hath disguised me quite.
> I am afraid; and yet I 'll venture it.
> If I get down, and do not break my limbs,
> I 'll find a thousand shifts to get away:
> As good to die and go, as die and stay. [*Leaps down.*
> O me! my uncle's spirit is in these stones:
> Heaven take my soul, and England keep my bones!
> [*Dies.* [IV. iii. 1-10.]

In the *Troublesome Reign* the speech is much more elaborate:

> Now help, good hap, to further mine intent!
> Cross not my youth with any more extremes!
> I venture life, to gain my liberty;
> And if I die, world's troubles have an end.
> Fear 'gins dissuade the strength of my resolve;
> My hold will fail, and then, alas, I fall;
> And if I fall, no question, death is next:
> Better desist, and live in prison still.
> Prison, said I? nay, rather death than so.
> Comfort and courage come again to me:
> I 'll venture, sure; 'tis but a leap for life.
> [*He leaps, and bruising his bones,* [*is stun'd. After he wakes from his trance, he*] *speaks thus:*

Ho! who is nigh? somebody take me up!
Where is my mother? let me speak with her.
Who hurts me thus? Speak, ho! where are you gone?
Ah me, poor Arthur! I am here alone.
Why call'd I Mother? how did I forget?
My fall, my fall, hath kill'd my mother's son.
How will she weep at tidings of my death!
My death indeed! O God, my bones are burst.
Sweet Jesu! save my soul; forgive my rash attempt;
Comfort my mother; shield her from despair
When she shall hear my tragic overthrow!
My heart controls the office of my tongue;
My vital powers forsake my bruised trunk;
I die, I die! Heaven take my fleeting soul!
And lady mother, all good hap to thee! [*He dies.*

Commenting on this Malone says: "In what manner Arthur was deprived of his life is not ascertained. Matthew Paris, relating the event, uses the word *evanuit;* and, indeed as King Philip afterwards publickly accused King John of putting his nephew to death, without either mentioning the manner of it, or his accomplices, we may conclude that it was conducted with impenetrable secrecy. The French historians, however, say that John coming in a boat, during the night-time, to the castle of Rouen, where the young prince was confined, ordered him to be brought forth, and having stabbed him, while supplicating for mercy, the King fastened a stone to the dead body, and threw it into the Seine, in order to give some colour to a report, which he afterwards caused to be spread, that the prince attempting to escape out of a window of the tower of the castle, fell into the river, and was drowned."

Throughout the play Arthur shows child-like and implicit trust in everyone; he is not even desirous of the throne of England for himself, and he allows himself to be absolutely under the influence and control of others, particularly his mother who is of a very ambitious nature.

Commenting on this character, Hudson says: "The Arthur of the play is an artless, gentle, natural-hearted, but high-spirited, eloquent boy, in whom we have the voice of nature pleading for nature's rights, unrestrained by pride of character or place; who at first braves his uncle, because set on to do so by his mother; and afterwards fears him, yet knows not why, because his heart is too full of "the holiness of youth" to conceive how any thing so treacherous and unnatural can be, as that which he fears. And he not only has a most tender and loving disposition, such as cruelty itself can hardly resist, but is also persuasive and wise far beyond his years; though his power of thought and magic of speech are so managed as rather to aid the impression of his childish age. Observe, too, how in the scene with Hubert his very terror operates in him a sort of preternatural illumination, and inspires him to a course of innocent and unconscious cunning,—the perfect art of perfect artlessness. Of the scene in question Hazlitt justly says, 'If anything ever were penned, heart-piercing, mixing the extremes of terror and pity, of that which shocks and that which soothes the mind, it is this scene.' Yet even here the tender pathos of the loving and lovely boy is marred with some 'quirks of wit,' such as I can hardly believe the Poet would have allowed in his best days. In Arthur's dying speech—'O me! my uncle's spirit is in these stones,'—our impression against John is most artfully heightened; all his foregoing inhumanity being, as it were, gathered and concentrated into an echo. Shakespeare has several times thrown the witchery of his genius into pictures of nursery life, bringing children upon the scene, and delighting us with their innocent archness and sweet-witted prattle; as in the case of Mamillius in *The Winter's Tale*, and of Lady Macduff and her son; but Arthur is his most powerful and charming piece in that line. That his great, simple, manly heart loved to play with childhood, is indeed evident enough. Nor is it the least of his claims to our reverence, as an organ of Nature's bland and benignant wisdom."

Arthur Plantagenet. I. i. 9.

Duke of Britanny, son of Geoffrey Plantagenet, John's elder brother, and Constance, daughter of the Duke of Bretagne. Born 1187, died 1203. *See* **Arthur, Duke of Bretagne.**

Ascension-day. IV. ii. 151; V. i. 22, 25, 26.

A festival of the Church in commemoration of the ascension of Christ into Heaven. It was on this day that Peter of Pomfret prophesied that John would deliver up his crown.

> That, ere the next Ascension-day at noon,
> Your highness should deliver up your crown.
> [IV. ii. 151-152.]

Ate. II. i. 62.

> With him along is come the mother-queen,
> An Ate, stirring him to blood and strife;
> [II. i. 62-63.]

In Greek mythology the daughter of Zeus and Eris, and the goddess of Discord. At first she dwelt on Olympus; but for entrapping Zeus in a rash oath she was hurled from Olympus to earth where she continues to work mischief. The allusion here is that Elinor the mother of John is accompanying her son to France and is urging him on to blood and strife.

Attendants. II. i. p. 1; III. i. p. 75; III. iv. p. 1; V. i. p. 1; V. vii. p. 28.

Austria. II. i. 1.

> Before Angiers well met, brave Austria. [II. i. 1.]

An anachronism. Leopold, Duke of Austria, who imprisoned Richard I., died in consequence of a fall from his horse in 1195, while the action of the play begins in 1199. *See under* Lymoges and Duke.

Austria. II. i. 414.

> Austria and France shoot in each other's mouth:
> [II. i. 414.]

Talbot says: "The poet has made Faulconbridge forget that he had made a similar mistake." *See* lines 381-382:

> By east and west let France and England mount
> Their battering cannon charged to the mouths,

Basilisco-like. I. i. 244.

> Knight, knight, good mother, Basilisco-like.
> [I. i. 244.]

A reference to Basilisco, a bragging knight in Kyd's *Soliman and Perseda*, 1592. He insists on being addressed by his title, whilst his servant as persistently calls him "knave, knave." The passage in *Soliman and Perseda* referred to is:

> *Bas.* O, I swear, I swear. [*He sweareth him on his*
> *Pist.* By the contents of this blade,— *dagger.*
> *Bas.* By the contents of this blade,—
> *Pist.* I the aforesaid Basilisco,—
> *Bas.* I the aforesaid Basilisco,—
> Knight, good fellow, knight, knight.
> *Pist.* Knave, good fellow; knave, knave.

Bedlam. II. i. 183.

= lunatic, from the hospital of St. Mary of Bethlehem, a royal foundation for the reception of lunatics, incorporated in 1547 by Henry VIII.

Before the Castle.

The Scene of Act IV., Scene iii. Arthur in trying to escape, jumps from the parapet of the prison in which he is confined and is killed. The revolted nobles, on seeing the body of Arthur, resolve to join the Dauphin's forces at St. Edmundsbury. Hubert is accused of the murder of Arthur, which he denies.

[This Scene is evidently laid in England. According to historians Arthur was imprisoned at Falaise and afterwards at Rouen where he disappeared in 1203, the general opinion being that he was murdered by John and his body thrown into the Seine.]

Blanch of Spain. II. i. 64, p. 84, 423, 427, 429, 431; III. i. 3, 34, p. 75; III. iv. 142.

Niece of King John. After the first battle before Angiers a citizen proposes that the quarrel be settled by the marriage of Blanch and the Dauphin.

She is depicted by Shakespeare as a pure, noble woman, in love with Lewis the Dauphin, and a suitable wife for him, and although she places herself completely in John's hands, she is quite willing to marry Lewis:

> My uncle's will in this respect is mine: [II. i. 510.]

[In the *Troublesome Reign* Blanch was formerly promised to the Bastard.]

She is grieved at the circumstances which follow her marriage, hoping that it might have settled all disputes, and is placed in a very difficult position, her sympathies being with both parties:

> Husband, I cannot pray that thou mayst win;
> Uncle, I needs must pray that thou mayst lose;
> Father, I may not wish the fortune thine;
> Grandam, I will not wish thy wishes thrive:
> Whoever wins, on that side shall I lose;
> [III. i. 331-335.]

"Blanch was the daughter of Alphonso VIII. of Castile, and Eleanor, daughter of Henry II. Her marriage with the Dauphin was principally brought about by the influence of her grandmother, Queen Eleanor. The marriage was a very happy one: after her husband's death Blanch acted as Regent of France during the minority of her son, Lewis IX., and afterwards, when he was absent at the Crusades. She was very beautiful, talented, and good. From her are descended the royal houses of Valois, Bourbon, and Orleans; her granddaughter Isabel married Edward II., and by him became the mother of Edward III." *Irving edition.*

Bury. IV. iii. 114.

= Bury St. Edmunds, a town in Suffolk, named after Edmund, king of East Anglia, who was martyred by the Danes, 870. It was in the abbey here that the Barons assembled, before they drew up their petition to King John on which Magna Charta was founded. Holinshed describes the event under A.D. 1214: "There was brought foorth and also read an ancient charter made sometime by Henrie the first (which charter Stephan the archbishop of Canturburie had deliuered vnto them before in the citie of London) conteining the grant of certeine liberties according to the lawes of king Edward the confessor, profitable to the church and barons of the realme, which they purposed to haue vniuersallie executed ouer all the land. And therefore being thus assembled in the queers of the church of S. Edmund, they receiued a solemne oth vpon the alter there, that if the king would not grant to the same liberties, with others which he of his owne accord had promised to confirme to them, they would from thencefoorth make warre vpon him, till they had obteined their purpose, and inforced him to grant, not onelie to all these their petitions, but also yeeld to the confirmation of them vnder his seale, for euer to remaine most stedfast and inuiolable. Shakespeare does not mention Magna Charta, because it does not come into the scheme of his play; the mainspring of the action being the murder of Arthur and all the circumstances surrounding it."

Cain. III. iv. 79.

The elder son of Adam and Eve who murdered his brother Abel.

Calais. III. iii. 74.

A seaport of France on the Straits of Dover.

Canterbury. III. i. 144.

A city of Kent and the ecclesiastical capital of England. Its cathedral was founded A.D. 597 by Augustine who became its first archbishop.

Cardinal Pandulph, the Pope's Legate. III. i. p. 135, 138; III. iv. p. 1; V. i. p. 1; V. ii. p. 65; V. vii. 82.

The Pope's Legate. He comes to John to demand the recognition of Stephen Langton as Archbishop of Canterbury.

His words show him to be of an arrogant nature, priding himself upon his errand and his power to excommunicate, bless, or canonize.

He is also very diplomatic in his methods and carefully takes advantage of circumstances which will further his own ends.

He countenances John's resolve to plunder the monasteries and the murder of Arthur, as these circumstances will probably make it more easy to secure John's submission.

John gives up his crown to Pandulph, thus acknowledging the Pope, and receives it back as the Pope's vassal, and Pandulph, knowing that now the Church can benefit no more from the war, agrees to try and reconcile Lewis:

> My tongue shall hush again this storm of war,
> And make fair weather in your blustering land.
> [V. i. 20-21.]

Lewis refuses to listen to Pandulph's commands, telling him that he is the instigator of the quarrel between France and England and thus the war is continued.

"He was, when he is first introduced in this play, only an envoy and not a legate of the pope's. According to Lingard he was never a cardinal; but according to French "Pandulphus de Masca, a native of Pisa, was made 'Cardinal of the Twelve Apostles' in 1182." When he was appointed envoy he had the title of 'subdiaconus Domini Papæ.' He was not even in deacon's orders till later. In November, 1218, he succeeded Gualo or Walter, cardinal of St. Martin's, as legate; and after rendering considerable services to the young king, Henry III., he returned to Rome in 1221. Holinshed tells us: 'Pandulph, who (as before is expressed) did the message so stoutlie from pope Innocent to king John, was also made bishop of Norwich.'" *Irving edition.*

Chatillon. I. i. p. 1, 1, 30; II. i. 46, p. 50, 51, 53.

A messenger from the King of France who appears before King John with a demand for the surrender of the Sovereignty of England and its dependencies in favour of Arthur, John's nephew, who has a prior right to the English throne.

He again appears in the second act before the King of France, bearing news of John's refusal, and of his preparations to fight.

"There is no historic mention of the embassy of Chatillon." French says: "In the treaty between King Richard and Philip Augustus, dated July 23, 1194, the concluding article sets forth: 'Now Gervais de Chatillon, as representative of the King of France, has sworn to observe all the articles above recited, and maintain the truce.' He therefore might be the person sent as ambassador to England, five years after the above date." The family was a very distinguished one; Jacques de Chatillon, Admiral of France, was killed at the battle of Agincourt." *Irving edition.*

Citizens of Angiers. II. i. p. 201.

Certain citizens of Angiers who at the sound of the trumpet appear on the walls of the city. Being summoned by both John and Philip to open their gates, they refuse, until it has been decided by force of arms whether John or Arthur is the rightful king of England.

After the battle in which both sides claim the victory, they still refuse to open their gates, and Faulconbridge proposes a combination of the English and French forces to bring the city into submission, but the citizens suggest a compromise, that Lewis the Dauphin shall marry Blanch of Spain, which is agreed to.

Cœur-de-Lion. I. i. 54, 136; II. i. 12.

> A soldier, by the honour-giving hand
> Of Cœur-de-lion knighted in the field. [I. i. 53-54.]

= Lion-hearted, a surname given to Richard I. of England on account of his valour. To be knighted on a field of battle was an honour given only to the bravest fighters.

Cœur-de-lion's face. I. i. 85.

He hath a trick of Cœur-de-lion's face;
The accent of his tongue affecteth him. [I. i. 85-86.]

= resembles and imitates Richard.

Colbrand. I. i. 225.

A Danish giant who was slain before King Athelstan at Winchester by Guy of Warwick. The combat is described in Drayton's *Polyolbion,* XIIth Song. By his death the land was freed from Danish Tribute. Cf. *King Henry* VIII., V. iv. 22-23:

I am not Samson, nor Sir Guy, nor Colbrand,
To mow 'em down before me:

Constance. I. i. 32; II. i. p. 1, 540, 553; III. i. p. 1, 112, 210; III. ii. p. 17, 22, 46, 122.

Mother of Arthur, who has a better claim to the throne of England than John, and whose cause she champions with great zeal.

Her only thoughts are for her son; and all through the play she does her utmost in every possible way to gain him his rightful possessions. She wins the support of the King of France, for which is judged ambitious by Elinor:

What now, my son! have I not ever said
How that ambitious Constance would not cease
Till she had kindled France and all the world,
Upon the right and party of her son? [I. i. 31-34.]

On learning of the agreement made in her absence [In the *Troublesome Reign* Constance is present at the betrothal] to give the English territories in France to Lewis and Blanch on their marriage, she at first refuses to believe it, but being assured by Lord Salisbury that it is indeed true, she is greatly enraged, and on the entry of the two kings with their retinue, denounces the arrangement in heated language. [In the *Troublesome Reign* Constance laments the arrangement with Arthur prior to the entry of the kings.]

She is overwhelmed with grief at the capture of her son, and knowing he is in John's hands fears for his safety.

Grief and worry over Arthur have the effect of making her appear mad, and very soon she dies:

the first of April died
Your noble mother: and, as I hear, my lord,
The Lady Constance in a frenzy died
Three days before: [IV. ii. 120-123.]

"Constance was the daughter of Conan le Petit, Duke of Brittany and Earl of Richmond in Yorkshire and his wife Margaret, daughter of Henry Earl of Huntingdon. Constance was not a *widow* at the time of which this play treats. She married first (in 1182) Geoffrey, son of Henry II., who was killed, 'by accident,' at a tournament about three years after his marriage. Shortly after his death Constance gave birth to Arthur; and while the rejoicings of the people of Bretagne at this event were going on, Henry II. invaded Bretagne, treacherously seized the persons of Constance and her children, and married the young widow forcibly to Randal de Blondeville, Earl of Chester. From this brutal tyrant she divorced herself in 1199, and soon afterwards was remarried to Guy, Count of Thouars. She died suddenly in 1201, a few months after her son Arthur was taken prisoner. Shakespeare takes a liberty with history, much to the prejudice of the play, by killing off Constance before Arthur's death."

Commenting on the character of Constance, Mrs. Jameson says: "Whenever we think of Constance, it is in her maternal character. All the interest which she excites in the drama turns upon her situation as the mother of Arthur. Every circumstance in which she is placed, every sentiment she utters, has a reference to him; and she is represented through the whole of the scenes in which she is engaged, as alternately pleading for the rights and trembling for the existence of her son. . . .

"We think of her as a mother, because, as a mother distracted for the loss of her son, she is immediately presented before us, and calls forth our sympathy and our tears; but we infer the rest of her character from what we see, as certainly and as completely as if we had known her whole course of life.

"That which strikes us as the principal attribute of Constance is *power*—power of imagination, of will, of passion, of affection, of pride: the moral energy, that faculty which is principally exercised in self-control, and gives consistency to the rest, is deficient; or rather, to speak more correctly, the extraordinary development of sensibility and imagination, which lends to the character its rich poetical colouring, leaves the other qualities comparatively subordinate. Hence it is that the whole complexion of the character, notwithstanding its amazing grandeur, is so exquisitely feminine. The weakness of the woman, who by the very consciousness of that weakness is worked up to desperation and defiance—the fluctuations of temper, and the bursts of sublime passion, the terrors, the impatience, and the tears, are all most true to feminine nature. The energy of Constance, not being based upon strength of character, rises and falls with the tide of passion. Her haughty spirit swells against resistance, and is excited into frenzy by sorrow and disappointment; while neither from her towering pride nor her strength of intellect can she borrow patience to submit or fortitude to endure. . .

"Constance, who is a majestic being, is majestic in her very frenzy. Majesty is also the characteristic of Hermione; but what a difference between *her* silent, lofty, uncomplaining despair, and the eloquent grief of Constance, whose wild lamentations, which come bursting forth clothed in the grandest, the most poetical imagery, not only melt, but absolutely electrify us! . . .

"One more magnificent was never placed before the mind's eye than that of Constance, when, deserted and betrayed, she stands alone in her despair, amid her false friends and her ruthless enemies! The image of the mother-eagle, wounded and bleeding to death, yet stretched over her young in an attitude of defiance while all the baser birds of prey are clamouring around her eyrie, gives but a faint idea of the moral sublimity of this scene. Considered merely as a poetical or dramatic picture, the grouping is wonderfully fine: on one side, the vulture ambition of that mean-souled tyrant, John; on the other, the selfish, calculating policy of Philip; between them, balancing their passions in his hand, the cold, subtle, heartless Legate; the fiery, reckless Falconbridge; the princely Louis; the still unconquered spirit of that wrangling queen, old Elinor; the bridal loveliness and modesty of Blanche; the boyish grace and innocence of young Arthur; and Constance in the midst of them, in all the state of her great grief, a grand impersonation of pride and passion, helpless at once and desperate,—form an assemblage of figures, each perfect in its kind, and taken all together, not surpassed for the variety, force, and splendour of the dramatic and picturesque effect."

Dauphin's camp at St. Edmundsbury.

The Scene of Act V., Scene ii. The nobles join the Dauphin at his camp at St. Edmundsbury and Pandulph enters and commands the Dauphin to cease hostilities as John has made submission to Rome. Lewis refuses and both sides prepare for the struggle.

Dover Castle. V. i. 31.

Dover is a seaport of Kent situated on the Straits of Dover, and the chief of the Cinque Ports. One of its chief points of interest is its castle, which was defended by Hubert de Burgh with a hundred and forty soldiers for four months against the efforts of the French to take it. "It was at Ewell, a house of the Knights Templars near Dover, that John received Pandulph, and put into his hand the charter containing his submission to the pope. So that, following history, this scene (i. of Act V.) should be at Ewell near Dover, and not at Northampton." *Irving edition.*

Duke. II. i. 5.

> By this brave Duke came early to his grave:
> [II. i. 5.]

An anachronism. The duke is here confounded with Lymoges, duke of Austria

[*Dramatis Personæ.*] It was at the siege of Chaluz that Richard lost his life after he had been ransomed from his captivity. The Duke died in 1195 while the action of the play begins in 1199. *See under* Lymoges and Austria.

Earl of Essex. I. i. p. 1.

Elevated to the title in the first year of the reign of John. He takes no active part in the action of the play.

"Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, or Fitz-Piers, was created Earl of Essex in 1199, in the first year of King John's reign, and died in 1212. The earldom of Essex came to him by 'his marriage with Beatrice, granddaughter of William de Say, by Beatrice, only sister of Geoffrey de Mandeville, created Earl of Essex by King Stephen.' In 1198, when Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, resigned the office of High Justiciary, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter was appointed in his place. The holder of this office was second in rank only to the king himself. The eldest son of this nobleman, also named Geoffrey, assumed the name of Mandeville, and was one of the Twenty-five Barons. His only sister, Maud Fitz-Peter, married Henry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, who was the ancestor of Humphrey de Bohun, last Earl of Hereford, whose daughter and heiress Henry Bolingbroke (afterwards Henry IV.) married. Holinshed gives the following character of Essex: 'Vpon the second of October, Geffrey Fitz Peter earle of Essex and lord cheefe iustice of England departed this life, a man of great power and autoritie, in whose politike direction and gouernement, the order of things perteining to the common-wealth cheefelie consisted. He was of a noble mind, expert in knowledge of the lawes of the land, rich in possessions, and ioined in blood or affinitie with the more part of all the Nobles of the realme, so that his death was no small losse to the commonwealth: for through him and the archbishop Hubert, the king was oftentimes reuoked from such wilfull purposes, as now and then he was determined to haue put in practise, in so much that the king, as was reported (but how trulie I cannot tell) seemed to reioise for his death, bicause he might now worke his will without anie to controll him.'' *Irving edition.*

Earl of Pembroke. I. i. p. 1, 30; IV. ii. p. 1; IV. iii. p. 11; V. ii. p. 1; V. iv. p. 1; V. vii. p. 6.

An English lord, who with Salisbury and others breaks allegiance with John and joins the Dauphin in his attempt to drive King John from the English throne, on hearing of the supposed death of Arthur.

"William Marshall was the second son of John Marshall, Lord Mareschal to Henry II. He became Earl Mareschal at the death of his elder brother, 1199. William Marshall became Earl of Pembroke by his marriage with Isabel de Clare, daughter of Richard Strongbow; he had five sons by her—William, Richard, Walter, Gilbert, and Anselm, who were in succession Lords Mareschal and Earls of Pembroke. According to Holinshed on the day of his coronation King John 'inuested William Marshall with the sword of the earledome of Striguille and Geffrey Fitz Peter with the sword of the earledome of Essex.' Furness thus records the death of this nobleman: 'The next yeare, which was after the birth of our lord 1219, William Marshall the foresaid earle of Pembroke died, gouernour both of the realme and also of the kings person, a man of such worthinesse both in stoutnesse of stomach and martiall knowledge, as England had few then liuing that might be compared with him. He was buried in the new temple church at London vpon the Ascension day.' French says: 'The noble in this play did not fall away as therein implied, to the French interest; on the contrary, he remained faithful to King John, and it was chiefly through his steady valour, aided by Hubert de Burgh, that England was cleared of her foreign foes. His eldest son, of the same name, one of the Twenty-five Barons who obtained Magna Charta from John, was among the nobles who joined the Dauphin, and hence the mistake of the Poet.' '' *Irving edition.*

Earl of Richmond. II. i. 552.

The title borne by Arthur's grandfather.

Earl of Salisbury. I. i. p. 1; III. i. p. 1; IV. ii. p. 1, 96, 162; IV. iii. p. 11, 81, 95; V. ii. p. 1, 19, 54; V. iv. p. 1; V. vii. p. 1.

An English lord, who, with others, forsook John for Lewis the Dauphin on hearing of the supposed murder of Arthur:

> Lords, I will meet him at Saint Edmundsbury:
> It is our safety, and we must embrace
> This gentle offer of the perilous time.
> [IV. iii. 11-13.]

Being warned by Count Melun that—the Dauphin being victorious—they would be executed he, with the other barons, returns to the English side, and is pardoned.

"William Longsword, Earl of Salisbury, was the natural son of Henry II., by Rosamond Clifford (Fair Rosamond). He married Ela, daughter of William Devereux, Earl of Salisbury, to which title he succeeded on the death of his father-in-law. He was, at the beginning of John's reign, sheriff of Wiltshire, and warden of the Welsh Marches. He was one of the lords who represented the king in the negotiations with the twenty-five barons concerning Magna Charta. He ravaged the counties of Essex, Hertford and Middlesex, Cambridge and Huntingdon, in 1216, with his army. He afterwards revolted against King John's side, and joined the discontented barons, who had invited the Dauphin to claim the English crown; but, on the death of John, and accession of Henry III., he returned to his allegiance." *Irving edition.*

England. II. i. 26, 90, 91, 94, 105, 152, 202, 203, 267, 273, 275, 311, 313, 362, 363, 381; III. i. 161, 206, 254; III. iii. 6, 72; III. iv. 8, 68, 130, 172, 181; IV. ii. 110; IV. iii. 10, 142, 145; V. ii. 153; V. iv. 7; V. vi. 3; V. vii. 112, 118.

Executioners. IV. i. p. 1, p. 72.

Appear with Hubert de Burgh, who gives them instructions to heat their irons to burn out Arthur's eyes, and to hide until he signals for them:

> Heat me these irons hot; and look thou stand
> Within the arras: when I strike my foot
> Upon the bosom of the ground, rush forth,
> And bind the boy which you shall find with me
> Fast to the chair: be heedful: hence, and watch.
> [IV. i. 1-5.]

One of them feels the burning out of Arthur's eyes to be unjustified, for he says:

> I hope your warrant will bear out the deed.
> [IV. i. 6.]

and afterwards, when the executioners are dismissed, he shows his relief at being freed, exclaiming on his departure:

> I am best pleased to be from such a deed.
> [IV. i. 86.]

Faulconbridge. I. i. 134, 251.

= The Family of Faulconbridge.

Field of Battle [near St. Edmundsbury.]

The Scene of Act V., Scene iii. The battle is in progress. At the instance of Faulconbridge, John, sick with a fever, retires from the field and decides to go to Swinstead Abbey. News is brought that the French forces are retiring consequent upon their reinforcements and supplies being wrecked on the Goodwin Sands.

Field of Battle, Another part of [near St. Edmundsbury.]

The Scene of Act V., Scene IV. The fight goes in favour of the English forces. On the field the English nobles meet with Melun, a wounded French count, who tells them that the Dauphin intends putting them to death. They at once decide to return to John.

Five Moons. IV. ii. 182, 185.

Hub. My lord, they say five moons were seen to-night;
Four fixed, and the fifth did whirl about
The other four in wondrous motion.
K. John. Five moons! [IV. ii. 182-185.]

This incident is taken from the old Play. Four of the moons represented—according to Peter the hermit—Spain, Denmark, Germany and France which remained faithful to the Pope, whilst the fifth "the smallest moon" which "did whirl about the other four in wondrous motion" represented England which rejected the edicts of the Pope. Cf. *Troublesome Reign of King John:*

The sky wherein these moons have residence,
Presenteth Rome, the great Metropolis,
Where sits the Pope in all his holy pomp,
Four of the moons present four provinces,
To wit, Spain, Denmark, Germany, and France,
That bear the yoke of proud commanding Rome,
And stand in fear to tempt the Prelate's curse.
The smallest moon that whirls about the rest,
Impatient of the place he holds with them,
Doth figure forth this Island, Albion,
Who 'gins to scorn the See and State of Rome,
And seeks to shun the edicts of the Pope:
This shows the heaven; and this, I do aver,
Is figur'd in these apparitions.

And Holinshed: "About the moneth of December, there were seene in the prouince of Yorke fiue moones, one in the east, the second in the west, the third in the north, the fourth in the south, and the fift as it were set in the middest of the other; hauing manie stars acout it, and went fiue or six times incompassing the other, as it were the space of one houre, and shortlie after vanished awaie."

Fortune. II. i. 391; III. i. 52, 54, 60, 118; III. iv. 119.

An allusion to the goddess Fortuna, her attribute being a wheel, the symbol of inconstancy.

France. I. i. 33, 150, 179; II. i. 22, 90, 202, 207, 318, 342, 381, 414, 465; III. i. 76, 193, 343; IV. i. 14, 109, 110, 118; IV. ii. 128, 129; IV. iii. 15; V. ii. 68.

France. Before Angiers.

The Scene of Act II., Scene i. The war declared in Act I. has been put into motion. Philip of France appears before Angiers. Chatillon enters and informs Philip of the approach of John with a large army. The rival forces plead their cause before the city but the citizens refuse to admit either as king. After a battle has been fought which proves indecisive, Faulconbridge proposes a combination of the English and French forces. A counter proposal, by the chief citizens that the Dauphin should marry Blanch, is accepted. Philip throws over Arthur and his claim to the English throne, and John surrenders the five English provinces in France together with 30,000 marks.

French Camp [near St. Edmundsbury.]

The Scene of Act V., Scene v. The Dauphin being under the impression that his forces have been victorious is congratulating himself, when a messenger enters with the tidings that Count Melun is dead, that the English lords have forsaken him, and that his reinforcements and supplies have been wrecked on the Goodwin Sands.

French King's Pavilion.

The Scene of Act III., Scene i. We are introduced to Constance, who in anger denounces the peace which has been so hastily concluded. Pandulph—the pope's legate—excommunicates John for refusing to acknowledge Stephen Langton as Archbishop of Canterbury. Philip of France, compelled by the fear of excommunication, breaks with John and war again breaks out between England and France.

French King's Tent.

The Scene of Act III., Scene iv. The scene opens with a lamentation by Philip at the news of the defeat of the French forces. Constance enters and raves over the loss of her son Arthur. The scene ends with Pandulph urging the Dauphin to invade England, and take up Arthur's claim.

Geffrey's son. I. i. 8; II. i. 99, 102, 104, 105, 106, 126; IV. i. 22.

Count Geoffrey of Brittany, fourth son of Henry II. of England and Eleanor, and brother of King John. He joined his brothers in their revolt against their father. He married Constance, Duchess of Brittany and became the father of Prince Arthur. Geoffrey was killed at a tournament in France, 1186.

Geffrey's wife. III. iv. 46.

> My name is Constance; I was Geffrey's wife;
> [III. iv. 46.]

Wife of Count Geoffrey of Brittany, and mother of Arthur.

George. I. i. 186.

> And if his name be George, I 'll call him Peter;
> For new-made honour doth forget men's names;
> 'Tis too respective and too sociable
> For your conversion. [I. i. 186-189.]

A name used by the Bastard in his imaginary conversation with an inferior. John says: "new-made honour doth forget men's names; to remember them is to do them too much honour, and is too sociable for one who has suddenly been promoted to a high position."

Germany. I. i. 100.

> And once dispatch'd him in an embassy
> To Germany, there with the emperor
> To treat of high affairs touching that time.
> [I. i. 99-101.]

Henry VI. (1165-1197) German king and Roman emperor, or ruler of the Holy Roman empire.

Good-Friday. I. i. 235.

> Sir Robert might have eat his part in me
> Upon Good-Friday and ne'er broke his fast:
> [I. i. 234-235.]

This thought occurs in Heywood's *Dialogues upon Proverbs*, 1562: "—— he may his parte on good Fridaie eate, And fast never the wurs, for ought he shall geate." *Steevens.*

Goodwin Sands. V. iii. 11; V. v. 13.

A chain of dangerous shoals off the eastern coast of Kent, famous for the shipwrecks they have caused. Tradition ascribes that they were once an island, the property of Earl Godwin, the father of Harold, which was swallowed up by the sea about 1100 A.D.

It was on these Sands that Lewis' reinforcements and supplies were lost.

> *Mess.* Where is my prince, the Dauphin?
> *Lew.* Here: what news?
> *Mess.* The Count Melun is slain; the English lords
> By his persuasion are again fall'n off,
> And your supply, which you have wish'd so long,
> Are cast away and sunk on Goodwin Sands.
> [V. v. 9-13.]

Courtenay says: "I find nothing of the loss of a French flotilla on the Goodwin Sands;".

Herald of France. II. i. p. 300.
Herald of England. II. i. p. 312.

An officer whose duty it was *inter alia* to announce proclamations.

The Herald of France appears and calls upon the citizens of Angiers to open their gates and admit Arthur as the rightful king of England, and as the conqueror of the battle just concluded:

> You men of Angiers, open wide your gates,
> And let young Arthur, Duke of Bretagne, in,
> Who by the hand of France this day hath made
> Much work for tears in many an English mother,
> Whose sons lie scattered on the bleeding ground:
> Many a widow's husband grovelling lies,
> Coldly embracing the discoloured earth;
> And victory, with little loss, doth play
> Upon the dancing banners of the French,
> Who are at hand, triumphantly display'd,
> To enter conquerors, and to proclaim
> Arthur of Bretagne, England's king and yours.
> [II. i. 300-311.]

An English Herald then appears, announcing John as the victor, and demands an entry into the city on behalf of John, as their king:

Rejoice, you men of Angiers, ring your bells;
King John, your king and England's, doth approach,
Commander of this hot malicious day:
Their armours, that march'd hence so silver-bright,
Hither return all gilt with Frenchmen's blood;
There stuck no plume in any English crest
That is removed by a staff of France;
Our colours do return in those same hands
That did display when we first march'd forth;
And, like a jolly troop of huntsmen, come
Our lusty English, all with purpled hands,
Dyed in the dying slaughter of their foes:
Open your gates and give the victors way.
[II. i. 312-324.]

Hubert de Burgh. III. ii. p. 5; 5; III. iii. p. 1, 19, 27, 59, 67; IV. i. p. 1, 9, 24, 28, 38, 69, 70, 73, 78, 79, 98, 100, 101, 114, 126, 131, 132; IV. ii. p. 67, 68, 155, p. 181; IV. iii. 62, p. 74, 119; V. i. 42; V. iii. p. 1, 1; V. iv. 40; V. vi. p. 1, 6, 39.

A Norman knight, John's companion and confidant.

On Arthur being given into his charge, John carefully sounds him on the subject of murdering the boy, and Hubert ultimately agrees, saying:

He shall not live. [III. iii. 66.]

His heart is softened by Arthur's pleading and thus his true nature is revealed.

He is kind at heart, appearing a villain more on account of his fierce looks; and consequently endeavours to play the part which seems to him to be natural for a man possessing such a stern countenance. King John says of him:

Hadst not thou been by,
A fellow by the hand of nature mark'd,
Quoted and sign'd to do a deed of shame,
This murder had not come into my mind:
But taking note of thy abhorr'd aspect,
Finding thee fit for bloody villainy,
Apt, liable to be employ'd in danger,
I faintly broke with thee of Arthur's death;
[IV. ii. 220-227.]

The gentle, childish words of Arthur showing his love and trust of Hubert, bring his true nature to the fore and he foregoes his gruesome task, but informs the king that his orders have been carried out.

The nobles are incensed at the news of Arthur's supposed death, and John lays the whole blame on Hubert:

Why seek'st thou to possess me with these fears!
Why urgest thou so oft young Arthur's death?
Thy hand hath murder'd him: I had a mighty cause
To wish him dead, but thou hadst none to kill him.
[IV. ii. 203-206.]

Hubert retorts by telling John that he ordered him to commit the deed and produces the royal warrant signed by the king:

Here is your hand and seal for what I did.
[IV. ii. 215.]

John bids Hubert begone, accusing him of being responsible for the invasion by the French forces, the dissatisfaction of the nobles, and the hostility of his subjects:

Out of my sight, and never see me more!
My nobles leave me; and my state is braved,
Even at my gates, with ranks of foreign powers:
Nay, in the body of this fleshly land,
This kingdom, this confine of blood and breath,
Hostility and civil tumult reigns
Between my conscience and my cousin's death.
[IV. ii. 243-248.]

Hubert then informs the king that Arthur is not really dead:

Young Arthur is alive: this hand of mine
Is yet a maiden and an innocent hand,
[IV. ii. 251-252.]

whereupon he is ordered to tell the nobles, and request them to return to their allegiance:

Doth Arthur live? O, haste thee to the peers,
Throw this report on their incensed rage,
And make them tame to their obedience!
Forgive the comment that my passion made
Upon thy feature; for my rage was blind,
And foul imaginary eyes of blood
Presented thee more hideous than thou art.
O, answer not, but to my closet bring
The angry lords with all expedient haste.
I conjure thee but slowly; run more fast.
[IV. ii. 260-269.]

On meeting the nobles and telling them the news he is met with words of anger, for they have already come upon the dead body of the young prince lying at the foot of the castle walls. They charge him with the murder, which he denies:

Big. Who kill'd this prince?
Hub. 'Tis not an hour since I left him well:
I honour'd him, I loved him, and will weep
My date of life out for his sweet life's loss.
[IV. iii. 103-106.]

The nobles, however, refuse to hear him, and tell him to bear news to the king that they have determined to join the Dauphin's forces.

Hubert's loyalty to the king is shown all through the play, and this loyalty is repaid by John's confidence in him, but which confidence proves to be to his own undoing.

"Shakespeare has scarcely given us any idea of the importance of this nobleman; for though he had no title in the reign of King John, he was subsequently created Earl of Kent by Henry III. in 1226. He was the great grandson of Robert, Earl of Cornwall, half-brother of William the Conqueror. He was also descended from Charlemagne, so that he was of the very noblest blood. French says he was made Lord Chamberlain, Warden of the Welsh Marches, Sheriff of five counties, Seneschal of Poitou, and governor of several castles. He was one of John's securities for the fulfilment of Magna Charta; and, unlike most of the nobility, remained uniformly faithful to his king to the end. With only 140 soldiers he defended for four months the Castle of Dover, defying all the efforts of the French to take it. Though he appears to have been a most devoted servant to Henry III.; yet he was stripped of all his dignities, employments, and possessions by that king, in consequence of the jealousy which his wealth and honours had excited among the barons. He died in 1243. He was married four times, his last wife being Margaret, daughter of William the Lion, King of Scotland." *Irving edition.*

Innocent. III. i. 139, 146.

Innocent III., Pope of Rome, 1198-1216, who issued a bull of excommunication against John because he refused to acknowledge Stephen Langton as Archbishop of Canterbury.

Ireland. I. i. 11; II. i. 152.

To this fair island and the territories, [I. i. 10.]

In Holinshed, Philip of France makes no claim on "this fair island and the territories" but for the "whole countrie of Veulquessine" and for "Poictiers, Anion, Maine, and Torraine." The change is found in the *Troublesome Reign of King John:* "Philip, by the grace of God, most Christian King of France, having taken into his guardian and protection, Arthur, Duke of Bretagne, son and heir to Jeffrey, thine elder brother, requireth, in the behalf of the said Arthur, the Kingdom of England, with the Lordship of Ireland, Poitiers, Anjou, Touraine, Maine, and I attend thine answer."

James Gurney. I. i. p. 220, 230, 232.

Servant to Lady Faulconbridge, appearing with her before John in the first scene of the Play.

Malone says: "Our author found this name in perusing the history of King John, who, not long before his victory at Mirabeau, over the French, headed by young Arthur, seized the lands and castle of Hugh *Gorney*, near Butevant, in Normandy."

Jerusalem. II. i. 378.

Do like the mutines of Jerusalem,
Be friends awhile and both conjointly bend
Your sharpest deeds of malice on this town:
[II. i. 378-380.]

Has reference to *A Compendious and Most Marvellous History of the Latter Times of the Jewes Common-weale*, written by Joseph ben Gorion, and translated into English by Peter Morwyn, 1575. The book relates how, when Jerusalem was besieged by Titus, the leaders of the factions in that city—John of Giscela and Simon bar Gioras—combined together in order to fight against the Romans. The following is the passage referred to: "Titus' campe was about sixe furlongs from the towne. The next morrow they of the towne seeing Titus to be encamped upon the mount Olivet, the captaines

of the *seditious* assembled together, and fell at argument, every man with another, intending to *turne their cruelty upon the Romaines*, confirming and ratifying the same *atonement* and purpose, by swearing one to another; and so became peace amongst them. Wherefore *joyning together*, that before were *three severall parts*, they set open the gates, and all the best of them issued out with an horrible noyse and shoute, that they made the Romaines afraide withall, in such wise that they fled before the *seditious*, which sodainly did set uppon them unawares." The corresponding passage in the *Troublesome Reign* is:

> Might Philip counsel two so mighty kings
> As are the Kings of England and of France,
> We would advise your Graces to unite,
> And knit your forces 'gainst these citizens,
> Pulling their batter'd walls about their ears.
> The town once won, then strive about the claim;
> For they are minded to delude you both.

Joan. I. i. 184.

A common name for a woman.

Kent. IV. ii. 200; V. i. 30.

King John. I. i. p. 1, 4; II. i. 10, 46, 52, 56, p. 84, 89, 127, 151, 200, 313, p. 334, 341, 424, 482, 547, 562; III. i. 35, 56, 60, 61, p. 75, 137, 152, 320; III. ii. p. 5; III. iii. p. 1; III. iv. 8, 15, 121, 131, 133, 139, 146, 159, 168; IV. ii. p. 1; V. i. p. 1; V. ii. 69, 91, 96, 176; V. iii. p. 1; V. iv. 6, 13, 57; V. v. 17; V. vii. p. 28.

King of England, and the youngest son of Henry II. and Elinor his queen.

He is represented as an unscrupulous monarch, ever ready to oppress his subjects, but in fear of any who might resist him.

His selfishness and his tyranny are shown in the opening of the play, when a messenger arrives from the King of France claiming the throne of England on behalf of Arthur, who has a prior claim to it.

He is ready to resist to the utmost of his power:

> Be thou as lightning in the eyes of France;
> For ere thou canst report I will be there,
> The thunder of my cannon shall be heard:
> So hence! [I. i. 24-27.]

and determines to extract the money for carrying out the war from the abbeys and priories:

> Let them approach.
> Our abbeys and our priories shall pay
> This expedition's charge. [I. i. 47-49.]

After a battle with the King of France has been fought before Angiers and proved indecisive a means of peace is decided upon when Pandulph the Pope's legate enters, and excommunicates John who shows his utter contempt for the Papal decree:

> Tell him this tale; and from the mouth of England
> Add thus much more, that no Italian priest
> Shall tithe or toll in our dominions;
> But as we, under heaven, are supreme head,
> So under Him that great supremacy,
> Where we do reign, we will alone uphold,
> Without the assistance of a mortal hand:
> So tell the pope, all reverence set apart
> To him and his usurp'd authority. [III. i. 152-160.]

John's cruelty is now shown in his conspiracy against the life of Arthur for whom he shows no pity, and the crafty way in which he approaches Hubert on the subject gives us a further insight into his character.

He shows the same fiendish cruelty in condemning Peter of Pomfret, who prophesied that he should forfeit his crown, to be executed, but upon the Pope's legate appearing before him again he adopts an attitude of utter submission, yielding up his crown, which is returned to him:

> *K. John.* Thus have I yielded up into your hand
> The circle of my glory. [*Giving the crown.*
> *Pand.* Take again
> From this my hand, as holding of the pope
> Your sovereign greatness and authority.
> [V. i. 1-4.]

[In the *Troublesome Reign* John's crown is demanded by Pandulph, and John only yields after a messenger has entered, bringing news of the landing of the Dauphin.]

His crimes, notably that of his plot against his nephew lead to the desertion of some of John's nobles, who join with Lewis.

On hearing of John's submission to the Pope's legate, Philip the Bastard vehemently denounces such action, and John, instead of showing his authority bends before his words, saying:

> Have thou the ordering of this present time.
> [V. i. 77.]

and gives him command of the army. Here is shown John's weakness and his craftiness in the way in which he gives in to the heated words of Faulconbridge.

In a battle which follows, John's forces are at first driven back, the news being brought to the king while he is stricken down with fever.

He then gives orders that he shall be conveyed to Swinstead Abbey where he is poisoned by a monk.

"Not one of the historians who wrote within sixty years after the death of King John, mentions this very improbable story. The tale is, that a monk, to revenge himself on the king for a saying at which he took offence, poisoned a cup of ale, and having brought it to his majesty, drank some of it himself, to induce the king to taste it, and soon afterwards expired. Thomas Wykes is the first, who relates it in his *Chronicle*, as a *report*. According to the best accounts, John died at Newark, of a fever."

In Scene VIII. of the *Troublesome Reign* a monk is shown plotting the death of King John as an enemy of the church, and again where he actually gives the king the cup containing the poisoned wine after drinking from it himself of which he subsequently dies:

> *Monk* [*Thomas, offering K. John a cup of wine*]. Wassail, my liege! and, as a poor monk may say: Welcome to Swinstead!
>
> *K. John.* Begin, monk! and report hereafter thou wast taster to a king.
>
> *Monk.* As much health to your Highness as to my own heart! [*Drinks and hands the cup to K. John.*]
>
> *John* [*taking the cup*]. I pledge thee, kind monk. [*Drinks.*]
>
> *Monk.* The merriest draught that ever was drunk in England! Am I not too bold with your Highness?
>
> *K. John.* Not a whit; all friends and fellows for a time.
>
> *Monk* [*withdrawing, and aside*]. If the inwards of a toad be a compound of any proof . . why, so: it works. [*Falls dead.*]
>
> *K. John.* Stay, Philip; where's the monk?
>
> *Bastard.* He is dead, my lord.
>
> *K John.* Then drink not, Philip, for a world of wealth!
>
> *Bastard.* What cheer, my liege? your colour 'gins to change.
>
> *K. John.* So doth my life. O, Philip, I am poison'd!
> The monk, the devil! the poison 'gins to rage;
> It will depose myself, a king, from reign.

Faulconbridge arrives at Swinstead Abbey and informs the king that part of his army has been lost in the Wash. On receipt of this news the king, who is already at the point of death, suddenly expires, and his body is—according to his wish—taken to Worcester and buried in the cathedral.

"John, surnamed Lackland, was the youngest of the five sons of Henry II. by Eleanor his wife, Duchess of Guienne (or Aquitaine). The other four sons were: William the eldest, who died in 1155, and was buried at Reading; Henry, who married Margaret, daughter of Lewis VII., and died of a fever at a village near Limoges; Richard Cœur-de-Lion; Geoffrey, the husband of Constance and father of Arthur, who was killed in a tournament at Paris, 1186. John was born 1166; in 1185 he was sent over as governor of Ireland, but recalled after nine months. John does not appear to have joined his brothers in their rebellion against their father until 1188. Early next year, peace being concluded between Henry II. and Philip Augustus of France, a list of barons who had joined the French king was at Henry's request handed to him. The very first that his eye fell upon was that of his youngest and favourite son, John, the discovery of whose treachery broke his father's heart. On June 6th of that same year Henry II. died, and was succeeded by Richard Cœur-de-Lion. John appears to have been as faithless to his brother as to his father, for he was always intriguing against him. As early as 1190, when Richard was absent at the Crusades, John had resolved to seize the throne on the earliest opportunity. On

the death of Cœur-de-Lion, in 1199, he immediately declared himself heir to the throne, in spite of the undoubted right of Arthur, the son of his elder brother, Geoffrey. It was pretended that Richard on his deathbed had declared John his successor, and heir to one-third of his property. It is to this that Queen Eleanor alludes, when she tells Constance [II. i. 191-192]:

> Thou unadvised scold, I can produce
> A will that bars the title of thy son.

John reigned from 1199 to 1216, and died in the forty-ninth year of his age. John was married first (in 1189) to Isabel, or Havisia, as some of the chroniclers call her, daughter and heiress of the Earl of Gloucester, by whom he had no issue. In 1201 he married Isabella, daughter of Aymar, Count of Angoulême, she being at that time privately espoused to Hugh le Brun, Count de la Marche. She bore him three sons and three daughters. Henry, the eldest son, alone figures in this play. Four years after John's death she married her old love, the Count de la Marche." *Irving edition.*

King John's Palace.

The Scene of Act I., Scene i.; Act IV., Scene ii.; Act V., Scene i.

Act. I., Scene i. Introduces the chief characters of the Play, and shows the political situation at this period of history. The King of France declares John a usurper and puts forth a claim on behalf of Arthur, the son of John's elder brother, Geoffrey. John refuses and war is declared. Two brothers —Robert and Philip Faulconbridge—are introduced for John to decide as to the legitimacy or otherwise of Philip. Philip turns out to be the natural son of Richard Cœur-de-Lion. He is knighted by John as Sir Richard and Plantagenet.

Act IV., Scene ii. John who has been newly-crowned hears from Hubert the false news of Arthur's death. The nobles revolt against John. John receives the news of the death of his mother and of Constance, followed by the news that a large French army under the Dauphin has invaded England. Hubert re-enters and tells the king that Arthur is not dead, and Hubert is commanded to communicate the intelligence to the revolted nobles and ask them to return to the king.

Act V., Scene i. John humiliates himself before the Pope's legate, hands him his crown and receives it again in token of submission to the pope, thus Peter the hermit's prophecy is fulfilled. News is received that the French forces have almost overrun the whole of the county of Kent.

[According to some authorities the Palace is at Northampton. Others place it at Dover and at Canterbury.]

Lady Faulconbridge. I. i. p. 220.

Mother of Philip the Bastard, and Robert Faulconbridge.

She appears before John intending to deny that Philip was the son of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, but she is constrained to acknowledge the truth:

> King Richard Cœur-de-lion was thy father:
> [I. i. 253.]

French says: "Some writers assert that the mother of Philip Faulconbridge was a lady of Poitou, of which province Cœur-de-Lion was made count or earl by his father, with half its revenues for his support; he was much engaged in his foreign *apanage*, before he came to the throne of England." In *Look About You* she is called Marian, and is represented as the sister of Robert Earl of Gloucester.

Lewis the Dauphin. II. i. p. 1, 425, 433, 484, 524; III. i. 3, 34, p. 75, 208, 311, 316; III. iv. p. 1, 177; IV. ii. 131; IV. iii. 16, 114; V. i. 32, 65; V. ii. p. 1, 9, 62, 124, 180; V. iii. 10; V. iv. 30, 39; V. v. p. 1, 9; V. vii. 59, 80, 83.

Son of Philip, King of France. After the indecisive battle before Angiers, it is arranged that he shall marry Blanch and

have possession of Anjou, Touraine, Maine and Poictiers. All are agreeable to the match which duly takes place.

Urged on by Pandulph—the pope's legate—Lewis lands in England with a large army with the intention of overthrowing John, and is readily received by the people:

> All Kent hath yielded; nothing there holds out
> But Dover Castle: London hath received,
> Like a kind host, the Dauphin and his powers:
> [V. i. 30-32.]

Lewis marches to St. Edmundsbury, where he is joined by a number of English barons who have rebelled against King John.

Philip the Bastard is sent out against him and finds in him a courageous enemy, refusing to give up the fight, even on the intervention of the Pope's legate, who has made an attempt to stop the war on account of John having surrendered to the Pope:

> *Pand.* The Dauphin is too wilful-opposite,
> And will not temporize with my entreaties;
> He flatly says he 'll not lay down his arms.
> [V. ii. 124-126.]

The English nobles, however, desert Lewis, on learning from Count Melun that on the termination of the war they are to be put to death:

> Fly, noble English, you are bought and sold;
> Unthread the rude eye of rebellion
> And welcome home again discarded faith.
> Seek out King John and fall before his feet;
> For if the French be lords of this loud day,
> He means to recompense the pains you take
> By cutting off your heads: [V. iv. 10-16.]

Lewis's reinforcements and supplies being lost on the Goodwin Sands he is forced to abandon the war, and return to France.

His character is as weak and as easily swayed as that of his father Philip.

Although when victory seems assured he scorns the entreaties of the Pope's legate, we see him earlier in the play being easily led by Pandulph for the latter's own ends.

We are also given a glimpse of his treacherous nature in the exposure by Count Melun, of his intention to put to death the English nobles who have aided him in the war.

"Lewis, the Dauphin, was the son of Philip Augustus by his wife Isabel. He married Blanch of Castile, daughter of Alfonso VIII. of Castile, and of Eleanor, the sister of Richard I. and John. Having been invited over to England by the discontented barons in 1216, he landed with a large body of troops, and was joined by many of the English nobles; but soon after the accession of Henry III. he was deserted by his English allies and was compelled to conclude a peace and return to France. In 1223 he succeeded to the throne as Lewis VIII., but only reigned three years, dying in 1226. He was the father of Louis IX., generally known as Saint Louis." *Irving edition.*

Lincoln Washes. V. vi. 41.

> I 'll tell thee, Hubert, half my power this night,
> Passing these flats, are taken by the tide;
> These Lincoln Washes have devoured them;
> [V. vi. 39-41.]

Shakespeare represents Faulconbridge's forces as being overtaken by the sea. The incident is taken from the *Troublesome Reign:*

> Passing the Washes with our carriages,
> The impartial tide, deadly and inexorable,
> Came raging in, with billows threat'ning death,
> And swallow'd up the most of all our men.

According to history it was King John himself who on the 14th October, 1216, owing to the sudden return of the tide lost all his baggage and treasure.

London. V. i. 31.

Lord Bigot. IV. ii. 162; IV. iii. p. 11, 103; V. ii. p. 1; V. iv. p. 1; V. vii. p. 1, p. 28.

One of the barons who sided with Lewis the Dauphin against John, and who eventually came back to the English side.

"*Roger* Bigot—not *Robert* as he is generally called—second Earl of Norfolk, was the son of Hugh Bigot, steward to King

Stephen. He was created Earl of Norfolk, and died, in 1177, in the Holy Land. He was also one of the twenty-five barons who coalesced against King John. He married Isabel, daughter of Hamelyn Plantagenet, Earl of Warren and Surrey. His eldest son, Hugh Bigot, who was also one of the twenty-five barons, married Maud Marshall, daughter of the Earl of Pembroke." *Irving edition.*

Lords. II. i. p. 84; III. iii. p. 1; IV. iv. p. 1.

Lucifer. IV. iii. 121.

Thou art more deep damn'd than Prince Lucifer:
[IV. iii. 121.]

= Thou art more deep damn'd than Lucifer. The title applied to Hubert by Faulconbridge when he accuses him of the murder of Arthur. The name means "the morning-star" or "light-bringer" hence matches are sometimes called *Lucifers*.

Lymoges, Duke of Austria. II. i. p. 1; III. i. p. 75, 114; III. ii. p. 1, 3.

Duke of Austria, represented in the play as a most cowardly person.

Philip the Bastard derides and insults him for the murder of his father Richard Cœur-de-Lion, but to all these mocking words he merely listens in a cowardly manner.

He endeavours to silence Constance in her appeal to him and the King of France not to abandon Arthur's cause, but Constance denounces him as a "villain," "coward" and a "bragging fool."

In the battle which takes place before Angiers, Lymoges is killed by the Bastard who brings his head to King John.

"Shakespeare has here followed the author of the *Troublesome Raigne* in confusing two personages, both of whom were enemies of Richard Cœur-de-Lion. Lymoges, as this character is called both in the *Troublesome Raigne* and in Shakespeare's *King John*, was really Vidomar, Viscount of Lymoges: 'whose vassal having found, as was reported to King Richard, a treasure of golden statues, representing a Roman emperor with his wife, sons and daughters, seated at a golden table, was required to yield up the prize to Richard Suzerain of the Limousin, and on Vidomar's refusal he was besieged in his castle at Chaluz-Chabrol, before which the heroic king received the wound of which he died twelve days after, viz., April 6, 1199.' This Lymoges was killed by Faulconbridge in 1200. The Archduke of Austria from 1194 to 1230 was Leopold VI. son of Leopold V. The latter died in consequence of a fall from his horse in 1194, five years before the death of his enemy Richard; so that, historically speaking, the Archduke of Austria, who lived in the time of King John, had nothing on earth to do with the death of Cœur-de-Lion." *Irving edition.*

"The producing Austria on the scene [II. i. 3-5] is also contrary to the truth of history, into which anachronism our author was led by the old play. Leopold, Duke of Austria, by whom Richard I. had been thrown in prison in 1193, died, in consequence of a fall from his horse, in 1195, some years before the commencement of the present play. The original cause of the enmity between Richard the First and the Duke of Austria, was, according to Fabian, that Richard 'tooke from a knighte of the Duke of Ostriche the said Duke's banner, and in despite of the said duke, trade it under foote, and did unto it all the spite he might.' Harding says, in his *Chronicle*, that the cause of quarrel was Richard's taking down the Duke of Austria's arms and banner, which he had set up above those of the King of France and the King of Jerusalem. The affront was given when they lay before Acre in Palestine. This circumstance is alluded to in the old *King John*, where the Bastard, after killing Austria, says:

'And as my father triumph'd in thy spoils,
'And *trod thine ensigns underneath his feet*,' etc.

Other historians say, that the Duke suspected Richard to have been concerned in

the assassination of his kinsman, the Marquis of Montferrat, who was stabbed in Tyre, soon after he had been elected King of Jerusalem; but this was a calumny, propagated by Richard's enemies, for political purposes." *Malone.*

"The propriety or impropriety of these titles [O Lymoges! O Austria!] which every editor has suffered to pass unnoted, deserves a little consideration. Shakespeare has, on this occasion, followed the old play, which at once furnished him with the character of Faulconbridge, and ascribed the death of Richard I. to the duke of Austria. In the person of Austria he has conjoined the two well-known enemies of Cœur-de-Lion. Leopold, duke of Austria, threw him into prison, in a former expedition [in 1193]; but the castle of Chaluz, before which he fell [in 1199] belonged to Vidomar, viscount of Limoges; and the archer who pierced his shoulder with an arrow (of which wound he died) was Bertrand de Gourdon. The editors seem hitherto to have understood Lymoges as being an appendage to the title of Austria, and therefore enquired no further about it."

Holinshed says: "Philip, bastard sonne to king Richard, to whome his father had giuen the castell and honor of Coinacke, killed the vicount of Limoges, in reuenge of his fathers death, who was slaine (as yee haue heard) in besieging the castell of Chalus Cheuerell."

In the *Troublesome Raigne* Austria is called Lymoges, the Austrich duke.

Maine. I. i. 11; II. i. 152, 487, 527.

A former government of northern France. *See* Anjou.

Melun. IV. iii. 15; V. ii. p. 1, 1; V. iv. p. 7, 9; V. v. 10.

A French nobleman, who warns the English barons who have come to the aid of Lewis that they will be betrayed, and advises them to return to John:

> Fly, noble English, you are bought and sold;
> Unthread the rude eye of rebellion
> And welcome home again discarded faith.
> Seek out King John and fall before his feet;
> For if the French be lords of this loud day,
> He means to recompense the pains you take
> By cutting off your heads: [V. iv. 10-16.]

Holinshed says: "About the same time, or rather in the yeare last past as some hold, it fortuned that the vicount of Melune, a French man, fell sicke at London, and, perceiuing that death was at hand, he called vnto him certeine of the English barons, which remained in the citie, vpon safegard thereof, and to them made this protestation: 'I lament' (saith he) 'your destruction and desolation at hand, bicause ye are ignorant of the perils hanging ouer your heads. For this vnderstand, that Lewes, and with him 16 earles and barons of France, haue secretlie sworne (if it shall fortune him to conquere this realme of England, & to be crowned king) that he will kill, banish, and confine all those of the English nobilitie (which now doo serue vnder him, and persecute their owne king) as traitours and rebels; and furthermore will dispossesse all their linage of such inheritances as they now hold in England. And bicause' (saith he) 'you shall not haue doubt hereof, I, which lie here at the point of death, doo now affirme vnto you, and take it on the perill of my soule, that I am one of those sixteen that haue sworne to performe this thing: wherefore I aduise you to prouide for your owne safeties, and your realmes which you now destroie; and keepe this thing secret which I haue vttered vnto you.' After this speech was vttered he streightwaies died."

"When these words of the lord of Melune were opened vnto the barons, they were, and not without cause, in great doubt of themselues, for they saw how Lewes had alredie placed and set Frenchmen in most of such castels and townes as he had gotten, the right whereof indeed belonged to them. And againe, it greeued them much to vnderstand, how, besides the hatred of their prince, they were euerie sundaie and holiedaie openlie accursed in euerie church, so that manie of them inwardlie relented, and

could haue bin contented to haue returned to king Iohn, if they had thought that they should thankfullie haue beene receiued."

"It is reported by writers, that amongst other things, as there were diuerse, which withdrew the hearts of the Englishmen from Lewes, the consideration of the confession which the vicount of Melune made at the houre of his death, was the principall."

Mercury. IV. ii. 174.

The Roman name for the Greek Hermes, son of Jupiter and Maia, the swift messenger of the gods.

Messengers. IV. ii. p. 106; V. iii. p. 5; V. v. p. 9.

Milan. III. i. 138; V. ii. 120.

A city in the north of Italy. Its cathedral is one of the finest buildings in the world.

Neptune's arms. V. ii. 34.

> That Neptune's arms, who clippeth thee about,
> Would bear thee from the knowledge of thyself.
> And grapple thee unto a pagan shore;
> [V. ii. 34-36.]

Marshall and Gill remark: "These lines are clearly a reference to the Crusades, and express a wish that the sea, encircling England, would take that country outside of all self-interest to a pagan shore, *i.e.*, the Holy Land, where the two Christian armies of England and France, having sunk all their differences by combination against the pagans, *i.e.*, the Turks, might join in a new crusade so as not to use them in warfare so unneighbourly.

Neroes. V. ii. 152.

> You bloody Neroes, ripping up the womb
> Of your dear mother England, blush for shame;
> [V. ii. 152-153.]

Faulconbridge here compares the English barons, who have revolted against John to the Roman Emperor Nero, who became so notorious on account of his crimes, including the murder of his own mother and his two wives.

Nob. I. i. 147.

A diminutive of Robert used contemptuously.

Northamptonshire. I. i. 51.

Officers.

Palestine. II. i. 4.

Richard fought in the third Crusade against the Saracens in Palestine.

Peter. I. i. 186.

See George.

Peter of Pomfret. IV. ii. p. 132.

An old hermit, who is arrested by the Bastard and brought before John for having prophesied that before noon on Ascension-day he would give up his crown:

> And here 's a prophet, that I brought with me
> From forth the streets of Pomfret, whom I found
> With many hundreds treading on his heels;
> To whom he sung, in rude harsh-sounding rhymes,
> That, ere the next Ascension-day at noon,
> Your highness should deliver up your crown.
> [IV. ii. 147-152.]

John describes him as an "idle dreamer" and orders him to be imprisoned and executed at noon on Ascension-day:

> Hubert, away with him; imprison him;
> And on that day at noon, whereon he says
> I shall yield up my crown, let him be hang'd.
> IV. ii. 155-157.]

Holinshed says: "There was in this season an heremit, whose name was Peter, dwelling about Yorke; a man in great reputation with the common people, bicause that, either inspired with some spirit of prophesie, as the people beleeued, or else hauing some notable skill in art magike, he was accustomed to

tell what should follow after. And for so much as oftentimes his saiengs prooued true, great credit was giuen to him as to a verie prophet: . . . This Peter, about the first of Ianuarie last past, had told the king that, at the feast of the Ascension, it should come to passe, that he should be cast out of his kingdome. And (whether, to the intent that his words should be the better beleeued, or whether vpon too much trust of his owne cunning) he offered himselfe to suffer death for it, if his prophesie prooued not true. Herevpon being committed to prison within the castell of Corf, when the day by him prefixed came, without any other notable damage vnto king Iohn, he was, by the kings commandement, drawne from the said castell vnto the towne of Warham, & there hanged, togither with his sonne. . . . The people much blamed king Iohn for this extreame dealing, bicause that the heremit was supposed to be a man of great vertue, and his sonne nothing guiltie of the offense committed by his father (if any were) against the king. Moreouer, some thought that he had much wrong to die, bicause the matter fell out euen as he had prophesied; for, the day before the Ascension day, king Iohn had resigned the superioritie of his kingdome (as they tooke the matter) vnto the pope, and had doone to him homage, so that he was no absolute king indeed, as authors affirme. One cause, and that not the least which mooued king Iohn the sooner to agree with the pope, rose through the words of the said heremit, that did put such a feare of some great mishap in his hart, which should grow through the disloialtie of his people, that it made him yeeld the sooner."

Philip, King of France. I. i. 1, 2, 7, 20, 24; II. i. p. 1, 84, 86, 110, 120, 149, 155, 158, 302, p. 334, 334, 398, 474, 531, 564, 583; III. i. 35, 57, 60, 62, p. 75, 191, 195, 196, 198, 202, 219, 258, 323, 325, 340; III. iv. p. 1, 9.

At the beginning of the play he sends a messenger to John claiming on behalf of Arthur, the throne of England and its dependencies.

On John's refusal to comply with Philip's demand, war is at once declared, and the rival forces meet outside the city of Angiers in France. Philip calls upon the citizens to open their gates and admit Arthur, as the rightful king of England. The citizens refuse to acknowledge either Arthur or John as king and a battle takes place which proves indecisive.

Philip then agrees to join forces with John to subdue the city:

> *K. John.* France, shall we knit our powers
> And lay this Angiers even with the ground;
> . . . . . .
> *K. Phi.* Let it be so. [II. i. 398-408.]

but an arrangement is made to secure peace, by which Lewis the Dauphin shall have the English territories in France if he marry Blanch of Spain, John's niece.

Philip readily agrees to this, and thus is shown his inconsistency and his true nature, in that his appeal to John in the first instance was not so much in the interest of Arthur as for his own.

Constance, Arthur's mother, meets him and a violent scene ensues in which Philip is severely taken to task for his inconstancy, and for having abandoned Arthur's cause. Pandulph enters and excommunicates John for refusing to acknowledge Stephen Langton as Archbishop of Canterbury, at the same time denouncing Philip's conduct in agreeing to the marriage of Blanch and the Dauphin as a violation of his oaths, and calls upon him, under pain of excommunication, to break with John, which command Philip very reluctantly obeys. [In the *Troublesome Reign* Philip breaks with John immediately the latter is excommunicated.]

After this scene he appears no more, his place being taken by his son, Lewis.

"Philip Augustus succeeded his father in 1180 at the age of fifteen. He married Isabella of Hainault, daughter of Baldwin, Earl of Flanders, who brought him the county of Artois as part of her dower. He encouraged the sons of Henry II. in their rebellion against their father. He joined in the Third Crusade with Richard Cœur-de-Lion, of whom he was very jealous. After the siege of Acre in 1191 he returned hur-

riedly to France; and immediately commenced to intrigue with John against Richard, supporting him in his endeavour to seize the crown of England in his brother's absence; in return for which support Philip himself was to obtain possession of Normandy. He died in 1223." *Irving edition.*

Philip! sparrow! I. i. 231.

Philip was a pet name for a sparrow on account of its note resembling that name. Dr. Grey observes: That Skelton has a poem to the memory of Philip Sparrow; and Mr. Pope, in a short note, remarks that a sparrow is called Philip. Gascoigne has likewise a poem entitled, *The Praise of Phil Sparrow;* and in *Jack Drum's Entertainment,* 1601, is the following passage:

> The birds sit chirping, chirping, etc.
> *Philip* is treading, treading, etc.

Again, in *The Northern Lass,* 1633:

> A bird whose pastime made me glad,
> And *Philip* 'twas my *sparrow.*

From the sound of the sparrow's chirping, Catullus, in his *Elegy on Lesbia's Sparrow,* has formed a verb:

> Sed circumsiliens modo huc, modo illuc,
> Ad solam dominam usque *pipilabat.*

Philip the Bastard. I. i. p. 49, 158, 159, 161, 231, 232; II. i. p. 84; III. i. p. 75; III. ii. p. 1, 3, 5; III. iii. p. 1; III. iv. 171; IV. ii. p. 132; IV. iii. p. 21, 94, 101; V. i. p. 30; V. ii. p. 118; V. iii. 5; V. iv. 4; V. vi. p. 1; V. vii. p. 49.

The most carefully and finely drawn character in the play.

He is very outspoken, and always says what he means regardless of the feelings of those he addresses.

His first appearance in the play is when he presents himself before John accompanied by his half-brother Robert, to determine which shall inherit the estates of Sir Robert Faulconbridge.

John sees in him a resemblance to Richard Cœur-de-Lion and knights him, giving him the title of Plantagenet:

> Kneel thou down Philip, but rise more great,
> Arise sir Richard and Plantagenet. [I. i. 161-162.]

Philip next appears with John before Angiers and after an indecisive battle has taken place for its possession suggests that John should join his forces with those of the King of France, and bring the city into subjection, afterwards deciding by a resort to arms who shall be its possessor:

> Be friends awhile and both conjointly bend
> Your sharpest deeds of malice on this town:
> By east and west let France and England mount
> Their battering cannon charged to the mouths,
> Till their soul-fearing clamours have brawl'd down
> The flinty ribs of this contemptuous city:
> [II. i. 379-384.]

This however does not take place, a compromise being agreed to on the suggestion of one of the chief citizens of Angiers.

In the second battle before Angiers, Philip slays the Duke of Austria and brings his head to King John:

> Austria's head lie there,
> While Philip breathes. [III. ii. 3-4.]

[In the *Troublesome Reign* the Bastard challenges Austria to fight which he refuses on account of Philip not being of the same social status as Austria, whereupon John creates Philip, duke of Normandy:

> *Limoges.* Base bastard, misbegotten of a King,
> To interrupt these holy nuptial rites
> With brawls and tumults, to a Duke's disgrace;
> Let it suffice, I scorn to join in fight
> With one so far unequal to myself.
> *Bastard.* A fine excuse! Kings, if you will be kings,
> Then keep your words, and let us combat it!
> *K. John.* Philip, we cannot force the Duke to fight,
> Being a subject unto neither realm.
> But tell me, Austria, if an English Duke
> Should dare thee thus, would'st thou accept the challenge?
> *Limoges.* Else let the world account the Austrich duke
> The greatest coward living on the earth.

K. John. Then cheer thee, Philip! John will keep his word.
Kneel down! In sight of Philip, king of France,
And all these princely lords assembled here,
I gird thee with the sword of Normandy,
And of that land I do invest thee Duke;
So shalt thou be, in living and in land,
Nothing inferior unto Austria.

Austria refuses to recognise this title and departs:

Limoges. K. John, I tell thee flatly to thy face,
Thou wrong'st mine honour; and that thou may'st see
How much I scorn thy new-made Duke and thee,
I flatly say, I will not be compell'd:
And so farewell, Sir Duke of Low Degree!
I 'll find a time to match you for this gear.

The Bastard, however, pursues and slays him:

Bastard. Lie there a prey to every ravening fowl!
And as my father triumph'd in thy spoils,
And trod thine ensigns underneath his feet,
So do I tread upon thy cursed self,
And leave thy body to the fowls for food.]

Philip is then sent to England to extort money from the monasteries and abbeys to carry on the war:

Cousin, away for England! haste before:
And, ere our coming, see thou shake the bags
Of hoarding abbots: [III. iii. 6-8.]

His action in agreeing to this shows his intense loyalty to John, for he is ready to adopt most unscrupulous methods on his behalf, although as a rule straightforward and honest in every action.

He defies, even as John has done, the authority of the Pope, for he exclaims:

Bell, book, and candle shall not drive me back,
When gold and silver becks me to come on.
[III. iii. 12-13.]

After John has been warned of the Dauphin's invasion he receives Philip who enters and gives a report on the money he has exacted from the monasteries, bringing with him an old hermit whom he has arrested for prophesying that John would lose his crown on Ascension-day.

During the execution of his duty Philip has evidently heard many such rumours, for he says:

I find the people strangely fantasied;
Possess'd with rumours, full of idle dreams,
Not knowing what they fear, but full of fear:
[IV. ii. 144-146.]

He is next commissioned to reconcile those barons who have revolted against the King:

K. John. Gentle kinsman, go,
And thrust thyself into their companies:
I have a way to win their loves again;
Bring them before me. [IV. ii. 166-169.]

to which he makes answer: "I will seek them out."

When, with the lords, he comes upon the dead body of Arthur, Philip is greatly angered, exclaiming:

It is a damned and a bloody work;
The graceless action of a heavy hand,
If that it be the work of any hand. [IV. iii. 57-59.]

as he supposed Arthur to have been murdered.

He returns to John with the news that the nobles will not return, and that the people of the country are also siding with Lewis:

All Kent hath yielded; nothing there holds out
But Dover Castle: London hath received,
Like a kind host, the Dauphin and his powers:
Your nobles will not hear you, but are gone
To offer service to your enemy. [V. i. 30-34.]

He is surprised that John has submitted to Pandulph:

O inglorious league!
Shall we, upon the footing of our land,
Send fair-play orders and make compromise,
Insinuation, parley, and base truce
To arms invasive? [V. i. 65-69.]

and is left to defend the country:

K. John. Have thou the ordering of this present time.
[V. i. 77.]

Philip's patriotism is again shown in his speech to Lewis, urging him to give up the war, and the nobles who have gone over to the French side are referred to with scorn.

Hubert sets out to find Philip and brings him to Swinstead where the king has been taken, and tells him that the king has been poisoned by a monk.

Philip appears in time to see John before he dies, and tells him that the Dauphin's reinforcements and supplies have been lost on the Goodwin Sands.

On the death of John, Philip shows his loyalty in a farewell speech, the play closing with an utterance so often quoted as an example of true patriotism:

> Come the three corners of the world in arms,
> And we shall shock them. Nought shall make us rue,
> If England to itself do rest but true.
> [V. vii. 116-118.]

All through the play Philip addresses the king as an equal, and John does not resent it.

He is courageous, loyal and reasonable in all his actions, and at times shows a keen sense of humour.

"The chief historical ground for this character seems to be a paragraph in Holinshed: 'Philip bastard sonne to king Richard, to whome his father had giuen the castell and honour of Coinacke, killed the vicount of Limoges, in reuenge of his father's death.' French says: 'The continuator of Hardyng's *Chronicle* calls him 'one Faulconbridge, th' earle of Kent, his bastarde, a stoute-harted man.' Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas identifies him as a baron by tenure: 'I, John, Foulke De Breante, ob. circa 1228, s. p. m. Eve, his sole daughter and heir, married Llewellyn, Prince of N. Wales.' This same Foulke de Breante is one of the 'managers and disposers' in King John's will, dated at Newark; and he is also one of 'the noble persons' named in the 'First Great Charter' of Henry III. Matthew Paris speaks of him as 'Falcasius de Brente,' in his *General History*, and Rymer, in his *Fœdera*, gives several letters in Latin respecting 'Foulke de Breante.' Holinshed frequently mentions 'Foukes de Brent,' especially in connection with the Earl of Salisbury, as fighting on the side of the king against the barons in 1216. If this Foulke, or *Fawkes*, as he is called in Lingard, who describes him as 'a ferocious and sanguinary ruffian,' was the same as the Faulconbridge of this play, his character must have altered considerably for the worse. Holinshed thus describes his end: 'Howbeit at length the foresaid Fouks, hauing obteined his purpose at Rome (by meanes of his chapleine Robert Paslew an Englishman, who was his solicitor there) as he returned towards England in the yeare insuing, was poisoned and died by the waie, making so an end of his inconstant life, which from the time that he came to yeares of discretion was neuer bent to quietnes.'" *Irving edition.*

Commenting on this character, Hudson says: "Falconbridge is strangely reckless of appearances. But his heart is evidently much better than his tongue: from his speech you might suppose gain to be his God of gods; but a far truer language, which he uses without knowing it, tells you that gain is to him just no god at all: he talks as if he cared for nothing but self-interest, while his works proclaim a spirit framed of disinterestedness; his action thus quietly giving the lie to his words; this too in such sort as establishes the more firmly his inward truth. His course in this behalf springs partly from an impulse of antagonism to the prevailing spirit about him, where he sees great swollen pretences to virtue without a particle of the thing itself. What he most of all abominates is the pursuit of selfish and sinister ends under the garb of religion; piety on the tongue with covetousness in the heart fills him with intense disgust; and his repugnance is so strong, that it sets him spontaneously upon assuming a garb of selfishness to cover his real conscientiousness of mind and purpose. So too, secretly, he is as generous as the Sun, but his generosity puts on an affectation of rudeness or something worse: he will storm at you, to bluff you off from seeing the kindness he is doing you. Of the same stripe is his hatred of cruelty and meanness: while these things are rife about him, he never gets angry or makes any quarrel with them; on the contrary, he laughs and breaks sinewy jests over them, as if he thought them witty and smart: upon witnessing the heartless and unprincipled bargaining of the Kings, he passes it off jocosely as a freak of the 'mad world,' and verbally frames for himself a plan that 'smacks somewhat of the policy'; then, instead of acting out what he thus seems to relish as a

apital thing, he goes on to shame down, as ar as may be, all such baseness by an exmple of straightforward nobleness and nagnanimity. Then too, with all his laughng roughness of speech and iron sternness of act, so blunt, bold, and downright, he is nevertheless full of humane and gentle feelng. With what burning eloquence of indigiation does he denounce the supposed murder of Arthur! though he has no thought of abetting his claims to the throne against he present occupant. . . .

"In the intercourse of State functionaries, ie, to be sure, pays little heed to the delicaies and refinements of political diplomacy: is plain, frank nature either scorns them or is insensible to them; but his patriotism s thoroughly sound and true, and knows no aste of fear; and whatever foreign assailnts dare to touch England or England's onour, he is for pounding them straight out of the way, and will think of no alterative but to be pounded out of the way by hem. As a representative character, he tands next to Falstaff. Thoroughly Gothic n features and proportions, and as horoughly English in temper and spirit, is presence rays life and true manliness nto every part of the drama. Is it strange hat a nation which could grow such riginals should have beaten all the rest of he world in every thing useful and beautiful nd great?"

Plains near Angiers.

The Scene of Act III., Scene ii.; Act III., Scene iii.

Act III., Scene ii. War is renewed. Austria is slain by Faulconbridge who brings his head to King John. Arthur is captured. Elinor has been on the point of being taken prisoner, but has been rescued by Faulconbridge.

Act III., Scene iii. John sends Faulconbridge to England with a commission to raise money for the carrying on of the war. Arthur is handed over to the safe keeping of Hubert. John sounds Hubert on the subject of putting an end to the life of the young prince.

Plantagenet. I. i. 162, 167; II. i. 238; V. vi. 11.

A nickname applied to the descendants of Geoffrey and expressly to the Kings of England from Henry II. to Richard III. It is supposed to have been derived from a sprig of broom worn by Geoffrey, father of Henry II. of England in his cap. Malone remarks: "It is a common opinion, that *Plantagenet* was the surname of the royal house of England, from the time of King Henry II.; but it is, as Camden observes, in his *Remaines*, 1614, a popular mistake. Plantagenet was not a family name, but a nick-name, by which a grandson of Geffrey, the first Earl of Anjou, was distinguished, from his wearing a *broom-stalk* in his bonnet. But this name was never borne either by the first Earl of Anjou, or by King Henry II., the son of that Earl by the Empress Maude; he being always called Henry *Fitz-Empress;* his son, Richard *Cœur-de-Lion;* and the prince who is exhibited in the play before us, John *sans-terre*, or *lackland*."

Po. I. i. 203.

The largest river of Italy.

Poictiers. I. i. 11; II. i. 487, 528.

A French province of Normandy. Passed to England when its countess Eleanor married Henry II.

Pomfret. IV. ii. 148.

Pontefract in the West Riding of Yorkshire. It was the native place of Peter who was arrested by Faulconbridge for prophesying that John would lay down his crown by noon on Ascension-day.

Prince Henry. V. vi. 34; V. vii. p. 1.

Son of King John. He takes no important part in the play, appearing only at the end.

When the rebellious nobles return to their allegiance, Henry—at whose intervention they are pardoned—accompanies them to Swinstead Abbey, and is present at his father's death.

He moralises on life in general, and on his father's condition, and after John's death gives instructions for the body to be conveyed to Worcester for burial in accordance with his father's wishes:

> At Worcester must his body be interr'd;
> For so he will'd it. [V. vii. 99-100.]

"Prince Henry was born October 1st, 1206. He was therefore just ten years old when, on October 26th, 1216, he was crowned king; the Earl of Pembroke being chosen as protector. He married Eleanor, daughter of Raymond Count of Provence, in 1236; and by her was father, amongst other children, of Edward I., and Margaret, who married Alexander, King of Scotland. He reigned fifty-six years; and died on November 16th, 1272." *Irving edition.*

Pyrenean. I. i. 203.

The Pyrenees.

Queen Elinor. I. i. p. 1; II. i. p. 84; III. i. p. 75; III. iii. p. 1.

Mother of King John. She had a great influence over him and was the cause of his sending Chatillon back to France, with a message of defiance.

Having got the throne for her son, she is determined that he shall retain it, and knowing that the offer made before Angiers would be to his advantage she readily agrees:

> Son, list to this conjunction, make this match;
> Give with our niece a dowry large enough:
> For by this knot thou shalt so surely tie
> Thy now unsured assurance to the crown,
> That yon green boy shall have no sun to ripe
> The bloom that promiseth a mighty fruit.
> [II. i. 468-473.]

In the second battle before Angiers she was on the point of being made a prisoner, but was rescued by the Bastard. [In the *Troublesome Reign* she is captured by Lewis and rescued by John.]

In all her actions, she shows shrewdness and keen observation, and John continually looks to her for advice and guidance.

"This princess, generally known as Elinor of Guienne, was the daughter and heiress of William V., Duke of Aquitaine, and Count of Poitou. She was born in 1122, and married, at the age of fifteen years, Lewis VII. of France. Guienne appears to have been the name for that part of Aquitaine which belonged to the Counts of Poitou. When Lewis VII. went to the Crusades she accompanied him; but her conduct was so scandalous that he sued for and obtained a divorce in 1152. Six weeks after, Eleanor married Henry Plantagenet, afterwards Henry II. Her husband, to whom she was at first passionately attached, subsequently gave her so much cause for jealousy by his numerous infidelities, that she conceived an aversion to him, and excited her sons to rebel against their father. The story of her jealousy of Rosamond Clifford (Fair Rosamond), the mother of William Longsword, Earl of Salisbury, and of the vengeance she took against her, is well known. In 1173 she was confined in a convent by the king, and not released till her son Richard came to the throne. In 1202 she took the veil in the Abbey of Fontevraux, where she died in 1204, about eighty years of age. Although she was jealous of Constance, she is said to have done all she could to obtain kind treatment for Arthur after he was taken prisoner by his uncle." *Irving edition.*

Richard. I. i. 90.

> Mine eye hath well examined his parts
> And finds them perfect Richard. [I. i. 89-90.]

= The very image of Richard.

Richard. V. iii. 12.

= Philip the Bastard.

Richard Cœur-de-lion. I. i. 253, 267, 274; II. i. 3.

Richard I., King of England, 1189-1199. Cœur-de-lion was a surname of Richard on account of his courage. By some it is supposed that Richard received this name because of his having pulled out the heart of a lion when in prison. "It is sayd that a *lyon* was put to kynge *Richard*, beynge in prison to have devoured him, and when the *lyon* was gapynge he put his arm in his mouth, and pulled the *lyon* by the harte so harde that he slewe the *lyon*, and therefore some day he is called *Rycharde Cure de Lyon;* but some say he is called *Cure de Lyon*, because of his boldness and hardy stomacke." *Rastal.* And "The same story is told by Knighton inter *Decem Scriptores*, and by Fabian, who calls it a *fable*. It probably took its rise from Hugh de Neville, one of Richard's followers, having killed a lion, when they were in the Holy Land: a circumstance recorded by Matthew Paris."

Robert Faulconbridge. I. i. p. 49, 176, 224.

Son of Sir Robert and Lady Faulconbridge, and half-brother to Philip the Bastard, with whom he appears before King John to determine who is the rightful heir to Sir Robert's estates.

Philip having acknowledged Richard Cœur-de-Lion to be his father, Robert is given the right of succession:

> *Bast.* Brother, take you my hand, I 'll take my chance.
> [I. i. 151.]

"About this character nothing historic is known. The most remarkable thing about him seems to have been that he was the son of his father. In the old play, *Look About You*, 1600, the husband of Lady Faulconbridge is called *Sir Richard* Faulconbridge. That play deals very fully with the intrigue between Prince Richard and Lady Faulconbridge, so that, probably, there was some story or tradition on the point, of which the author of *Look About You* and the author of *The Troublesome Raigne* (on which Shakespeare founded his *King John*) both made use. In Shakespeare the father of Robert Faulconbridge is called Sir *Robert* Faulconbridge." *Irving edition.*

Rome. III. i. 180, 194, 205, 207; V. ii. 70, 72, 92, 96, 97.

The See of Rome. John made his peace with Rome by consenting to hold his kingdom in fief from the Pope and to pay an annual tribute of 1,000 marks.

Room in a Castle.

The scene of Act IV., Scene i. Deals with the fate of Arthur. Hubert who has been ordered by John to put out the eyes of the young prince is so moved by the boy's pleadings that he desists from the deed and promises to make a false report to the king.

[This scene is evidently laid in England in a room in some unknown castle. It is variously placed at Northampton, Dover and Canterbury.]

Saint Edmundsbury. IV. iii. 11; V. iv. 18.

= Bury St. Edmunds, the capital of Suffolk.

Saint George. II. i. 288.

> Saint George, that swinged the dragon, and e'er since
> Sits on his horse back at mine hostess' door,
> [II. i. 288-289.]

An allusion to the slaying of the dragon by St. George, the patron saint of England, representations of which are still common on the sign-boards of inns.

Saint Mary's Chapel. II. i. 538.

> For at Saint Mary's chapel presently
> The rites of marriage shall be solemnized.
> [II. i. 538-539.]

The Church of Roncevay. It was dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin, in 1208 and re-dedicated in 1219 by Pope Calixtus II. It was here the marriage of the Dauphin and the Lady Blanch was solemnized.

Sheriff. I. i. p. 43.

French says: "There can be no difficulty in naming this official, as Sir Minon de Pateshull was Sheriff of N. Hants for the last four years of King Richard's reign, and during the first four years of King John. One of the witnesses to two charters . . . is 'Simon de Pateshull,' no doubt this Sheriff, who was also Justice of the King's Court from 7 Richard I. to 16 John; and is called by Matthew of Westminster 'a noble faithful honest man.'"

Sir Richard Faulconbridge. I. i. 162, 168, 178, 185; IV. iii. 41.

= Philip the Bastard (q.v.)

Sir Robert Faulconbridge. I. i. 56, 80, 82, 139, 159, 166, 224, 226, 227, 228, 229, 233, 234, 236, 237, 240, 246, 247.

According to the *Troublesome Reign* Faulconbridge was knighted by Richard at the siege of Acre, by the title of Sir Robert Falconbridge of Mountbery.

> My father,—not unknown unto your Grace,—
> Receiv'd his spurs of knighthood in the field,
> At kingly Richard's hands in Palestine,
> Whenas the walls of Acon gave him way:
> His name, Sir Robert Falconbridge of Mountbery.

Soldiers. II. i. p. 84; V. ii. p. 1.

Stephen Langton. III. i. 143.

Elected Archbishop of Canterbury by the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, 1206. The king and bishops denied their right to elect, so an appeal was made to Pope Innocent III. who confirmed the election. John refused to receive the new archbishop and was excommunicated, but submitted in 1213 after having suffered the effects of the papal interdict.

Swinstead. V. iii. 8, 16.

A village near Boston in Lincolnshire. In the time of King John it was a seaport but is now an inland town. Here was a magnificent abbey founded by Robert de Greslei in 1134, of which there are no remains. Timbs says: "Seven miles from the seaport of Boston, in Lincolnshire, lies the rural town of Swineshead, once itself a port, the sea having flowed up to the market-place, where was a harbour. . . At Swineshead, in 1134, Robert de Greslei founded an Abbey of Cistercian monks, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary. . . The name of Swineshead is familiar to every reader of English history, from its having been the resting-place of King John in the autumn of 1216, . . But on the 14th of October, as he was attempting to ford the Wash, at low water, from Crosskeys to the Foss-dyke, and had already got across himself, with the greater part of his army, the return of the tide suddenly swept away the carriages and horses that conveyed all his baggage and treasures: the precise spot is still called 'King's Corner.' The King, in an agony of vexation, proceeded to the Cistercian convent of Swineshead, and was that same night seized with a violent fever, the consequence, probably, of irritation and fatigue. . . The King's death is, by Matthew Paris, attributed to a fever; but an author who lived about a century after the event, reports that John was poisoned by a monk of Swineshead."

Swinstead Abbey, An open place in the neighbourhood of.

The Scene of Act V., Scene vi. Hubert meets Faulconbridge and tells him that the king has been poisoned by a monk. Faulconbridge announces the loss of half his forces in the Wash.

Swinstead Abbey, Orchard at.

The Scene of Act V., Scene vii. The final scene. John still raging with the poison, lies on receiving the news that half his forces have been lost in the Wash. Peace is concluded between England and France. The body of King John is taken to Worcester and buried in the cathedral there, and the play ends with a patriotic outburst on the part of Faulconbridge.

Touraine. I. i. 11; II. i. 152, 487, 527.

See Anjou.

Volquessen. II. i. 527.

The ancient name of a part of Normandy now called the Vescin.

Washes. V. vii. 63.

See Lincoln Washes.

Worcester. V. vii. 98.

John died at Newark and was buried—according to his wish—in the cathedral church of St. Wulfstan, at Worcester. A stone coffin containing his body was discovered in this church July 17th, 1797.

APPENDIX.

The Troublesome Reign of John, King of England—on which Shakespeare's *Life and Death of King John* is founded—consists of approximately 3,000 lines and is too lengthy to be printed here, but the correspondence between the Scenes of the two Plays is given below, taken from 'The Troublesome Reign of King John: being the original of Shakespeare's 'Life and Death of King John': edited by F. J. Furnivall and John Munro, and published by Messrs. Chatto and Windus.

Table of Correspondence between 'The Troublesome Reign' and Shakspere's 'King John.'

[The superior letters give cross references where an incident is differently placed by Shakspere; the numbers refer to the footnotes. An asterisk in either analysis denotes that a Scene or incident is omitted from the other play.]

T.R. Part I. (Quarto).	K.J. (Folio).[1]
Scene I. *King J.'s Palace*, 1199. Chatillon's message, and declaration of war. The Falconbridge dispute.[2] Philip (the Bastard) and his mother.	Act I., Sc. i. *King J.'s Palace*, 1199. Chatillion's message, and declaration of war. The Falconbridge dispute. Philip (the Bastard) and his mother.
II. *Before Angiers*, 1199. Philip declares his support to Arthur. Chatillion returns. John and his party arrive. Constance and Elinor dispute. Likewise Bastard and Limoges. The citizens are summoned, and deny either party entrance. Challenge of battle.	I. ii.[3] *Before Angiers*, 1199. Philip declares his support to Arthur. Chatillion returns. John and his party arrive. Constance and Elinor dispute. Likewise Bastard and Limoges. The citizens are summoned, and deny either party entrance. Challenge of battle.

[1] The Folio references are to the Old Spelling Edition of the Play, ed. Furnivall, Introduction F. W. Clarke, Chatto and Windus, 1912. This text, based, of course, on the Folio, cannot give Fleay's necessary division of Act II., sc. i. into two Scenes. In Fleay the Scenes are divided off as in the above analysis. The *Old Spelling*, Act II. sc. i. ll.1-333, constitutes Act I. sc. ii. in Fleay; while ll.334-598 form Fleay's Act II. sc. i. An examination of the text will show that a division is essential at this point.

[2] In Q., Lady F. is present during the argument. In *F.*, Shakspere, with better taste and more effect, introduces her alone with Philip.

[3] This is *Old Spelling*, Act II. sc. i. ll.1-333.

T.R. Part I. (Quarto).	K.J. (Folio).
III.* *Battlefield*, 1199. Bastard chases Limoges, and obtains the lion's skin (1st Battle).[a]	
IV. *Before Angiers*, 1200. Second appeal to the citizens by the Kings. Bastard advises the Kings to attack the city. The citizens suggest the marriage of Lewis and Blanche. Peace agreed upon. Constance laments to Arthur the perfidy of France.[b]	II. i.[4] *Before Angiers*, 1199-1200. Excursions (1st Battle).[a] Second appeal to the citizens by the Kings. Bastard advises the Kings to attack the city. The citizens suggest the marriage of Lewis and Blanche. Peace agreed upon.[5]
	III. i.* [ll.1-74.][6] *French King's Tent*, 1200. Constance learns from Salisbury of the peace and marriage, and pours forth her grief and anger.[b]
V. *French King's Tent*, 1200. Bastard challenges Limoges, and is made Duke. Pandulph arrives, and excommunicates John. The league is broken, and war again declared.	III. i. [ll.75-347.] *French King's Tent*, 1200. Constance utters her wrath to the Kings. Pandulph arrives and excommunicates John. Bastard and Limoges wrangle. The league is broken, and war again declared.
VI.* *Near Angiers*, 1200 (2nd Battle).[c] Bastard pursues Limoges, and kills him.	
VII. *Near Angiers*, 1199-1202 (2nd Battle, continued).[c] Lewis captures Elinor, who wrangles with Constance.	III. ii. *Near Angiers*, 1200 (2nd Battle).[c] Bastard with head of Limoges. John delivers Arthur to Hubert.[e] Bastard has rescued Elinor from the French.[d]
VIII.*[7] *Near Angiers*, 1202 (2nd Battle, continued).[c] John rescues Elinor,[d] and captures Arthur. (A wordless scene).	
IX. *Near Angiers*, 1202. Bastard sent to ransack the English Abbeys. John hands over Arthur to Hubert,[e] briefly insinuating the need for Arthur's death, and promising instructions.	III. iii. *Near Angiers*, 1202. Excursions (2nd Battle, continued).[c] Bastard sent to ransack the English abbeys. John gives Hubert his instructions regarding Arthur, inciting him to murder.[e]
X. *French King's Tent*, 1211. Constance expresses her grief to the French King. Pandulph incites Lewis to invade England.	III. iv. *French King's Tent*, 1211. Constance in wrath and grief upbraids the French. Pandulph incites Lewis to invade England.
XI.* *Swinstead*,[8] 1211. The Bastard at a Franciscan Friary, and his discoveries there. Peter, a prophet appears, and is seized by the Bastard.	

4 This is *Old Spelling*, Act II. sc. i. ll.334-598.

5 Constance, during the negotiations, remains in the French king's tent in *F.*, as her presence is obviously awkward in *Q.* This necessitates Shakspere's special III. i. (ll.1-74). See next note.

6 This *Old Spelling*, III. i. (ll.1-74) is II. ii. in Fleay. His Act III. begins at *Old Spelling*, l.75- *Enter K. John*, etc. The *Old Spelling* edition retains the Folio arrangement; but as a division is less essential at l.74 than at II. i. 333, the Folio arrangement is retained.

7 This sc. viii., though wordless, is thus divided in *Sh. Quarto Fac.*, but becomes part of sc. vii. in Fleay. This causes a difference in the subsequent numbering of scenes in Pt. i.

8 We know this to be Swinstead from sc. vi. of Part ii., when John is carried there.

T.R. Part I. (Quarto).

XII. *Room in a Castle*, 1202. Hubert, with three men and Arthur. Hubert shows Arthur his warrant to put out his eyes. Arthur spared through his appeal (largely theological).

XIII. *Canterbury*, 1202, 1212-13. John declares his intention of being crowned once more. Bastard reports his doings, and speaks of Peter the Prophet. John crowned again. The Nobles ask a boon—the release of Arthur. Five moons appear, and Peter is introduced to explain them. He foretells John's loss of the crown on Ascension Day. John declares he shall die. Hubert informs John falsely of Arthur's blindness and death. The Nobles leave, in indignation. John curses Hubert; but being informed that Arthur lives, rejoices, and sends Hubert to inform the Lords.

Part II.

I. *An English Castle*, 1203-1214. Arthur leaps from the walls, and is found below dead by the Nobles. Hubert enters and is accused. The Nobles arrange a rendezvous at St. Edmund's Bury, and conspire to invite Lewis to the throne.[f]

II.* *Room in a Palace*, 1214, Ascension Day. John with the Prophet, whose prophecy he derides. Hubert enters with news of Arthur's death,[g] and is ordered by John in his anger to hang the Prophet. Bastard enters with news of Nobles' election of Lewis.[f] John tells him of Elinor's death,[i] and sends him to plead his cause with the Nobles.[k] John sends for Pandulph, and submits to Rome.[l] Messenger enters and informs John of a hundred sail of French ships off Kent.[f]

III.* *St. Edmund's Bury*, 1214. The Nobles meet, and are joined by the Bastard, who declares them traitors if they refuse to follow him, and leaves.[k] Lewis and his train arrive, and cause the Nobles to swear fealty on the altar.[m] In their absence he and his suite, including Meloun, likewise swear their fealty.*[n]

IV.* *Near St. Edmund's Bury*, 1214-16. To John, Pandulph, &c., Lewis and his forces enter. Pandulph bids Lewis relinquish his claims; he refuses.[o] Bastard stirs John to arms.[p]

K.J. (Folio).

IV. i. *Room in a Castle*, 1202. Hubert and Executioners. Arthur spared through his appeal.

IV. ii. *Room in John's Palace*, 1202, 1212-13. John, just crowned once more, is asked by the Nobles for Arthur's release. Hubert informs him that Arthur is dead, and John acquaints the Nobles, who retire in indignation. A messenger tells John of Lewis's preparations for the invasion of England,[f] and of Constance's and Elinor's death.[i] The Bastard, bringing Peter, is sent to win back the Nobles*[k]; and Hubert has instructions to imprison and hang[h] Peter. Hubert tells John of the talk of five moons and Arthur's death. John curses him for the deed, but being told that Arthur lives, sends him to inform the Lords.

IV. iii. *An English Castle*, 1203-1214. Arthur leaps from the walls; and is found below dead by the Nobles. Bastard enters;[k] then Hubert, who is attacked, but protected by Bastard. Nobles withdraw to St. Edmund's Bury to meet the Dauphin, Lewis. Bastard curses Hubert for Arthur's death, and mourns it.*

[Much of this scene is incorporated in Shakspere's Act IV., sc. ii.]

V. i.* *K. John's Palace*, 1213. John receives his crown[l] again from Pandulph. Bastard enters with tidings of Lewis's progress, and of Arthur's death.[g] John tells Bastard of the league with Rome, and is blamed by him, and incited to arms.[p] John gives over to him the direction of affairs.*

V. ii.* *Dauphin's Camp at St. Edmund's Bury*, 1216. Dauphin hands to Meloun the *treaty*[m] between himself and English Nobles. Pandulph enters, and bids Lewis relinquish his claims; he refuses.[o] Bastard enters and makes furious and patriotic outburst on Philip and the rebel Lords.* Battle decided upon.

T.R. Part II. (Quarto).

V. *Near St. Edmund's Bury*, 1216. Excursions (3rd Battle).[q] Meloun, dying, confesses to the English rebel Lords the French plot to kill them. The Lords decide to kneel for pardon to John.

VI. *Near Swinstead Abbey*, 1216. John carried in, broken down.[r] Bastard enters and informs him of the loss of his forces, &c., in the Wash.[s] Abbot and monks from Swinstead meet the King, and consent to receive him at the Abbey. All leave, except a Monk who schemes the King's murder, and acquaints the Abbot.*

VII *Dauphin's Camp at St. Edmund's Bury*, 1216. Lewis learns of the defection of the English Lords, and of the loss of his[t] and John's[s] supplies.

VIII. *Swinstead Abbey*, 1216. John with the Friars. A Monk (*see* Sc. VI.) gives John drink,[u] but being bidden drink first, drinks and dies. John also has drunk, and feels death coming. Bastard stabs the Abbot. Prince Henry, Pandulph and the English Lords come to bid John farewell.[v] He dies repentant. Bastard leads off forces to oppose Lewis, who approaches.

IX.* *Near Swinstead*, 1216. Pandulph, on Henry III.'s behalf, questions Lewis on his claims. Lewis consents to withdraw on conditions.[w]

K.J. (Folio).

V. iv. *Near St. Edmund's Bury*, 1216 (3rd Battle continued).[q] Meloun, dying, confesses to the English rebel Lords the oath sworn on St. Edmund's altar.[n] The Lords decide on obedience to John.

V. iii. *Near St. Edmund's Bury*, 1216 (3rd Battle).[q] John complains of fever.[r] Bastard sends John word to quit the field: and Messenger informs him that the Dauphin's supplies[t] are lost in Goodwin Sands.

V. v. *Dauphin's Camp at St. Edmund's Bury*, 1216. Lewis learns of the defection of the English Lords, and of the loss of his supplies.[t]

V. vi.* *Near Swinstead Abbey*, 1216. Hubert informs Bastard of John's poisoning,[u] and is told of the loss[t] of the Bastard's forces in the Wash.

V. vii. *Orchard, Swinstead Abbey*, 1216. John dies, surrounded by Lords, Henry, Bastard.[v] Salisbury informs them of Lewis's withdrawal,[w] leaving his cause in the hands of Pandulph.

GB 17
v.8

The Merchant of Venice.

Written. 1596–1597. Mention is made of the play in *Palladis Tamia* written by Francis Mere and published in 1598. In that year (July 22nd) the first edition was entered in the Stationers' Register.

Published. 1600.

Sources of the Plot. The main action is made up of two distinct stories :

i. The Story of the Caskets.
ii. The Story of the Pound of Flesh, or, the Bond Story.

The Story of the Caskets first appeared in the Mediæval romance entitled *Barlaam and Josaphat*, written about A.D. 800 by Joannes Damascenus. The story is also found in Boccaccio's *Decamerone ;* and in a collection of one hundred and fifty fictitious stories written in Latin, and popular in the middle ages, known as the *Gesta Romanorum*.[1]

The Bond Story is of Eastern origin and is older than the Casket story. It is found in the *Gesta Romanorum ;* in *Il Pecorone*[2] of Ser Giovanni Fiorentino, published in 1558 ; in *Dolopathos, or the King and the Seven Sages*, a Latin collection of tales by John of Haute-Seille, 1179–1212, and in the *Cursor Mundi*[3] a Northumbrian poem written at the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century. Alex. Silvayn's *Orator*, translated into English about the year 1596 contains a story entitled *Of a Jew, who would for his debt have a pound of flesh of a Christian*,[4] and in Percy's *Reliques of Ancient Poetry* appears an old ballad *Gernutus the Jew of Venice*.[5] The Bond Story is also the substance of the *Northern Lord*,[6] a poem in four parts.

Marlowe's *Jew of Malta* in which the Jew appears under the name of Barabbas may have given some hints to Shakespeare ; or, as Jews were resident in England in Shakespeare's time, he may have drawn some of the characteristic traits of Shylock from personal intercourse with them. It is remarkable that just before the appearance of the *Merchant of Venice* a Jewish doctor, named Roderigo Lopez, was hanged at Tyburn, for conspiracy in a plot against the life of Queen Elizabeth.

Ancient Persian manuscripts have also been found to contain the story of the pound of flesh.

The under-plot giving the story of Lorenzo and Jessica, as well as the episode of the rings, is considered to be original. There is however an Italian tale of the fifteenth century, written by Massuccio di Salerno, in which a Neapolitan keeps his daughter in strict confinement, but she escapes and elopes, taking with her her father's jewels.

1. See Appendix I.
2. See Appendix II.
3. See Appendix III.
4. See Appendix IV.
5. See Appendix V.
6. See Appendix VI.

Outline of the Play. The Play opens in a street in Venice at the time when that city was the most important trading centre in Europe.

Antonio, a rich merchant, is discussing with two of his friends, Salanio and Salarino, his sadness :

> In sooth, I know not why I am so sad :
> It wearies me ; you say it wearies you ;
> But how I caught it, found it, or came by it,
> What stuff 'tis made of, whereof it is born,
> I am to learn ;
> And such a want-wit sadness makes of me
> That I have much ado to know myself.

Salarino attributes it to anxiety on account of having so many richly-laden vessels on the high seas :

> Your mind is tossing on the ocean ;
> There, where your argosies with portly sail,
> . . . . . .
> Do overpeer the petty traffickers,
> That curt'sy to them, do them reverence,
> As they fly by them with their woven wings,

to which Salanio adds that if he had such fortunes on the high seas his thoughts would always be in that direction :

> Believe me, sir, had I such venture forth,
> The better part of my affections would
> Be with my hopes abroad.

Antonio repudiates the suggestion that his sadness is due to his anxiety for his richly-laden ships, for his " ventures " are not

> in one bottom trusted,
> Nor to one place ; nor is my whole estate
> Upon the fortune of this present year :
> Therefore my merchandise makes me not sad.

Salarino then suggests that Antonio is in love, which Antonio is equally emphatic in denying :

> *Salar.* Why, then you are in love.
> *Ant.* Fie, fie !

" Then let us say you are sad Because you are not merry," adds Salarino. The conversation is interrupted by the appearance of Bassanio, Lorenzo and Gratiano, and Salarino and Salanio forthwith take their departure. Lorenzo then suggests that he and Gratiano leave, but before doing so appoint a meeting for dinner, while Gratiano comments on Antonio's sadness :

> You look not well, Signior Antonio ;
> You have too much respect upon the world :
> They lose it that do buy it with much care.
> Believe me, you are marvellously chang'd.

and when Antonio remarks that " every man plays a part in the world, and his is a sad one," Gratiano expresses a preference to " play the fool," after which, bidding Antonio farewell and promising to " end his exhortation after dinner," both he and Lorenzo leave the scene.

Antonio and Bassanio being left alone, Bassanio tells the former that he needs his help. He is heavily in debt, but is in love with a lady of wealth, named Portia, who resides near Venice :

> In Belmont is a lady richly left,
> And she is fair, and, fairer than that word,
> Of wondrous virtues ; sometimes from her eyes
> I did receive fair speechless messages :
> Her name is Portia,

Portia has many suitors for her hand, but by the terms of his will, her father has decreed that she is either to accept the one who opens by lottery the one of three caskets which contains her portrait, or remain unmarried. Bassanio is anxious to appear among the suitors and asks help of his friend. Antonio replies that he is unable to advance him money as all his fortune is at sea :

> Thou know'st that all my fortunes are at sea ;
> Neither have I money nor commodity
> To raise a present sum :

but gives Bassanio permission to use his credit for the purpose of raising a loan :

> therefore go forth ;
> Try what my credit can in Venice do :
> . . . . . .
> Go, presently inquire, and so will I,
> Where money is, and I no question make
> So have it of my trust or for my sake.

The next scene takes us to Belmont, Portia's palace. Portia expresses to Nerissa —her waiting-maid—that her " body is aweary of this great world," to which Nerissa remarks that " if her miseries were in the same abundance as her good fortunes, she would be miserable indeed," adding that " superfluity comes sooner by white hairs, but competency lives longer."

Their conversation then turns upon the merits and demerits of the suitors for Portia's hand—four of whom are now at Belmont—and as Nerissa names them, Portia rejects them as being totally unsuitable.

Portia has, however, a decided preference for the Venetian Bassanio :

> *Ner.* Do you not remember, lady, in your father's time, a Venetian, a scholar and a soldier, that came hither in company of the Marquis of Montferrat ?
> *Por.* Yes, yes, it was Bassanio ; as I think, so was he called.
> *Ner.* True, madam : he, of all the men that ever my foolish eyes looked upon, was the best deserving a fair lady.
> *Por.* I remember him well, and I remember him worthy of thy praise.

Just then a servant enters and announces that the " four [Nerissa has named six] strangers wish to take leave of Portia," and further that a fifth suitor—a Prince of Morocco—will arrive at the palace that evening to undergo the casket test, to which Portia remarks that if she could bid the fifth welcome with so much heart as she

bids the other four farewell, she would welcome his coming, but if he has the "condition of a saint, and the complexion of a devil," she would prefer that he "should shrive her than wive her," adding that

> Whiles we shut the gate upon one wooer, another
> knocks at the door.

A Public Place in Venice supplies the next scene, where we find Bassanio applying to a money-lending Jew named Shylock, for the loan of three thousand ducats for three months, Antonio to be surety for the repayment :

Shy. Three thousand ducats ; well ?
Bass. Ay, sir, for three months.
Shy. For three months ; well ?
Bass. For the which, as I told you, Antonio shall be bound.
Shy. Antonio shall become bound ; well ?

Shylock remarks that "Antonio is a good man," yet his means are in supposition, for "ships are but boards, sailors but men : there be land-rats and water-rats, water-thieves and land-thieves, I mean pirates ; and then there is the peril of waters, winds and rocks," and assuming to distrust Antonio's security, asks for a personal interview with him. Bassanio therefore invites Shylock to dine with them, but Shylock declines :

> Yes, to smell pork ; to eat of the habitation which
> your prophet the Nazarite conjured the devil into.
> I will buy with you, sell with you, talk with you,
> walk with you, and so following ; but I will not eat
> with you, drink with you, nor pray with you.

Antonio, who has incurred the hatred of Shylock, not only on account of being a Christian, but chiefly because he lends money gratis and so has brought down the rate of interest in Venice, enters, and Shylock aside mutters :

> How like a fawning publican he looks !
> I hate him for he is a Christian,
> But more for that in low simplicity
> He lends out money gratis and brings down
> The rate of usance here with us in Venice.

He broods over this and awaits his opportunity to be avenged :

> If I can catch him once upon the hip,
> I will feed fat the ancient grudge I bear him.
> He hates our sacred nation, and he rails,
> Even there where merchants most do congregate,
> On me, my bargains and my well-won thrift,
> Which he calls interest. Cursed be my tribe,
> If I forgive him !

The Jew professes doubt of being able to raise such a large sum, and purposes applying for the money to a wealthy Hebrew—Tubal by name. Expressing surprise that Antonio should apply to him, after the many insults he has received at his hands, to which Antonio replies that it is merely to oblige a friend, Shylock proceeds to draw attention to the advantage taken of Laban by Jacob, which he quotes as a justification for usurious methods, adding :

> This was the way to thrive, and he was blest :
> And thrift is blessing, if men steal it not :

to which Antonio retorts that "The devil can cite Scripture for his purpose." Antonio presses Shylock to give a definite answer, and the Jew recites the various insults he has received from Antonio, remarking that now he wants help he does not hesitate to come to borrow money of him :

> Signior Antonio, many a time and oft
> In the Rialto you have rated me
> About my moneys and my usances :
> Still have I borne it with a patient shrug,
> For sufferance is the badge of all our tribe
> You call me misbeliever, cut-throat dog,
> And spet upon my Jewish gaberdine,
> And all for use of that which is mine own.
> Well then, it now appears you need my help :
> Go to then ; you come to me, and you say,
> ' Shylock, we would have moneys ' : you say so ;
> You, that did void your rheum upon my beard
> And foot me as you spurn a stranger cur
> Over your threshold : moneys is your suit.
> What should I say to you ? Should I not say,
> ' Hath a dog money ? Is it possible
> A cur can lend three thousand ducats ? ' Or
> Shall I bend low, and in a bondman's key,
> With bated breath and whispering humbleness,
> Say this : ' Fair sir, you spet on me on Wednesday last ;
> You spurn'd me such a day ; another time
> You call'd me dog ; and for these courtesies
> I'll lend you thus much moneys ? '

to which Antonio haughtily retorts that he is likely to treat him so again, and tells Shylock that he purposes borrowing the money on a business basis only. Shylock therefore agrees to advance the money conditionally upon Antonio "sealing . . . in a merry sport" that if the loan is not repaid at an appointed time, Antonio shall forfeit a pound of his flesh to be cut off from that part of his body the Jew thinks fit :

> This kindness will I show.
> Go with me to a notary, seal me there
> Your single bond ; and, in a merry sport,
> If you repay me not on such a day,
> In such a place, such sum or sums as are
> Express'd in the condition, let the forfeit
> Be nominated for an equal pound
> Of your fair flesh, to be cut off and taken
> In what part of your body pleaseth me.

Confident of the return of his vessels before the day of payment, Antonio agrees to this condition, notwithstanding Bassanio's opposition :

> You shall not seal to such a bond for me :
> I'll rather dwell in my necessity.

to which Antonio replies :

> Why, fear not, man ; I will not forfeit it :
> Within these two months, that's a month before
> This bond expires, I do expect return
> Of thrice three times the value of this bond.

"I like not fair terms and a villain's mind" adds Bassanio, still in doubt, but Antonio closes the conversation :

> Come on : in this there can be no dismay ;
> My ships come home a month before the day.

The second Act opens in Portia's Palace at Belmont. A fresh wooer, in the person of the Prince of Morocco, arrives to seek her hand. He apologises for the colour of his skin, and tells her what gallant deeds he will perform to win her :

> Mislike me not for my complexion,
> The shadow'd livery of the burnish'd sun,
> To whom I am a neighbour and near bred.
> . . . . . .
> By this scimitar,
> That slew the Sophy and a Persian prince
> That won three fields of Sultan Solyman,
> I would outstare the sternest eyes that look,
> Outbrave the heart most daring on the earth,
> Pluck the young sucking cubs from the she-bear,
> Yea, mock the lion when he roars for prey,
> To win thee, lady.

Portia however tells him he " must take his chance," as she has no choice in the matter, her father having decreed that her hand shall be awarded to the suitor choosing the casket containing her portrait :

> You must take your chance ;
> And either not attempt to choose at all,
> Or swear, before you choose, if you choose wrong,
> Never to speak to lady afterward
> In way of marriage : therefore be advis'd.

We are next in a street in Venice where we are introduced to a new character, in the person of Launcelot Gobbo, the clown. Launcelot is soliloquising in colloquial phraseology on his wavering between his own conscience and the " fiend," for while the former counsels him to stay with Shylock, the latter—on account of the ill-treatment he receives at the hands of the Jew—bids him to run away. He determines to take the " fiend's " advice : " I will run, fiend ; my heels are at your commandment ; I will run," just as his half-blind father—Old Gobbo, carrying a present for Shylock—arrives on the scene, and, not recognising him, asks his son the way to the Jew's house :

> Master young man, you, I pray you, which is the
> way to master Jew's ?

to which Launcelot replies jokingly :

> Turn up on your right hand at the next
> turning, but at the next turning of all, on your
> left ; marry, at the very next turning, turn of no
> hand, but turn down indirectly to the Jew's house.

" By God's sonties, 'twill be a hard way to hit," is the comment of old Gobbo. The old man next enquires whether his son is alive or dead, and after a little buffoonery on the part of young Launcelot he makes himself known to his father, assuring him that " it is a wise father that know his own child." Gobbo comments on the marked change in Launcelot, and then enquires " How dost thou and thy master agree ? I have brought him a present. How 'gree you now ? " and is persuaded by his son to give the present to Bassanio, whose service he seeks to enter :

> Father, I am glad
> you are come ; give me your present to one
> Master Bassanio, who, indeed, gives rare new
> liveries : if I serve him not, I will run as far as
> God has any ground.

Bassanio enters, and consents to take Launcelot into his employ, and thus a suitable intermediary between Jessica—the Jew's daughter—and her lover—Lorenzo—is provided.

Meanwhile preparations are being made for Bassanio's departure for Belmont when Gratiano enters, and asks permission to accompany Bassanio. This request is at first refused, as Gratiano is " too wild, too rude and bold of voice " but is afterwards granted when Gratiano promises to " put on a sober habit, talk with respect, swear but now and then, wear prayer-books in my pocket, and to look demurely."

The next scene introduces the under-plot. Jessica expresses to Launcelot her regret at his leaving her father's house, as by his jovial manner he has been a " lively " inmate :

> I am sorry thou wilt leave my father so :
> Our house is hell, and thou, a merry devil,
> Didst rob it of some taste of tediousness.

Bidding him farewell she hands him a letter to deliver secretly to her lover—Lorenzo—who is the guest of Bassanio :

> But fare thee well ; there is a ducat for thee :
> And, Launcelot, soon at supper shalt thou see
> Lorenzo, who is thy new master's guest :
> Give him this letter ; do it secretly ;
> And so farewell : I would not have my father
> See me in talk with thee.

With tears and compliments Launcelot takes his departure : " Adieu ! tears exhibit my tongue. Most beautiful pagan, most sweet Jew ! if a Christian did not play the knave and get thee, I am much deceived. But, adieu ! these foolish drops do somewhat drown my manly spirit : adieu ! " Having gone, Jessica expresses her sorrow at the " heinous sin in her " in being " asham'd to be her father's child " and although she is of his blood but not of his manners she will " end this strife " by " turning Christian and marrying Lorenzo."

Scene four which continues the under-plot, is enacted in a street, where Lorenzo suggests to Gratiano and other guests that during the supper-time they " slink away " and prepare a masque as a surprise to the party. Salarino points out that no torch-bearer has been provided, but Lorenzo replies that they have two hours in which to supply one.

Launcelot now enters and hands to Lorenzo the letter from Jessica, who after reading it tells Launcelot (who is on the point of leaving to bid his old master to supper with Bassanio) to inform Jessica that " he will not fail her ; speak it privately," and then turning to Salarino and Salanio bids them to meet him and Gratiano at Gratiano's lodgings " some hour hence." These two having gone, Gratiano asks whether the letter was from " fair Jessica " and Lorenzo confides to him the plot for the carrying-off of Jessica from her father's house, disguised as a page-boy, after having obtained possession of as many of her father's valuables as she can secure :

We are before Shylock's house in the next scene, where the Jew, meeting Launcelot, tells him he will soon see the difference between his old master—Shylock—and his new master—Bassanio. Shylock then calls his daughter and informs her that

he has been invited to sup with Bassanio, and handing to her the keys of his money-chests gives her strict injunctions to take care of his house during his absence :

> I am bid forth to supper, Jessica :
> There are my keys. But wherefore should I go ?
> I am not bid for love ; they flatter me :
> But yet I 'll go in hate, to feed upon
> The prodigal Christian. Jessica, my girl,
> Look to my house. I am right loath to go :
> There is some ill a-brewing towards my rest,
> For I did dream of money-bags to-night.

Learning that a masque is to entertain the guests, Shylock further bids his daughter that when she hears the drum and the " vile squeaking of the wry-neck'd fife " she is not to " thrust her head into the public street " to " gaze on Christian fools with varnish'd faces," but to keep the windows closed so that no " sound of shallow foppery enter his sober house."

After Launcelot has succeeded in delivering " privately " Lorenzo's message, Shylock again enjoins Jessica to look carefully to his house during his absence, closing with the well-known proverb :

> Fast bind, fast find.

When he has gone, Jessica remarks :

> Farewell ; and if my fortune be not crost,
> I have a father, you a daughter, lost.

Taking advantage of Shylock's absence, Lorenzo and his fellow-masquers repair to the Jew's house. Jessica appears at the window dressed as a boy, and timidly inquires who they are, and their errand :

> Who are you ? Tell me for more certainty,
> Albeit I 'll swear that I do know your tongue.

to which Lorenzo replies :

> Lorenzo, certain ; and my love indeed,
> For who love I so much ?

Bidding him to catch the casket she is lowering from the window,—whispering that it contains part of her father's fortune,—and excusing herself for being dressed as a boy, she descends :

> Here, catch this casket ; it is worth the pains,
> I am glad 'tis night, you do not look on me,
> For I am much asham'd of my exchange ;
> But love is blind and lovers cannot see
> The pretty follies that themselves commit ;
> For if they could, Cupid himself would blush
> To see me thus transformed to a boy.

As she descends Lorenzo tells her she is to be his torch-bearer, and presently having joined the masquers they hastily depart, their movements being accelerated by Antonio who enters with the news that there will be " no masque to-night," as the wind being favourable, Bassanio is on the point of setting sail for Belmont.

In Scene seven we are back again in Portia's Palace at Belmont, where the three caskets are stored. Fearing that Portia might be wedded for the sake of her fortune,

her father had prepared three caskets, in one of which her portrait is placed, and left instructions that the suitor who should be fortunate enough to select the one containing the portrait be rewarded with the lady's hand.

The first, of gold, bore this inscription :

" Who chooseth me shall gain what many men desire."

The second, of silver, carried this promise :

" Who chooseth me shall get as much as he deserves."

The third, dull lead, had this blunt warning :

" Who chooseth me must give and hazard all he hath."

The Prince of Morocco enters, and is bidden by Portia to make his choice. Calling upon some god to direct him he carefully endeavours to discover the hidden meaning that lies in the three mysterious inscriptions. " Who chooseth me shall gain what many men desire." " Why, that 's the lady " : he cries " Deliver me the key : Here do I choose, and thrive I as I may ! " Unlocking the golden casket he finds it contains not Portia's portrait, but a grinning skull and a scroll. " O hell ! what have we here ? A carrion Death, within whose empty eye There is a written scroll. I 'll read the writing " :

All that glisters is not gold ;
Often have you heard that told :
Many a man his life hath sold
But my outside to behold :
Gilded tombs do worms infold.
Had you been as wise as bold,
Young in limbs, in judgment old,
Your answer had not been inscroll'd
Fare you well ; your suit is cold.

Disappointed with his choice, he like a true-bred gentleman, bids Portia farewell :

Cold, indeed ; and labour lost :
Then, farewell, heat, and welcome, frost !
Portia adieu. I have too griev'd a heart
To take a tedious leave : thus losers part.

and, amid a flourish of trumpets, takes his departure with his retinue, Portia adding :

A gentle riddance. Draw the curtain ; go.
Let all of his complexion choose me so.

On the morrow, in a street of Venice, Salarino and Salanio discuss the departure of Bassanio for Belmont, and the elopement of Jessica and Lorenzo. Shylock had returned home at a late hour, found his house empty, his daughter gone, and worst of all part of his fortune also missing. " I never heard a passion so confus'd, So strange, outrageous, and so variable, As the dog Jew did utter in the streets " : exclaims Salanio. In a fury, Shylock cried :

" My daughter ! O my ducats ! O my daughter !
Fled with a Christian ! O my Christian ducats !
Justice ! the law ! my ducats, and my daughter !
A sealed bag, two sealed bags of ducats,
Of double ducats, stol'n from me by my daughter !
And jewels, two stones, two rich and precious stones,
Stol'n by my daughter ! Justice ! find the girl ;
She hath the stones upon her, and the ducats."

Salarino goes on to describe how all the boys of Venice followed Shylock, " Crying, his stones, his daughter, and his ducats," while Salanio hints that Antonio had better be careful, otherwise he " will pay for this," for rumours are rife that some of his ships have been lost at sea.

In the concluding scene of this Act we return to Belmont, where we find Portia and her waiting-maid, Nerissa, preparing to receive the Prince of Arragon, who has arrived to make his choice of the caskets :

> Quick, quick, I pray thee ; draw the curtain straight.
> The Prince of Arragon hath ta'en his oath,
> And comes to his election presently.

Amid a flourish of cornets, the Prince, Portia and their trains enter. After learning from Portia the conditions upon which he can win her, the Prince examines the caskets, and after commenting upon the inscriptions, he " assumes desert " and decides to open the silver chest :

> Well, but to my choice :
> " Who chooseth me shall get as much as he deserves."
> I will assume desert. Give me a key for this,
> And instantly unlock my fortunes here.

Raising the lid, he discovers, not the portrait of Portia, but that of " a blinking idiot," and a scroll telling him to " be gone " :

> What 's here ? the portrait of a blinking idiot,
> Presenting me a schedule ! I will read it.
> . . . . . .
> Did I deserve no more than a fool's head ?
> Is that my prize ? are my deserts no better ?
> What is here ?
> *The fire seven times tried this :*
> *Seven times tried that judgment is*
> *That did never choose amiss.*
> *Some there be that shadows kiss ;*
> *Such have but a shadow's bliss :*
> *There be fools alive, I wis,*
> *Silver'd o'er ; and so was this,*
> *Take what wife you will to bed,*
> *I will ever be your head :*
> *So be gone : you are sped.*
> . . . . . .
> Still more fool I shall appear
> By the time I linger here :
> With one fool's head I came to woo,
> But I go away with two.
> Sweet adieu. I 'll keep my oath,
> Patiently to bear my wroth.

and bowing low, he bids farewell to Portia. She dismisses him as a " deliberate fool " :

> Thus hath the candle sing'd the moth.
> O, these deliberate fools ! when they do choose,
> They have the wisdom by their wit to lose,

to which Nerissa adds :

> The ancient saying is no heresy :
> " Hanging and wiving goes by destiny."

A servant enters, and announces the arrival of a young Venetian to try his fate, adding :

> Yet I have not seen
> So likely an ambassador of love :

Turning to Nerissa, Portia exclaims :

> Come, come, Nerissa ; for I long to see
> Quick Cupid's post that comes so mannerly.

The third Act, which opens in a street in Venice, is the turning point of the Play. Rumour is rife that Antonio's ships have been lost at sea, and he has suffered severe losses in consequence. Shylock enters, and after raving at the flight of his daughter, expresses great delight at the prospect of revenge. Being asked by Salarino whether it is true that Antonio's ships have been lost at sea, Shylock replies :

> *Shy.* There I have another bad match : a bankrupt, a prodigal, who dare scarce show his head on the Rialto ; a beggar, that was used to come so smug upon the mart ; let him look to his bond : he was wont to call me usurer ; let him look to his bond : he was wont to lend money for a Christian courtesy ; let him look to his bond.
> *Salar.* Why, I am sure, if he forfeit, thou wilt not take his flesh : what 's that good for ?
> *Shy.* To bait fish withal : if it feed nothing else, it will feed my revenge.
> . . . . . .
> If a Jew wrong a Christian, what is his humility ? Revenge. If a Christian wrong a Jew, what should his sufferance be by Christian example ? Why, revenge. The villainy you teach me I will execute, and it shall go hard but I will better the instruction.

The conversation is interrupted by the arrival of a servant bidding Salanio and Salarino to repair to Antonio's house. On their departure a second Jew named Tubal, who has been sent in search of Jessica, enters and reports that he has been unable to trace her :

> *Shy.* How now, Tubal ! what news from Genoa ? hast thou found my daughter ?
> *Tub.* I often came where I did hear of her, but cannot find her.

On the Jew again lamenting over the losses he has sustained, Tubal attempts to conciliate him by averring that Antonio has suffered heavy losses :

> *Tub.* Yes, other men have ill luck too. Antonio, as I heard in Genoa,—
> *Shy.* What, what, what ? ill luck, ill luck ?
> *Tub.* — hath an argosy cast away, coming from Tripolis.
> *Shy.* I thank God ! I thank God ! Is 't true ? is 't true ?

but Shylock again breaks out in a frenzy when Tubal relates how his daughter is squandering his money in Genoa, afterwards confirming the report of Antonio's

losses. Shylock thereupon bids his companion engage an officer to arrest Antonio immediately the bond becomes due :

> Go, Tubal,
> fee me an officer ; bespeak him a fortnight before. I will have the heart of him, if he forfeit ; for were he out of Venice, I can make what merchandise I will. Go, go, Tubal, and meet me at our synagogue : go, good Tubal ; at our synagogue, Tubal.

We are once more transferred to Belmont in Scene two, where Portia invites Bassanio to " tarry " for a time before making his choice of the caskets :

> I pray you, tarry : pause a day or two
> Before you hazard ; for, in choosing wrong,
> I lose your company : therefore forbear awhile.

Bassanio however prefers to make his choice without delay, and as the caskets are exhibited, Portia remarks :

> Away then ! I am lock'd in one of them :
> If you do love me, you will find me out.
> . . . . . .
> Live thou, I live : with much, much more dismay
> I view the fight than thou that mak'st the fray.

While Bassanio comments upon the caskets and the inscriptions, there is music and a song, the words of which give him the clue to the riddle :

> *Tell me where is fancy bred,*
> *Or in the heart or in the head ?*
> *How begot, how nourished ?*
> *Reply, reply.*
> *It is engender'd in the eyes,*
> *With gazing fed ; and fancy dies*
> *In the cradle where it lies.*
> *Let us all ring fancy's knell :*
> *I'll begin it,—Ding, dong, bell.*
> All. *Ding, dong, bell.*

After the strains of music have sunk into silence, the quick-witted suitor, as he speaks to Portia, shows he has grasped the clue to the labyrinth :

> So may the outward shows be least themselves :
> The world is still deceiv'd with ornament.
> . . . . . .
> Therefore, thou gaudy gold,
> Hard food for Midas, I will none of thee ;
> Nor none of thee, thou pale and common drudge
> 'Tween man and man : but thou, thou meagre lead,
> Which rather threat'nest than dost promise aught,
> Thy plainness moves me more than eloquence ;
> And here choose I : joy be the consequence !

Opening the leaden casket, he finds Portia's portrait and a scroll telling him he has won the lady :

> What find I here ?
> [*Opening the leaden casket.*
> Fair Portia's counterfeit ! What demi-god
> Hath come so near creation ? Move these eyes ?
> " Here 's the scroll, The continent and summary of my fortune.
> *You that choose not by the view,*
> *Chance as fair and choose as true !*
> *Since this fortune falls to you,*
> *Be content and seek no new.*
> *If you be well pleas'd with this*
> *And hold your fortune for your bliss,*
> *Turn you where your lady is*
> *And claim her with a loving kiss.*

Portia accepts Bassanio as her lover, and gives him a ring, warning him never to " part with it, lose it, or give it away " or ruin will overtake him :

> This house, these servants, and this same myself
> Are yours, my lord. I give them with this ring ;
> Which when you part from, lose, or give away,
> Let it presage the ruin of your love,
> And be my vantage to exclaim on you.

and Bassanio swears to part with it only with his life :

> But when this ring
> Parts from this finger, then parts life from hence :
> O, then be bold to say Bassanio 's dead !

Gratiano—Bassanio's attendant—becomes enamoured of Nerissa, and is accepted as her lover.

The scene is interrupted by the arrival of Lorenzo, Jessica and Salerio [Salanio ?] with a letter from Antonio informing Bassanio of the loss of his vessels and his inability to meet Shylock's demands. Being informed of the nature of the bond, Portia urges Bassanio to set out for Venice without delay, using her money to satisfy Shylock's claims :

> Pay him six thousand, and deface the bond :
> Double six thousand, and then treble that,
> Before a friend of this description
> Shall lose a hair through Bassanio's fault.

In order, however, to give Bassanio a legal right to her money, the marriage ceremony between Portia and Bassanio is hurriedly celebrated, and the same day Gratiano is married to Nerissa. " But let me hear the letter of your friend," demands Portia, and with pale face and trembling lips, Bassanio reads the letter :

> *Sweet Bassanio, my ships have all miscarried, my creditors grow cruel, my estate is very low, my bond to the Jew is forfeit ; and since, in paying it, it is impossible I should live, all debts are cleared between you and I, if I might but see you at my death. Notwithstanding, use your pleasure : if your love do not persuade you to come, let not my letter.*

The scene closes with Portia urging Bassanio to proceed to Venice with all possible haste.

The next scene—a short one—takes us back to Venice. Antonio has been arrested at the instigation of Shylock. Meeting Antonio and his jailer Shylock expresses indignation that a prisoner should be allowed to leave his prison, and charges the jailer to look well after Antonio, whom he calls a " fool " for having " lent out money gratis " :

> Gaoler, look to him : tell not me of mercy ;
> This is the fool that lent out money gratis :

Confident of his revenge he refuses to listen to Antonio's entreaties :

> *Ant.* Hear me yet, good Shylock.
> *Shy.* I 'll have my bond ; speak not against my bond :
> I have sworn an oath that I will have my bond.
> . . . . . .
> *Ant.* I pray thee, hear me speak.
> *Shy.* I 'll have my bond ; I will not hear thee speak :
> I 'll have my bond, and therefore speak no more.
> I 'll not be made a soft and dull-eyed fool,
> To shake the head, relent, and sigh, and yield
> To Christian intercessors. Follow not ;
> I 'll have no speaking ; I will have my bond.

Shylock having gone, Salarino describes the Jew as " the most impenetrable cur That ever kept with men," and expresses his confidence that the " duke Will never grant this forfeiture to hold " but Antonio replies that the " Duke cannot deny the course of law " : and knowing that Shylock " seeks his life " he has become resigned to his fate, hoping that Bassanio will come :

> To see me pay the debt, and then I care not !

We are back again at Belmont in Scene four. Bassanio and Gratiano having taken their departure for Venice, Portia informs Lorenzo and Jessica that she and Nerissa intend retiring to a convent until their husbands' return, and commits the management of her house into their hands.

She then bids her serving-man—Balthasar—to carry a letter post haste to a learned cousin, Doctor Bellario at Padua, and bring the answer to her at the ferry at Venice :

> Now, Balthasar,
> . . . . . .
> Take this same letter,
> And use thou all the endeavour of a man
> In speed to Padua : see thou render this
> Into my cousin's hand, Doctor Bellario ;
> And, look, what notes and garments he doth give thee,
> Bring them, I pray thee, with imagin'd speed
> Unto the tranect, to the common ferry
> Which trades to Venice. Waste no time in words,
> But get thee gone : I shall be there before thee.

and then turning to Nerissa says :

> Come on, Nerissa, I have work in hand
> That you yet know not of : we 'll see our husbands
> Before they think of us.

" Shall they see us ? " asks Nerissa, and Portia replies :

> They shall, Nerissa ; but in such a habit
> That they shall think we are accomplished
> With that we lack,

and explains that they are going to assume male attire, boasting that she will " prove the prettier fellow of the two." " Why, shall we turn to men ? " queries Nerissa in perplexity, and Portia retorts " Fie, what a question 's that, If thou were near a lewd interpreter ! " promising to unfold to her her plan when they are

> in my coach, which stays for us
> At the park gate ; and therefore haste away,
> For we must measure twenty miles to-day.

The concluding scene of this Act shows us a garden adjoining Portia's house, and provides a light interlude before the climax of the play—the trial scene—is introduced. Launcelot banters Jessica, telling her that " the sins of the father are to be laid upon the children," but Jessica replies that she will be saved by her husband who hath made her a Christian, to which Launcelot very facetiously retorts that " This making of Christians will raise the price of hogs : if we grow all to be pork-eaters, we shall not shortly have a rasher on the coals for money." Lorenzo now appears on the scene, and Jessica relates to him what has just been said, and after a little more banter has passed Launcelot is bidden to prepare dinner, and the scene closes with Lorenzo commenting on Launcelot, while Jessica gives her opinion of Portia.

The fourth Act opens in a Court of Justice in Venice. The Duke of Venice and the Magnificoes of the city in their robes of state have taken their seats. Summoning Antonio to appear, the Duke expresses regret to find him in the power of such an adversary as Shylock :

> I am sorry for thee : thou art come to answer
> A stony adversary, an inhuman wretch
> Uncapable of pity, void and empty
> From any dram of mercy,

Antonio thanks the duke for interceding on his behalf. Shylock is next summoned, and in a lengthy speech is appealed to by the duke to show mercy. He is inflexible, and insists in exacting the full penalty named in the bond, though Bassanio offers him six thousand ducats instead of three thousand :

> If every ducat in six thousand ducats
> Were in six parts, and every part a ducat,
> I would not draw them ; I would have my bond.
> . . . . . .
> The pound of flesh, which I demand of him,
> Is dearly bought ; 'tis mine, and I will have it.
> If you deny me, fie upon your law !
> There is no force in the decrees of Venice.
> I stand for judgment : answer ; shall I have it ?

The duke is about to adjourn the case until the arrival of Bellario a learned doctor of Padua,—for whom he has sent to determine the legal points involved in this unprecedented case—when Salerio [Salanio ?] reports that a messenger has just arrived " with letters from the doctor, New come from Padua." Ordering the messenger to be admitted, Nerissa—dressed like a lawyer's clerk—enters :

> *Duke.* Came you from Padua, from Bellario ?
> *Ner.* From both, my lord. Bellario greets your grace.
> [*Presents a letter.*

While the Duke examines the seal and reads the letter, Shylock is whetting his knife on the sole of his shoe :

Bass. Why dost thou whet thy knife so earnestly ?
Shy. To cut the forfeiture from that bankrupt there.
Gra. Not on thy sole, but on thy soul, harsh Jew,
Thou mak'st thy knife keen ; but no metal can,
No, not the hangman's axe, bear half the keenness
Of thy sharp envy. Can no prayers pierce thee ?
Shy. No, none that thou hast wit enough to make.

Shylock continues the whetting process when the Judge announces that Bellario is too unwell to attend in person, but has sent in his stead a young and learned doctor who is waiting admission to the court :

Duke. This letter from Bellario doth commend
A young and learned doctor to our court.
Where is he ?
Ner. He attendeth here hard by,
To know your answer, whether you 'll admit him.
Duke. With all my heart. Some three or four of you
Go give him courteous conduct to this place.
Meantime, the court shall hear Bellario's letter.

The Clerk reads the letter, after which Portia—dressed like a doctor of laws—enters :

Give me your hand. Come you from old Bellario ?
Por. I did, my lord.
Duke. You are welcome : take your place.

With self-possession, Portia takes her place in the court. Antonio and Shylock are commanded to stand forth, and Portia proceeds to conduct the case. She rules that Shylock is strictly acting in accordance with the law ; and obtaining from Antonio a confession of the bond, she turns to Shylock, and says : " Then must the Jew be merciful." " On what compulsion must I ? tell me that " comes the scornful reply, and as a hush falls upon the court, Portia, in a speech of moving eloquence,—considered to be one of the finest passages in Shakespeare's plays—endeavours to soften the Jew's heart :

The quality of mercy is not strain'd,
It droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven
Upon the place beneath : it is twice blest ;
It blesseth him that gives and him that takes :
'Tis mightiest in the mightiest : it becomes
The throned monarch better than his crown ;
His sceptre shows the force of temporal power,
The attribute to awe and majesty,
Wherein doth sit the dread and fear of kings ;
But mercy is above this sceptred sway,
It is enthroned in the heart of kings,
It is an attribute to God himself,
And earthly power doth then show likest God's
When mercy seasons justice. Therefore, Jew,
Though justice be thy plea, consider this,
That in the course of justice none of us
Should see salvation : we do pray for mercy ;
And that same prayer doth teach us all to render
The deeds of mercy.

" My deeds upon my head ! I crave the law, The penalty and forfeit of my bond," comes the stubborn reply. Is Antonio not able to discharge the money, asks Portia, to which Bassanio replies : " Yes, twice the sum if that will not suffice, I will be

bound to pay it ten times o'er," and passionately appeals to Portia to strain the law a little and in order to " do a great right, do a little wrong, And curb this cruel devil of his will." " It must not be. There is no power in Venice Can alter a decree established : 'Twill be recorded for a precedent, And many an error by the same example Will rush into the state. It cannot be," replies Portia, a sentence which exults Shylock to brutal delight :

> A Daniel come to judgment ! yea, a Daniel !
> O wise young judge, how I do honour thee !

She then asks to see the bond, which Shylock eagerly produces, and after reading it, says : " Why, this bond is forfeit ; And lawfully by this the Jew may claim A pound of flesh," at the same time appealing to him to accept the money and bid her tear the bond, but Shylock is adamant :

> by my soul I swear
> There is no power in the tongue of man
> To alter me. I stay here on my bond.

" Why then, Antonio," exclaims Portia, " you must prepare your bosom for the knife," and Shylock ejaculates " O noble judge ! O excellent young man ! "

Thinking his end is drawing nigh, Antonio bids farewell to Bassanio :

> Give me your hand, Bassanio : fare you well !
> Grieve not that I am fallen to this for you ;

and Bassanio in great distress tells Antonio that although married to a wife who is as dear to him as life itself, he would give " life itself, his wife, and all the world " if he could only deliver him out of the clutches of Shylock, to which remark Portia exclaims :

> Your wife would give you little thanks for that,
> If she were by, to hear you make the offer.

Gratiano on the other hand wishes his wife were in heaven to make intercession for Antonio, which draws from Nerissa, the remark :

> 'Tis well you offer it behind her back ;
> The wish would make else an unquiet house,

while Shylock [aside] mutters : " These be the Christian husbands ! "

In a clear voice Portia then begins to pronounce sentence : " A pound of that same merchant's flesh is thine " : turning to Shylock, " The court awards it, and the law doth give it." " Most learned judge ! A Sentence ! Come, prepare ! " he cries triumphantly, and rattling his scales moves forward knife in hand. Raising her hand, Portia exclaims :

> Tarry a little, there is something else.
> This bond doth give thee here no jot of blood ;
> The words expressly are " a pound of flesh " :
> Take then thy bond, take thou thy pound of
> flesh ;
> But, in the cutting it, if thou dost shed
> One drop of Christian blood, thy lands and goods
> Are, by the laws of Venice, confiscate
> Unto the state of Venice !

" O upright judge ! Mark, Jew : O learned judge ! " cries Gratiano. " Is that the law ? " asks Shylock. " Thyself shalt see the act ; For, as thou urgest justice, be assur'd Thou shalt have justice, more than thou desirest," is Portia's reply.

Seeing himself baffled, Shylock then offers to accept the money, and Bassanio promptly offers it, but Portia again holds up her hand :

> The Jew shall have all justice ; soft ! no haste :—
> He shall have nothing but the penalty.
> . . . . . .
> Therefore prepare thee to cut off the flesh.
> Shed thou no blood ; nor cut thou less, nor more
> But just a pound of flesh : if thou tak'st more,
> Or less, than a just pound, be it but so much
> As makes it light or heavy, in the substance,
> Or the division of the twentieth part
> Of one poor scruple, nay, if the scale do turn
> But in the estimation of a hair,
> Thou diest and all thy goods are confiscate.

While Gratiano exclaims " A second Daniel, a Daniel, Jew ! Now, infidel, I have thee on the hip," the Jew proposes to accept the principal and asks to be allowed to depart. " I have it ready for thee ; here it is," cries Bassanio, but again Portia intervenes, and tells Shylock that by the laws of Venice any alien who conspires either directly or indirectly against the life of one of its citizens forfeits all his wealth, and therefore, having plotted against the life of Antonio he has rendered himself liable to be put to death, and implores him to go down on his knees and ask the Duke to pardon him.

At this sudden turn of events the Jew is crestfallen, but the Duke, rising with a feeling of pity is merciful enough to pardon him even before he asks :

> That thou shalt see the difference of our spirit,
> I pardon thee thy life before thou ask it,

and decrees that half of Shylock's wealth be given to Antonio and the other half to the state, but Shylock in despair cries : " Nay, take my life and all ; pardon not that."

Portia now asks Antonio whether he is willing to show mercy to the man who showed him none, and although Gratiano advises him to give him " a halter gratis ; " Antonio, generous as ever, begs the duke to confiscate but half of Shylock's goods, to decree that Shylock shall leave the other half to Lorenzo and Jessica, and he himself shall become a Christian. The Duke accedes to this request, and the Jew, thoroughly cowed, consents to obey the court, and under the plea of illness retires, asking that the deed shall be sent to him for signature, the mocking cry of Gratiano ringing in his ears as he departs :

> In christening thou shalt have two godfathers ;
> Had I been judge, thou shouldst have had ten more,
> To bring thee to the gallows, not the font.

The Duke then releases Antonio and dismisses the court, at the same time inviting Portia to dine with him. The invitation is courteously declined as she must return to Padua forthwith :

> I humbly do desire your grace of pardon :
> I must away this night toward Padua,
> And it is meet I presently set forth.

to which the Duke replies : " I am sorry that your leisure serves you not," and then turning to Antonio says : " Antonio, gratify this gentleman, For, in my mind, you are much bound to him."

The court having retired, Bassanio and Antonio express their gratitude to Portia, and as a reward Bassanio asks her to accept a fee of three thousand ducats. To their

surprise she refuses the money, but being pressed to accept some reward asks for Antonio's gloves and Bassanio's ring :

> *Por.* You press me far, and therefore I will yield.
> [*To Antonio.*] Give me your gloves, I 'll wear them for your sake ;
> [*To Bassanio.*] And, for your love, I 'll take this ring from you.
> Do not draw back your hand ; I 'll take no more ;
> And you in love shall not deny me this.

but Bassanio replies that he cannot part with the ring as he has vowed to his lady it shall never leave his hand. Portia tells him she will have nothing else, and with a low bow leaves the court. Turning to Bassanio, Antonio begs him give the ring to Portia for the great services she has rendered, and he yielding to the wishes of his friend sends Gratiano after Portia with it :

> Go, Gratiano ; run and overtake him ;
> Give him the ring, and bring him, if thou canst,
> Unto Antonio's house. Away ! make haste.

after which they leave the court, intending on the morrow to depart for Belmont.

The second scene shows us a street in Venice, where Portia is giving instructions to Nerissa to discover Shylock's house and obtain his signature to the deed which will be a welcome surprise to Lorenzo, when they are overtaken by Gratiano, who asks Portia's acceptance of Bassanio's ring, at the same time inviting her to dinner. Portia accepts the ring, but declines the invitation, and then requests Gratiano to direct Nerissa to Shylock's house. Nerissa likewise obtains her husband's ring, and as she proceeds to Shylock's house with Gratiano, Portia remarks :

> We shall have old swearing
> That they did give the rings way to men ;
> But we 'll outface them, and outswear them too.

The fifth Act opens in the avenue leading to Portia's house. The moon is shining brightly, music is playing in the groves, when the sound of footsteps is heard, and Stephano enters, and informs Lorenzo and Jessica that Portia and her waiting-maid, Nerissa, will be home presently, having merely halted on the road at a wayside shrine to pray.

Lorenzo and Jessica are on the point of entering the house to prepare a welcome for Portia, when Launcelot enters and announces that Bassanio will be home before morning.

Portia and Nerissa arrive amid the strains of sweet music, and as they enter the garden and see the light burning in the hall, Portia remarks :

> That light we see is burning in the hall.
> How far that little candle throws his beams !
> So shines a good deed in a naughty world.

Noticing Lorenzo, Portia enquires whether their husbands have yet returned, and on learning that they are expected presently she gives Nerissa orders to tell the servants not to mention that they have been absent. Hardly has the order been given, when the sound of trumpets is heard, and Bassanio, Antonio, Gratiano with

their followers make their appearance. Bassanio greets Portia and bids her welcome his friend, Antonio :

Bass. Give welcome to my friend :
This is the man, this is Antonio,
To whom I am so infinitely bound.

Gratiano too embraces his wife, Nerissa, when a sharp quarrel breaks out between them, for Nerissa has noticed that he no longer wears the ring she has given him :

Por. A quarrel, ho, already ! what 's the matter ?
Gra. About a hoop of gold, a paltry ring
That she did give me, whose poesy was
For all the world like cutlers' poetry
Upon a knife, " Love me, and leave me not."

Gratiano tells her he has given the ring, which is of no value, to the clerk to the lawyer who saved his master's friend from Shylock's clutches. Nerissa is very indignant, and exclaims :

What talk you of the poesy, or the value ?
You swore to me, when I did give it you,
That you would wear it till your hour of death,
And that it should lie with you in your grave :
. . . . . .
Gave it a judge's clerk ! no, God 's my judge,
The clerk will ne'er wear hair on 's face that had it.
Gra. He will, an if he live to be a man,
Ner. Ay, if a woman live to be a man.

to which Gratiano replies :

Now, by this hand, I gave it to a youth,
A kind of boy, a little scrubbed boy,
No higher than thyself, the judge's clerk,
A prating boy, that begg'd it as a fee :
I could not for my heart deny it him.

Portia takes up the matter, and tells Gratiano that he certainly is to blame for giving away the ring after having sworn he would never part with it. Gratiano excuses himself by saying that Bassanio had given his ring to the young lawyer who had so well deserved it :

My Lord Bassanio gave his ring away
Unto the judge that begg'd it, and indeed
Deserv'd it too : and then the boy, his clerk,
That took some pains in writing, he begg'd mine ;
And neither man nor master would take aught
But the two rings.

This leads to words between Portia and Bassanio, and Bassanio humbly begs his wife's forgiveness :

Sweet Portia,
If you did know to whom I gave the ring,
If you did know for whom I gave the ring,
And would conceive for what I gave the ring,
And how unwillingly I left the ring,
When nought would be accepted but the ring,
You would abate the strength of your displeasure.

to which Portia replies :

> If you had known the virtue of the ring,
> Or half her worthiness that gave the ring,
> Or your own honour to contain the ring,
> You would not then have parted with the ring.

After bantering with their husbands for some time, Portia draws the ring from her finger and tells Antonio to give it to Bassanio :

> Give him this,
> And bid him keep it better than the other.

With surprise, Bassanio recognises it as the ring he gave to the young lawyer :

> By heaven ! it is the same I gave the doctor.

and Portia then tells him that she was the young counsellor and that Nerissa was her clerk :

> You are all amaz'd :
> Here is a letter ; read it at your leisure ;
> It comes from Padua, from Bellario :
> There you shall find that Portia was the doctor,
> Nerissa there, her clerk :

Then they all laugh together, and to make matters more joyful Nerissa hands to Lorenzo the deed made out by Shylock that after his death all the Jew's money would come to Lorenzo and Jessica, and to add further to the general rejoicing, news arrives that three of Antonio's ships, which were supposed to have been wrecked, have reached harbour safely.

The Play ends with Portia inviting them all to breakfast, Gratiano declaring with a merry laugh, that as long as he lives he will not

> fear no other thing
> So sore as keeping safe Nerissa's ring.

Scene. Partly at Venice, and partly at Belmont, the seat of Portia, on the Continent.

CHARACTERS, PLACE-NAMES, ETC.

Abram. I. iii. 72, 160.

Abraham, the Hebrew patriarch. *See* Jacob.

Æson. V. i. 14.

> In such a night
> Medea gather'd the enchanted herbs
> That did renew old Æson. [V. i. 12–14.]

In Greek legend, son of Cretheus, the father of Jason. He was restored to youth by Medea who boiled him in a cauldron into which she had thrown magic herbs.

To avoid the persecution of Pelias, Æson killed himself by drinking bull's blood.

Alcides. II. i. 35 ; III. ii. 55.

> Than young Alcides, when he did redeem
> The virgin tribute paid by howling Troy
> To the sea-monster : [III. ii. 55–57.]

In Mythology a patronymic of Hercules, the grandson of Alcæus. Laomedon, king of Troy, son of Ilus and Eurydice, having refused to pay Neptune for building the walls of Troy, Neptune sent a sea-serpent to ravage his kingdom, and to propitiate Neptune, Laomedon was compelled to offer him his daughter Hesione. Alcides who was returning from his expedition against the Amazons, found the maiden chained to a rock in the sea, and Laomedon promised him a pair of magic horses which Zeus had given him in compensation for carrying off Ganymede, Laomedon's son, on condition that he slew the monster. Alcides accordingly slew the dragon, but Laomedon refused to redeem his promise, and Alcides subsequently waged war against him, captured Troy, slew Laomedon and his sons, and gave Hesione to his companion Telamon.

> **All** *that glisters is not gold ;*
> *Often have you heard that told :*
> *Many a man his life hath sold*
> *But my outside to behold :*
> *Gilded tombs do worms infold.*
> *Had you been as wise as bold,*
> *Young in limbs, in judgment old,*
> *Your answer had not been inscroll'd*
> *Fare you well ; your suit is cold.* [II. vii. 65–73.]

The inscription on the scroll in the golden casket chosen by the Prince of Morocco.

An old and common proverb :

Cf. Chaucer's *Hous of Fame :*

> " Hit is not gold that glisters "

and *Chorle and Byrde,* Lydgate :

> " All is not golde that shewyth goldishe hewe "

Andrew. I. i. 27.

> And see my wealthy Andrew dock'd in sand,
> [I. i. 27.]

A favourite name for richly-laden merchant vessels, probably so-called from the great Genoese admiral Andrea Doria.

Angel. II. vii. 56.

> They have in England
> A coin that bears the figure of an angel
> Stamped in gold, but that 's insculp'd upon ;
> But here an angel in a golden bed
> Lies all within. [II. vii. 55–59.]

An old English coin, so-called from the figure of the archangel St. Michael, treading on a dragon whilst he thrusts a spear down its throat. Its value is given from 6/8 in the reign of Edward IV., to 10/- in that of Edward VI.

angel in a golden bed = Portia's picture in the golden casket.

Antipodes. V. i. 127.

> We should hold day with the Antipodes,
> If you would walk in absence of the sun.
> [V. i. 127–128.]

= we should have daylight during the night like the people on the other side of the world.

Antonio. I. i. 39, 69, 73, 86, 95, 122, 130, 173 ; I. iii. 4, 6, 10, 12, 32, 40, 106 ; II. vi. 61 ; II. viii. 10, 25, 31, 33, 36 ; III. i. 2, 14, 41, 73, 98, 114, 125 ; III. ii. 232, 240, 287, 291 ; III. iv. 16 ; IV. i. 1, 61, 111, 155, 174, 273, 281, 369, 372, 377, 405, 453, 456 ; V. i. 134, 373.

A rich Venetian merchant—the self-sacrificing friend of Bassanio—who borrows of Shylock a jew 3,000 ducats for three months to be repaid on a specified day or he should forfeit a pound of his flesh. Bassanio, his friend, to whom the money is to be lent, protests against the signing of such a bond, but Antonio acquiesces.

As Antonio's ships are delayed by contrary winds at sea he is unable to pay the money in the appointed time. He seeks to reason with Shylock, but is rudely rebuffed by him :

> I 'll have my bond ; I will not hear thee speak :
> I 'll have my bond, and therefore speak no more.
> I 'll not be made a soft and dúll-eyed fool,
> To shake the head, relent, and sigh, and yield
> To Christian intercessors. Follow not ;
> I 'll have no speaking ; I will have my bond.
> [III. iii. 12–17]

The case is brought before the duke of Venice, who intercedes with Shylock on Antonio's behalf, but all intercession is useless. Portia in the disguise of a law-doctor conducts the case, and appeals for mercy from Shylock, who remains unmoved :

> The quality of mercy is not strain'd,
> It droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven
> Upon the place beneath : it is twice blest ;
> It blesseth him that gives and him that takes:
> 'Tis mightiest in the mightiest : it becomes
> The throned monarch better than his crown ;
> His sceptre shows the force of temporal power,
> The attribute to awe and majesty,
> Wherein doth sit the dread and fear of kings ;
> But mercy is above this sceptred sway,
> It is enthroned in the heart of kings,
> It is an attribute to God himself,
> And earthly power doth then show likest God's
> When mercy seasons justice. Therefore, Jew,
> Though justice be thy plea, consider this,
> That in the course of justice none of us
> Should see salvation : we do pray for mercy ;
> And that same prayer doth teach us all to render
> The deeds of mercy. [IV. i. 183–201.]

Bassanio offers the Jew ten times the original amount to save the life of his friend, but all in vain,—the Jew in fiendish glee whets his knife and prepares the balances.

Antonio bids farewell to Bassanio, and lays bare his bosom at Portia's request. Portia tells the Jew to cut the flesh, but the bond gave him no drop of blood, therefore if blood is shed his life will be forfeited. As Shylock finds it impossible to comply with these conditions, Antonio's life is saved.

Gervinus says : " Antonio is affable, mild, and generous to all, without knowing their tricks and without sharing their mirth ; the loquacious versatility and humour of a Gratiano is indifferent to him ; his pleasure in their intercourse is passive, according to his universal apathy. His nature is quiet and is with difficulty affected ; when his property and its management leave him without anxiety, he utters a ' fie, fie,' over the supposition that he is in love ; touched by no fault, but moved also by no virtue, he appears passionless, and almost an automaton."

Arabia. II. vii. 42.

Argus. V. i. 230.

> Lie not a night from home ; watch me like Argus :
> [V. i. 230.]

i.e. watch me like Argus, with a hundred eyes. In Greek mythology, son of Agenor, a giant of great strength who had a hundred eyes, whence he was called Panoptes, ' the all-seeing.' Hera set him to watch over Io when transformed into a cow, but Zeus cut his head off with a sword, and Hera set his eyes on the tail of her sacred bird, the peacock. Cf. Milton : *Paradise Lost*, xi. 130–133 :

> Spangled with eyes more numerous than those
> Of Argus, and more wakeful than to drowse,
> Charmed with Arcadian pine, the pastoral reed
> Of Hermes, or his opiate rod.

Ash Wednesday. II. iv. 26.

Attendants. III. ii. p. 1.

Balthasar. III. iv. 45.

Servant to Portia, who is entrusted by her with a letter to Dr. Bellario of Padua, asking for advice and help, concerning the trial of Antonio :

> Now, Balthasar,
> As I have ever found thee honest-true,
> So let me find thee still. Take this same letter,
> And use thou all the endeavour of a man
> In speed to Padua : see thou render this
> Into my cousin's hand, Doctor Bellario ;
> And, look, what notes and garments he doth give thee,
> Bring them, I pray thee, with imagin'd speed
> Unto the tranect, to the common ferry
> Which trades to Venice. Waste no time in words,
> But get thee gone : I shall be there before thee.
> [III. iv. 45–55.]

Doctor Bellario returns a letter, which is handed to the duke of Venice by Nerissa disguised as a lawyer's clerk, in which he introduces a young doctor from Rome—Portia in disguise—to whom he has entrusted his opinion of the case, being prevented by illness from attending in person.

Balthasar.

> but in the
> instant that your messenger came, in loving visitation was with me a young doctor of Rome; his name is Balthasar. [IV. i. 151–154.]

The name assumed by Portia, when she appears in the Court of Justice at Venice, as "a young doctor from Rome."

Barbary. III. ii. 270.

A general name for the regions along the northern coast of Africa, so-called from the Berbers who inhabited the district.

Barrabas. IV. i. 295.

> I have a
> daughter;
> Would any of the stock of Barrabas
> Had been her husband rather than a Christian! [IV. i. 294–295.]

= "any even of the descendants of Barabbas, a robber, who, when under sentence of death, was released when Christ was crucified." *Deighton.*

Bassanio. I. i. 57, 69, 135; I. ii. 122; I. iii. 97; II. ii. 112, 178, 192; II. v. 2; II. vi. 48, 65; II. viii. 1, 5, 11, 36, 37, 39, 49; II. ix. 100; III. ii. 26, 149, 185, 189, 245, 249, 303, 316; III. iii. 35; III. iv. 39; III. v. 71, 73; IV. i. 117, 264, 276, 448; IV. ii. 6; V. i. 131, 179, 256, 258.

A gallant ardent gentleman friend of Antonio, and lover of Portia. Is successful in his choice of the three caskets which awards her to him as wife:

> *You that choose not by the view,*
> *Chance as fair and choose as true!*
> *Since this fortune falls to you,*
> *Be content and seek no new.*
> *If you be well pleas'd with this*
> *And hold your fortune for your bliss,*
> *Turn you where your lady is*
> *And claim her with a loving kiss.*
> [III. ii. 131–138.]

In his eagerness as a lover he allows Antonio to put his life in the Jew's power in order to provide him with the money he needs to pay court to Portia in a manner befitting an heiress. Antonio borrows 3,000 ducats from Shylock for three months, on condition that if the money is not repaid on a specified day Antonio shall forfeit a pound of flesh. Bassanio protests against the signing of such a bond, but Antonio acquiesces.

Bassanio marries Portia who instructs him to hurry to Venice and pay the amount needed rather than let his friend Antonio suffer. He offers double the amount needed, but his offer is refused:

> Pay him six thousand, and deface the bond:
> Double six thousand, and then treble that,
> Before a friend of this description
> Shall lose a hair through Bassanio's fault.
> [III. ii. 300–303.]

At the conclusion of the case, when the life of his friend is spared Bassanio wishes to press a fee on Balthasar—Portia in disguise—but she will have nothing except the betrothal ring she herself has given him. Reluctantly he sends it to her after she leaves the court.

Bellario. III. iv. 50; IV. i. 105, 119, 120, 143, 149, 166, 168; V. i. 268.

The erudite lawyer of Padua as whose substitute Portia appears in the trial scene. Cf. IV. i. 105:

> Upon my power I may dismiss this court,
> Unless Bellario, a learned doctor,
> Whom I have sent for to determine this,
> Come here to-day.

Belmont. I. i. 161, 171, 182; II. ii. 182; IV. i. 456; V. i. 17, 30.

The seat of Portia, and the scene of part of the Play. The exact locality is not known, but it is supposed to have been on some promontory north-west of Venice and overlooking the Adriatic. Bassanio sails here from Venice, and Balthasar rides from here to Padua.

"We are not told expressly where Belmont is situated; but as Bassanio takes ship to go thither from Venice, and as we find them afterwards ordering horses from Belmont to Padua, we will imagine Portia's hereditary palace as

standing on some lovely promontory between Venice and Trieste, overlooking the blue Adriatic, with the Fruili mountains, or the Euganean hills for its background, such as we often see in one of Claude's or Poussin's Elysian landscapes. In a scene, in a home like this, Shakespeare has placed his Portia; and so endowed her, that all the wild, strange, and moving circumstances of the story, become natural, probable, and necessary in connection with her. That such a woman should be chosen by the solving of an enigma is not surprising; herself and all around her, the scene, the country, the age in which she is placed, breathe of poetry, romance, and enchantment." Mrs. Jameson: *Characteristics of Women.*

Dr. Karl Elze maintains that "Belmont must have been on the Brenta:" and Th. Elze, in his learned essay, narrows the locality to the neighbourhood of Dolo, around which, from La Mira to Strà, on both banks of the Brenta, the magnificoes of Venice had, and still have, their palatial residences. Belmont therefore, must be supposed to have been not far from the high road between Padua and Fusina.

Belmont. The Avenue to Portia's House.

The Scene of Act V., Scene i. Portia and Nerissa are welcomed home by Lorenzo and Jessica. A scene of confusion follows in reference to the rings, but explanations are forthcoming, and all ends happily. Nerissa hands to Lorenzo and Jessica the deed made out by Shylock in their interests, and news arrives that three of Antonio's ships have reached harbour safely.

Belmont. A Garden.

The Scene of Act III., Scene v. This scene shows Lorenzo and Jessica love-making.

Belmont. A Room in Portia's House.

The Scene of Act I., Scene ii.; Act II., Scenes i., vii. and ix.; Act III., Scenes ii. and iv.

Act I., Scene ii. Portia discusses with her waiting-maid—Nerissa—the merits and demerits of her suitors, and declares she will marry none but the man who should win her in accordance with the terms of her father's will. Four suitors give up the ordeal of the caskets and take their departure. Introduces the Prince of Morocco.

Act II., Scene i. Prince of Morocco arrives to make his choice of the caskets. He apologises for the colour of his skin.

Act II., Scene vii. The Prince of Morocco makes his choice of the caskets and choosing the golden one is dismissed by Portia.

Act II., Scene ix. The Prince of Arragon makes his choice of the caskets, and chooses the silver one. He is dismissed by Portia as a 'deliberate fool.'

Act III., Scene ii. Bassanio makes his choice of the caskets, and choosing the right one containing the portrait of Portia she accepts him as her betrothed. Gratiano and Nerissa also become engaged. A messenger enters with the news of Antonio's losses at sea, and of his inability to meet Shylock's demands.

Act III., Scene iv. Portia asks Lorenzo and Jessica to take charge of her house while she and Nerissa—under the pretence of entering a convent to pray—leave for Venice to rescue Antonio from the clutches of the Jew.

Black-Monday. II. v. 25.

i.e. Easter Monday, April 14th, 1360, so-called because on that day Edward III., and his army —which was encamped before the city of Paris— suffered so severely from a storm that many men died on their horses' backs.

"And heere is to bee noted, that the 14 day of Aprill, and the morrow after Easter day, king Edwarde with his hoast lay before the Cittie of Paris, which day was full darke of mist and haile, and so bitter cold, that many men dyed on their horse backes with the cold. Wherefore unto this day it hath beene called the Blacke Monday." *Stowe.* And in the "Chronicle of William Gregory" [Camden Society. New Series. No. 17. Edited by Dr. James Gairdner] we have: "And the same yere of oure Lorde M'ccclx., ande the xiij day of Apryele, the morne aftyr Estyr daye that yere, the kynge with hys hoste lay aboute Parys. And that day was a

foule derke day of myste, rayne, and hayle, and soo bytter colde that men dyde for colde, where fore yet in to thys day hyt ys i-callyd Blacke Monday next aftyr Estyr day."

Brutus' Portia. I. i. 166.

> Her name is Portia, nothing undervalued
> To Cato's daughter, Brutus' Portia : [I. i. 165–166.]

An allusion to Portia, wife of Brutus, and one of the characters of Julius Cæsar. *See* Brutus, page 6 and Portia, page 26.

Carthage. V. i. 12.

An ancient city of northern Africa founded by Dido. It was a great commercial centre, and at the height of its power in a series of struggles known as the Punic wars under Hannibal threatened to overthrow the power of Rome. In 156 B.C. after a siege of two years it was taken and destroyed by Publius Cornelius Scipio, and became a Roman city under the Cæsars. A few miles to the north-west of Carthage now stands the city of Tunis. *See* page 144.

Cato's daughter. I. i. 166.

> Her name is Portia, nothing undervalued
> To Cato's daughter, Brutus' Portia. [I. i. 165–166.]

An allusion to Marcus Porcius Cato, surnamed "The Censor." His daughter Portia became the second wife of Marcus Junius Brutus. *See* page 6.

Cf. Julius Cæsar, II. i. 293–295 :

> A woman that Lord Brutus took to wife ;
> I grant I am a woman ; but withal
> A woman well reputed, Cato's daughter.

Charybdis. III. v. 17.

See Scylla.

Chus. III. ii. 286.

> When I was with him I have heard him swear
> To Tubal and to Chus, his countrymen,
> [III. ii. 285–286.]

This name—like Tubal—is taken from the book of Genesis.

Colchos' strand. I. i. 171.

> and her sunny locks
> Hang on her temples like a golden fleece,
> Which makes her seat of Belmont Colchos' strand,
> And many Jasons come in quest of her.
> [I. i. 169–172.]

= Colchis, an ancient country in Asia, east of the Black sea, famous for the expedition of the Argonauts, and as the birthplace of Medea. In the grove at Ares was suspended the golden fleece which Phryxos, after he had sacrificed it to Zeus, gave to Æetes, king of Colchis who had it guarded by a dragon. Jason, the mythical Greek hero with a band of brave men in his ship *The Argo* sailed in quest of it, and with the help of Medea, daughter of the king of Colchis, succeeded in carrying it off.

Count Palatine. I. ii. 63.

See County Palatine.

County Palatine. I. ii. 48.

> Then is there the County Palatine. [I. ii. 48.]

County = Count. Johnson says : "I am always inclined to believe, that Shakespear has more allusions to particular facts and persons than his readers commonly suppose. The Count here mentioned was, perhaps, *Albertus a Lasco, a Polish Palatine*, who visited *England* in our Author's time, was eagerly caressed, and splendidly entertained, but running in debt, at last stole away, and endeavoured to repair his fortune by enchantment."

"The second of the six suitors of Portia, who declined to submit to the casket test, and who returned home without trial."

"The Court of the Rhine Palatinate is meant. A palatine is an officer whose court is held in the royal palace. And so a palatine province or Palatinate is one in which the count exercises a royal authority, just as supreme as though he had been the regal tenant of the palace itself."

"A Count Palatine was the title of German officials entrusted by the Emperors with the management of certain duchies. To these officials was granted a share of imperial jurisdiction. They took the title from living in the imperial palace of the duchy, over which they

exercised imperial powers. The dignity was hereditary, and many of these counts encroached upon their rights, and acquired great and almost independent power, *e.g.* in the duchies of Saxony and Bavaria." *Oxford and Cambridge edition.*

Cressid. V. i. 6.

= Cressida. *See* Troilus.

Cupid. II. vi. 38.

For if they could, Cupid himself would blush
To see me thus transformed to a boy. [II. vi. 38–39.]

= Even Cupid who is blind would blush.

Cupid's post. II. ix. 99.

for I long to see
Quick Cupid's post that comes so mannerly.
[II. ix. 98–99.]

Cupid was the messenger to the gods.

Daniel. IV. i. 222, 332, 339.

A Daniel come to judgment! yea, a Daniel! [IV. i. 222,]

A Hebrew prince, whom Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon carried into captivity, and who came into great favour at the court of Babylon because of the power he possessed of interpreting dreams. On account of Portia's masterly interpretation of the law Shylock considers she possesses the same power of divination as Daniel did.

An allusion to the *History of Susannah and the Elders*, in the *Apocrypha*. It tells the story of Susannah, the wife of Joacim, and daughter of Hilkiah, who, resident at Babylon during the captivity, was falsely accused of unchastity by two elders. Susannah was condemned to death but was saved by Daniel who by questioning the elders separately, proved their evidence to be false, wherefore they were put to death.

Dardanian wives. III. ii. 58.

The rest aloof are the Dardanian wives,
With bleared visages, come forth to view
The issue of the exploit. [III. ii. 57–60.]

Trojan matrons some of whose daughters had been offered up as sacrifices. Dardanus, son of Zeus was the mythical ancestor of the Trojans and by him the ancient city of Dardania is said by Homer to have been founded.

Death. II. vii. 63.

O hell! what have we here?
A carrion Death, within whose empty eye
There is a written scroll. [II. vii. 62–64.]

Death's-head = a fleshless skull. Cf. *King John*, III. iv. 33: "And be a carrion monster like thyself:" The Prince of Morocco makes choice of the caskets and being guided by outward appearances chooses the golden one. Upon opening it he finds a scroll on which is written: "All that glisters is not gold," etc.

Destinies. II. ii. 64.

See Sisters Three.

Diana. I. ii. 113; V. i. 66.

If I live to be as old as Sibylla, I will die as
chaste as Diana. [I. ii. 112–113.]

An ancient Italian divinity, goddess of the moon, of chastity and marriage, identified with the Greek Artemis. She was a virgin and daughter of Jupiter and Latona.

Hence had the huntress Dian her dread bow,
Fair silver-shafted queen for ever chaste,
Wherewith she tamed the brinded lioness
And spotted mountain-pard, but set at nought
The frivolous bolt of Cupid; Milton: *Comus*, 441–445.

Her temple at Ephesus was one of the seven wonders of the ancient world. See *Acts* xix. 27.

Dido. V. i. 10.

In such a night
Stood Dido with a willow in her hand
Upon the wild sea-banks, and waft her love
To come again to Carthage. [V. i. 9–12.]

An allusion to the desertion of Dido, queen of Carthage by Æneas. The Willow was a symbol of unhappy love. Cf. 3 *Henry VI.*, III. iii. 228:

I 'll wear the willow garland for his sake.

Spenser : *Faerie Queene*, I. i. ix. :

> The Willow, worne of forlorne Paramours ;

and the beautiful song of Desdemona in *Othello*, IV. iii.

Her story is told by Chaucer in his *Hous of Fame*, Book I. 240 *et seq.*

Dido is here represented by Shakespeare as standing on the shores of Carthage, and with a willow in her hand, waving to Æneas to return to her.

Dobbin. II. ii. 98, 99.

> thou hast got more hair on
> thy chin than Dobbin my fill-horse has on his tail.
> [II. ii. 98–99.]

The name of a horse. *fill-horse* = shaft-horse ; a horse that goes between the shafts.

> I 'll learn you the names of all our team, and acquaint you with Jock the fore-horse and Fib the fill-horse, and with all the godamercy fraternity.
> Heywood : *Fortune by Land and Sea*, II. i.

Ducat. I. iii. 1, 9, 27, 56, 103, 122, 174 ; II. iii. 4 ; II. vi. 50 ; II. viii. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 24 ; III. i. 84, 86, 90, 112 ; III. ii. 215, 299 ; IV. i. 42, 45, 84, 85, 87, 410 ; V. i. 211.

A Venetian coin, according to Coryat, worth about 4/8. Halliwell quotes Roberts' *Mapp of Commerce* (1644) to show that there were two sorts of ducats, worth respectively about 3/4 and 4/-

" We hear so much of ducats in the course of this play, and so little that is satisfactory is to be learned from the dictionaries concerning this coin, that a few words respecting it may not be misplaced. It is a pure Venetian piece of money' and the name is a mere abbreviation of *Ducatus Venetorum*. It was a gold coin, so that a loan of three thousand ducats must be considered a very large sum, perhaps something nearly equivalent to a loan of twenty or thirty thousand pounds, were such a transaction to take place now. The ducat bore this inscription :

SIT. T. XPEDAT. Q. TUREGIS. ISTE. DVCA.

which is to be read in full thus :

Sit tibi, Christe, datus
Quem tu regis, iste Ducatus." *Hunter.*

Duke of Saxony's nephew. I. ii. 90.

> How like you the young German, the Duke of Saxony's nephew ? [I. ii. 89–90.]

In the time of Shakespeare the Duke of Bavaria visited England and was made a Knight of the Garter.

Duke of Venice. IV. i. p. 1.

The Judge in a magnificent court of Venice at the trial of Antonio, who is unable to pay Shylock the Jew the borrowed money in the specified time. The duke out of kindness intercedes with Shylock on Antonio's behalf, but all intercession is fruitless, the Jew insisting on the penalty and forfeit of the bond. He tells Antonio to expect no mercy from such an inhuman wretch :

> I am sorry for thee : thou art come to answer
> A stony adversary, an inhuman wretch
> Uncapable of pity, void and empty
> From any dram of mercy. [IV. i. 3–6.]

The duke proposes to put off the case, when a young doctor from Belmont—Portia in disguise—is introduced to him by means of a letter from Bellario, handed to him by Nerissa, disguised as a lawyer's clerk.

Bassanio appeals to Portia to strain the law for once, and compel Shylock to accept a sum of money from himself which is ten times the original amount. Shylock refuses, and the duke remarks to him :

> How shalt thou hope for mercy, rend'ring none ?
> [IV. i. 88.]

The duke's chief characteristics are mercy and kindness, for when the life of Shylock lies at his mercy, he, although unasked, generously spares it :

> That thou shalt see the difference of our spirit,
> I pardon thee thy life before thou ask it.
> [IV. i. 367–368.]

Andrew Borde in his description of Venice says : " The Duke of Venis is chosen for terme of his lyfe, he shall not mary by cause his sonne shall not clayme no inheritaunce of the dukedomshyp, ye duke may haue lemons and concubins as many as he wyl, the duke shall neuer ryd nor go nor sayle out of the cyte as long as he dothe lyue. The duke shal rule the senyorite, and the seniorite shall gouyrne and rule the comenalte

and depose and put to deth the duke if thei do find a lawful cause. The duke werith a coronet ouer a cap of silke the which stondeth vp lyke a podynge or a cokes come be king (*sic*) forward of iii handful longe." (*Book of Knowledge*, chap. xxiv.)

Endymion. V. i. 109.

> Peace, ho! the moon sleeps with Endymion
> And would not be awak'd! [V. i. 109–110.]

In Greek legend a beautiful youth beloved by the moon-goddess, Diana. He asked the goddess for eternal slumber, and while he was sleeping in a cave on Mount Latmus she came down to him nightly that she might kiss him unobserved.

> He stood,
> Fine as those shapely spirits, heaven-descended,
> Hermes, or young Apollo, or whom she,
> The moon-lit Dian, on the Latmian hill,
> When all the woods and all the winds were still,
> Kissed with the kiss of immortality.
> *B. W. Proctor.*

> Eternal youth and sleep's delight,
> For these Endymion sued:
> Jove heard his prayer: him on the height
> Of Latmos, bathed in her soft light,
> Diana loved and wooed.
> Baggorre: *Endymion.*

Longfellow also wrote a ballad on the same subject. The fable of Endymion's amours with Diana arises from his knowledge of astronomy, and as he passed the night on some high mountain to observe the celestial bodies, it is considered he was courted by the moon. According to tradition he died on Mount Latmus and was buried at Olympia in Pelopennesus.

England. I. ii. 71; I. iii. 21; II. vii. 55; III. ii. 269.

Erebus. V. i. 87.

> The motions of his spirit are dull as night,
> And his affections dark as Erebus. [V. i. 86–87.]

In Classical mythology the son of Chaos and brother of Nyx. He married Night, by whom he had the light and the day. The name is used by poets to denote the place of utter darkness in the lower world.

Falconbridge. I. ii. 70.

> What say you then to Falconbridge, the young
> baron of England? [I. ii. 70–71.]

One of the six suitors of Portia.

Fates. II. ii. 64.

See Sisters Three.

> **The Fire** *seven times tried this:*
> *Seven times tried that judgment is*
> *That did never choose amiss.*
> *Some there be that shadows kiss;*
> *Such have but a shadow's bliss:*
> *There be fools alive, I wis,*
> *Silver'd o'er; and so was this.*
> *Take what wife you will to bed,*
> *I will ever be your head:*
> *So be gone: you are sped.* [II. ix. 62–71.]

The inscription on the scroll in the silver casket chosen by the Prince of Arragon.

France. I. ii. 79.

Frankfort. III. i. 84.

> Why, there, there, there, there! a diamond gone,
> cost me two thousand ducats in Frankfort!
> [III. i. 83–84.]

Frankfort-on-the-Maine has always been famous for its fairs. They were held twice a year in March and September and lasted for fourteen days. Coryat was there in September, and is enthusiastic in praise of the jewellers' goods.

Frenchman. I. ii. 87.

> I think the Frenchman became his surety
> and sealed under for another. [I. ii. 87–88.]

A reference to the assistance that the French gave the Scots in their quarrels with the English.

Gaoler. III. iii. 1, 3, 9.

Genoa. III. i. 79, 99, 108, 109.

A seaport, capital of the province of Genoa, Italy.

Germany. I. ii. 80.

Golden Fleece. I. i. 170 ; III. ii. 242.

In Greek mythology the fleece of the winged ram Chrysomallus, which Phryxos after he had sacrificed it to Zeus gave to Æetes, king of Colchis—a country bordering on the Black Sea,—who hung it on a sacred oak and had it guarded by a dragon. A mythical Greek hero named Jason, with a band of men in his ship *The Argo* sailed in quest of it, and by the aid of Medea, a sorceress, daughter of the king, succeeded in getting the treasure. Cf. III. ii. 242 : " We are the Jasons, we have won the fleece."

Goodwins. III. i. 4.

The Goodwin Sands are dangerous shoals off the Isle of Thanet, in Kent. The tradition is that these sands were once an island belonging to the great earl Godwin, father of Harold, and that it was swallowed up by the sea in the year 1100. Cf. *King John*, V. iii. ii. : " Are wrack'd three nights ago on Goodwin Sands," and V. v. 13 : " Are cast away and sunk on Goodwin Sands."

Gratiano. I. i. 58, 77, 107, 114 ; II. ii. 120, 179, 183 ; II. iv. 25, 26 ; II. vi. 62 ; II. viii. 2 ; III. ii. 210 ; IV. i. 451 ; V. i. 174, 260.

One of Antonio's friends, and husband of Nerissa, waiting-maid to Portia,—a man who talks an infinite deal of nothing—a gay sprightly character, but a good-natured and unselfish man.

Arriving at Belmont after Antonio's trial he is taxed by Nerissa upon no longer wearing her gift,—a ring. He replies in answer that he gave it to the judge's clerk,—in disguise, Nerissa herself :

> Now, by this hand, I gave it to a youth,
> A kind of boy, a little scrubbed boy,
> No higher than thyself, the judge's clerk,
> A prating boy, that begg'd it as a fee :
> I could not for my heart deny it him. [V. i. 161–165.]

and Nerissa exclaims :

> Gave it a judge's clerk ! no, God's my judge,
> The clerk will ne'er wear hair on 's face that had it.
> [V. i. 157–158.]

A lover's quarrel ensues, the jest is kept up by the two wives for some time, but at last the secret of the disguised presence of Nerissa at the trial is revealed to Gratiano.

Hagar's offspring. II. v. 44.

> What says that fool of Hagar's offspring, ha ? [II. v. 44.]

Hagar and Sarah were the two wives of Abraham. Hagar was a bondwoman to Sarah and had a son named Ishmael, but owing to the jealousy of Sarah was driven out into the wilderness. See *Genesis* xxi. Ishmael is considered by the Mohammedans as their ancestor. Shylock regards Launcelot as the offspring of Hagar on account of his being a servant as Hagar was.

Hercules. II. i. 32 ; III. ii. 60, 85.

> If Hercules and Lichas play at dice
> Which is the better man, [II. i. 32–33.]

Also called Alcides, the hero of Greek legend, said to have been possessed of superhuman strength. *play at dice* = to see which is the better man which Hercules proved to be by throwing Lichas (q.v.) into the sea.

Hyrcanian deserts. II. vii. 41.

> The Hyrcanian deserts and the vasty wilds
> Of wide Arabia are as throughfares now
> For princes to come view fair Portia :
> [II. vii. 41–43.]

Hyrcania : a province of the ancient Persian empire, which bordered on the Caspian Sea and the Oxus. It is mentioned by old English writers as the habitat of wild beasts. Cf. *Hamlet*, II. ii. 481 : " The rugged Pyrrhus, like th' Hyrcanian beast,—" and *Macbeth*, III. iv. 101 : " The arm'd rhinoceros, or the Hyrcan tiger ; "

India. III. ii. 270.

Indian beauty. III. ii. 99.

> the beauteous scarf
> Veiling an Indian beauty; [III. ii. 98–99.]

Probably Shakespeare had in mind the thick-lipped, flat-nosed type, which in the West Indies is accounted beautiful. *Deighton.*

Indies. I. iii. 19.

= American Indies.

Italy. I. ii. 79 ; II. ii. 161 ; III. ii. 297.

Jacks. III. iv. 77.

> I have within my mind
> A thousand raw tricks of these bragging Jacks,
> Which I will practise. [III. iv. 76–78.]

= Saucy lads. Cf. *Tempest*, IV. i. 197–198 : " has done little better than played the Jack with us," and *Much Ado About Nothing*, I. i. 169 : " or do you play the flouting Jack."

Jacob. I. iii. 71, 72, 77, 80, 88, 91.

> When Jacob graz'd his uncle Laban's sheep—
> This Jacob from our holy Abram was,
> As his wise mother wrought in his behalf,
> The third possessor ; ay, he was the third,—
> [I. iii. 71–74.]

The Hebrew patriarch, the younger son of Isaac and Rebecca, and the third in succession to Abraham's property. By the cunning of his mother, Rebecca, he obtained his father's blessing and the rights of the elder brother, Esau. See *Genesis*, XXV.

Jacob's staff. II. v. 36.

> By Jacob's staff I swear
> I have no mind of feasting forth to-night :
> [II. v. 36–37.]

Supposed to be an allusion to the staff by the help of which Jacob passed over Jordan : " for with my staff I passed over this Jordan." See *Genesis* xxxii. 10. Cf. Fletcher's *Spanish Curate*, V. i :

> and your tailor
> Takes measure of you with a Jacob's staff,
> Or he can never reach you : This by the way,
> For your large size.

Janus. I. i. 50.

A god peculiar to the Italians with no corresponding divinity among the Greeks, regarded as the door-keeper of heaven, and represented with two heads or faces because he is acquainted with the past and the future.

His temple at Rome was kept open in time of war, and was closed only in the rare event of universal peace. From the time of Numa to the year of the birth of Christ, this happened on four occasions only, and twice in the reign of Augustus.

> Then all the provinces of the Roman empire being at peace, Augustus shut up the third time the temple of Janus : and the King of kings, the Saviour of the world, being born of a virgin in Judea, appearing amongst men, he shut up the oracles of all the Paynim [pagan] gods, as the oracle of Delphes among others was constrained to confess, and never spake afterwards. Wherewith Augustus being astonied, caused a great altar to be set up in the Capitol with an inscription, signifying that it was ' The altar of the God first born.' North's *Plutarch.*

Ovid in his *Fasti* says that he is the only god ' who sees his own back, and the two sorts of men are each Januses of one face, laughing or sad,' hence the reference is very appropriate as Salarino is describing two different classes or types of men.

He is represented with a bearded and an unbearded face, and instead of his having the usual attributes of the key and staff, the fingers on his right hand exhibited the number 300 (CCC), and those of his left hand the number of the remaining days of the year (LXV), to indicate that he presides over the year, of which the first month bears his name.

Jasons. I. i. 172 ; III. ii. 242.

> And many Jasons come in quest of her. [I. i. 172.]

An allusion to Portia's many suitors.

Jessica. II. iv. 19, 28, 39 ; II. v. 3, 4, 6, 11, 15, 28, 51 ; II. viii. 9 ; III. iv. 38, 44 ; III. v. 69 ; V. i. 15, 21, 36, 58, 121, 291.

Daughter of Shylock the Jew, described by Launcelot as " Most beautiful pagan, most sweet Jew ! "

Of a frolicsome and vivacious nature, she readily embraces the opportunity—on account of the dreary atmosphere of her home, which she describes as ' hell '— to elope with her lover Lorenzo and even to give up her religion.

Her robbery of her father is, to a certain extent to be pardoned, considering the manner in which she has been brought up, for she confesses to be ashamed to be her father's child :

> Farewell, good Launcelot.
> Alack, what heinous sin is it in me
> To be asham'd to be my father's child !
> But though I am a daughter to his blood,
> I am not to his manners. O Lorenzo,
> If thou keep promise, I shall end this strife,
> Become a Christian and thy loving wife.
> [II. iii. 15–21.]

Warned by her father not to gaze into the street at masquers but to lock up the doors, she, in his absence, disguises herself as a page boy, and taking with her part of her father's fortune, escapes with Lorenzo.

Her extravagance at Genoa where she spends in one night fourscore ducats is reported to her father, who seems to value his daughter far beneath his wealth :

> I would my daughter were dead at my foot, and the jewels in her ear ! would she were hearsed at my foot, and the ducats in her coffin ! [III. i. 87–90.]

With Lorenzo she is welcomed at Belmont by Portia and declared that she heard her father say " That he would rather have Antonio's flesh Than twenty times the value of the sum That he did owe him."

During Portia's absence at Venice she is, along with her husband, left in charge of Portia's palace.

Her genuine admiration of Portia's character [III. v. 72–82] is a redeeming feature of her character.

Storr remarks : " Jessica is a child of nature, a non-moral rather than an immoral creature, with no more conscience than Goethe's Philina, Byron's Haidee, or one of Pierre Loti's savage inamoratas. Nothing in the play so impresses us with Portia's greatness as her power to inspire with awe and admiration this wild gazelle ; while Karl Elze says : " To all appearance this is borrowed from Genesis, xi. 29, where Iscah of King James's translation appears in earlier editions of the Bible, in 1549 and 1551, as Jesca. In the Hebrew it is Jiscah, signifying a spy, or looker-out. Has it a reference to Shylock's warning to his daughter not to ' thrust her head into the public street to gaze on Christian fools ? ' "

Jewess' eye. II. v. 43.

> There will come a Christian by,
> Will be worth a Jewess' eye. [II. v. 42–43.]

An allusion to the proverb ' worth a Jew's eye ' said to have arisen from the times when wealthy Jews were ready to pay large sums of money rather than suffer such tortures as King John practised upon them.

Jewish gaberdine. I. iii. 112.

Gaberdine = A long loose garment. Except the turban the Jews of Venice do not appear to have differed in their dress than from other citizens. Cf. *Tempest*, II. ii. 41–42 :

> Alas, the storm is come again !
> my best way is to creep under his gaberdine ;

Laban's sheep. I. iii. 71, 78.

> When Jacob graz'd his uncle Laban's sheep— [I. iii. 71.]

A Syrian, father-in-law and uncle of Jacob. For the details of the transactions between Laban and Jacob for the fourteen years while the latter served the former for his two daughters—Leah and Rachel—see the book of *Genesis*.

Launcelot Gobbo. II. ii. 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 16, 20, 48, 50, 52, 57, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63, 85, 87, 92, 95 ; II. iii. 5, 15 ; II. iv. 9 ; III. v. 27, 29, 31, 39 ; V. i. p. 38.

Son of Old Gobbo and servant of Shylock the Jew, whose services he leaves and enters the house of Bassanio, a christian.

One of Shakespeare's famous clowns, and one who has a great notion of his own wit, but his witticisms seem to consist chiefly in the wrong use and mispronunciation of long words. He is, however, kind, and trusted by Jessica the Jew's daughter, and accordingly by Shylock :

> The patch is kind enough, but a huge feeder ;
> Snail-slow in profit, and he sleeps by day
> More than the wild-cat ; drones hive not with me ;
> [II. v. 46–48.]

Launcelot Gobbo is the clown of the piece. Peasant born, he is city bred, and his ready wit procures his advancement. He is ' a merry

devil' and passing honest. He establishes himself as the privileged jester of the house, and his jests are sometimes too broad for our taste, just as his puns and verbal quibbles have passed out of fashion. *Storr.*

Provides the element of buffoonery in the play. His wit never reaches a high standard, and consists chiefly in practical joking, such as the joke played by him upon Old Gobbo, his father and in the use of words, the meaning of which he apparently does not know. He, himself, takes a pride in his wit, and never seems to realise that he is but a buffoon. *Gervinus.*

Leah. III. i. 122.

Wife of Shylock.

Le Bon. I. ii. 58.

> How say you by the French lord, Monsieur
> Le Bon? [I. ii. 57–58.]

One of the six suitors of Portia.

Leonardo. II. ii. 172.

Servant to Bassanio. Bassanio, with Gratiano, is about to start for Belmont, but before leaving arranges with Leonardo to prepare for a farewell supper to Antonio:

> I pray thee, good Leonardo, think on this.
> These things being bought and orderly bestow'd,
> Return in haste, for I do feast to-night
> My best-esteem'd acquaintance: hie thee, go
> [II. ii. 172–175.]

Lichas. II. i. 32.

> If Hercules and Lichas play at dice
> Which is the better man, the greater throw
> May turn by fortune from the weaker hand:
> [II. i. 32–34.]

A servant to Hercules who brought him the poisoned shirt from Dejanira. He was thrown by his master with great violence into the sea, and changed into a rock in the Eubœan sea by the gods.

The reference in *Antony and Cleopatra*, IV. xii. 45: 'Let me lodge Lichas on the horns o' the moon'; is to the great height to which Lichas was thrown before falling into the sea.

Ovid in his *Metamorphoses*, Book IX., says: 'He congealed, like hail, in mid-air, and turned to stone; then, falling into the Euboic Sea, became a rock, which still bears his name and retains the human form.'

Lisbon. III. ii. 270.

Lorenzo. I. i. 58, 103; II. ii. 208; II. iii. 6, 19; II. vi. 1, 20, 28, 29, 31; II. viii. 3, 9; III. ii. 219, 221; III. iv. 24; III. v. 31; IV. i. 389; IV. ii. 4; V. i. 17, 41, 121, 270, 288.

A young man with whom Jessica, daughter of Shylock, elopes. A fit companion for Jessica, being fond of pleasure and of an extravagant nature.

His appreciation of music brings out a real Italian trait in him, which is also noticeable in his passionate appreciation of Jessica's beauty. He tells Jessica:

> The man that hath no music in himself,
> Nor is not mov'd with concord of sweet sounds,
> Is fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils:
> [V. i. 83–85.]

Magnificoes of Venice. IV. i. p. 1.

The name given to the chief men of Venice. According to Knight "The Chief of the Council of Ten, who were three in number, wore red gowns with long sleeves, either of cloth, camlet or damask,—according to the weather, with a flap of the same colour over the left shoulder, red stockings, and slippers." Coryat in his *Crudites* calls them Clarissimoes.

Margery. II. ii. 93, 94.

Wife of Old Gobbo, and mother of Launcelot.

Marquis of Montferrat. I. ii. 121.

Montferrat was formerly a Duchy of Italy, lying between the republic of Genoa and the river Po. It existed from the dissolution of the empire of Charlemagne (about 900) until 1305, during which time its rulers attained considerable celebrity. In 1703 it became part of Piedmont. *See* Scott's *Talisman* and *Ivanhoe.*

Mars. III. ii. 85.

The god of war, here represented as the type of a valorous man.

Medea. V. i. 13.

> In such a night
> Medea gather'd the enchanted herbs
> That did renew old Æson [V. i. 12–14].

In Greek legend a sorceress, daughter of Ætes, king of Colchis and wife of Jason, whom she helped to seize the Golden Fleece.

She boiled Æson father of Jason in a cauldron into which she had thrown magic herbs in order to restore him to youth. Like Jessica she had carried off her father's treasure in bright moonlight, which was supposed to bring out the full virtue of the herbs.

When Medea fled with Jason from Colchis she murdered her brother Absyrtus, cut his body into several pieces and scattered them along the way so that her father might be delayed in picking them up and thus be unable to overtake the fugitive. Cf. 2 *Henry VI.*, v. ii. 57–59.

> Meet I an infant of the house of York,
> Into as many gobbets will I cut it
> As wild Medea young Absyrtus did :

Mexico. I. iii. 20 ; III. ii. 269.

Midas. III. ii. 102.

> Therefore, thou gaudy gold,
> Hard food for Midas, I will none of thee ;
> [III. ii. 101–102.[

A king of Phrygia, who asked as a favour from Bacchus that everything he touched might be changed into gold. His prayer was granted, but when his food was transformed into gold he repented and the gift was revoked.

> Then whether his hand did touch the bread,
> the bread was massie gold, Or whether he
> chawd with hungrie teeth his meate, ye
> might behold The peece of meate between
> his jawes, a plate of gold to be.
> Ovid : *Metamphorses*, xi. 119–128.

According to Strabo, he died of drinking hot bull's blood.

Mistress Lorenzo. V. i. 42.

= Jessica.

Moor. III. v. 39, 40.

Perhaps Jessica's maid. In Webster's *White Devil* ' Zanche, a moor,' is the waiting-maid to Vittoria.

Musicians. V. i. p. 66.

Nazarite. I. iii. 35.

> Yes, to smell pork ; to eat of the habitation which
> your prophet the Nazarite conjured the devil into.
> [I. iii. 34–35.]

In the time of Christ a Nazarite meant an inhabitant of Nazareth.

> and he came and dwelt in a city called
> Nazareth : that it might be fulfilled
> which was spoken by the prophets, He
> shall be called a Nazarene. *St. Matthew* ii. 23.

your prophet = A reference to the miracle of the Gadarene Swine. See *St. Matthew* viii. 31–34.

Neapolitan prince. I. ii. 42, 62.

> *Ner.* First, there is the Neapolitan prince.
> *Por.* Ay, that's a colt indeed, for he doth nothing
> but talk of his horse ; [I. ii. 42–44.]

" The first enumerated by Nerissa of the six suitors of Portia, who declined to submit to the casket test, and who returned home without trial."

" Portia sarcastically describes him as talking about nothing but his horse. In Shakespeare's times the Neapolitans were celebrated for their horsemanship." *Oxford and Cambridge edition.* Cf. I. ii. 61–63 : " why, he hath a horse better than the Neapolitan's." Massinger : *Maid of Honour*, I. i. :

> *Ant.* Sir, I have horses
> Of the best breed in Naples, fitter far
> To break a rank than crack a lance ; and are,
> In their career, of such incredible swiftness,
> They outstrip swallows.

and Fletcher : *Fair Maid of the Inn*, I. i :

> *Ment.* Is the Neapolitan horse the viceroy sent you
> In a fit plight to run ?

Nerissa. II. i. 28, 104, 140; II. ix. 83, 98; III. ii. 42, 208, 238, 310; III. iv. 29, 57, 60; V. i. 118, 270, 301, 307.

A good-natured, clever, and confidential waiting-maid of Portia, the Venetian heiress. This is shown by the freedom with which Portia discusses the characteristics of the various suitors, whose names she rehearses.

She copies her mistress in many respects, falls in love, and even makes her choice of a husband depend upon the result of the choice of the caskets. She appears to have caught from her mistress a fair share of her elegance and wit, for when she accompanies Portia to Venice dressed as a lawyer's clerk, she plays her part quite cleverly and even imposes on Gratiano to the finish of the ring episode with as much cleverness as Portia does on Bassanio.

Nerissa and Gratiano are as well-matched as Portia and her captivating lover Bassanio.

Mrs. Jameson says of her: "Nerissa is a good specimen of a common genus of characters: she is a clever confidential waiting-woman, who has caught a little of her lady's elegance and romance; she affects to be lively and sententious, falls in love, and makes her favour conditional on the fortune of the caskets, and, in short, mimics her mistress with good emphasis and discretion. Nerissa and the gay, talkative Gratiano are as well-matched as the incomparable Portia and her magnificent and captivating lover.

Nestor. I. i. 56.

Though Nestor swear the jest be laughable. [I. i. 56]

In Greek legend, son of Neleus and Chloris, and grandson of Neptune. He had eleven brothers all of whom were killed by Hercules. Made ruler of Pylos, and married Eurydice, daughter of Clymenes. He was present at the wedding of Pirithous and took part in the battle between the Centaurs and the Lapithæ. Took part in the Trojan war, where he distinguished himself by his eloquence, wisdom and justice. Homer displays his character as the most perfect of all heroes, 'Experienced Nestor, in persuasion skill'd; Words, sweet as honey, from his lips distill'd'; and Agamemnon wishes he had ten such counsellors for then 'the walls of Troy would soon fall.' After the destruction of Troy he returned to Pylos, where he lived in retirement amidst his children.

Represented by Shakespeare as a type of gravity as well as of wisdom, his name is proverbial as the personification of both.

Officers of the Court of Justice.

Old Gobbo. II. ii. p. 35.

Father of Launcelot Gobbo, an old man who is half-blind. He meets his son who has just decided to run away from the employment of Shylock on account of his harsh treatment.

It is at Gobbo's request that Launcelot is engaged by Bassanio as his servant.

Orpheus. V. i. 80.

therefore the poet
Did feign that Orpheus drew trees, stones, and floods; [V. i. 79–80.]

The famous musician who accompanied Jason on his expedition after the Golden Fleece. He was said to have enchanted with his music trees and rocks, and to guile and rule wild beasts. Cf. *King Henry VIII.*, III. i. 1–3.

Orpheus with his lute made trees,
And the mountain tops that freeze,
Bow themselves when he did sing:

and Morris: *Life and Death of Jason*, 492–501.

And last of all, Orpheus the singer came,
The son of King Oeager, great of fame
And now, through many a rough and toilsome way,
Hither he came the Minyæ to please,
And make them masters of the threatening seas,
Cheering their hearts, and making their hands strong
With the unlooked-for sweetness of his song.

Tennyson in his poem of *Amphion* speaks of the power of music. It is said that the music of Amphion's lyre was so sweet and melodious that the stones danced into their places and formed the walls of Thebes:

Amphion there the loud creating lyre
Strikes, and beholds a sudden Thebes aspire!
Pope: *Temple of Fame*, 85–86.

Padua. III. iv. 49 ; IV. i. 109, 119, 402 ; V. i. 268.

A city of North Italy. In the Middle Ages its university was famous as a great law-school. It was the home of Dr. Bellario.

" Venice to the south, Belmont to the north, and Padua to the west form a triangle, the sides of which are about twenty miles each. Portia sends Balthazar on horse-back from Belmont to Padua with a message to Bellario, whilst she travels by coach along the high road to Venice. By hard riding Balthazar would be able to do the twenty miles from Belmont to Padua, receive Bellario's instructions, ride from Padua to Venice (twenty miles) and intercept Portia ere she reached the city." *Oxford and Cambridge edition.*

Phœbus' fire. II. i. 5.

Where Phœbus' fire scarce thaws the icicles, [II. i. 5.]

Apollo, the god of the sun, or the sun itself.

Portia. I. i. 165, 182 ; II. vii. 43, 47, 76 ; II. ix. 55 ; III. ii. 115, 225, 252, 306 ; III. v. 80 ; V. i. 111, 192, 240, 269.

Represented by the poet as one to whom nature has been particularly kind in her bestowal of gifts, for besides being endowed with a dignity, sweetness, and tenderness, qualities becoming of her sex, she is individualised by her high intellectual abilities, and her character is remarkable both for decision of purpose, and buoyancy of spirit.

Left by her father as sole heiress to his princely name and countless wealth, and fettered by a remarkable condition in the choice of a husband, she never forgets her duty, nor loses her womanhood, and though endowed with intellect much above the average, she betrays no conceit with it.

The finest parts of her character are brought out in the trial scene. Maintaining a perfect self-command, as one sure of carrying her point in the end, she at first seems to keep the whole court in painful suspense, having in view two objects—to save her husband's friend, Antonio, and also to maintain her husband's honour by the discharge of his debt.

She appeals first to Shylock's humanity and mercy, but he is unmoveable :

> The quality of mercy is not strain'd,
> It droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven
> Upon the place beneath : it is twice blest ;
> It blesseth him that gives and him that takes :
> 'Tis mightiest in the mightiest : it becomes
> The throned monarch better than his crown :
> His sceptre shows the force of temporal power,
> . . . . . .
> But mercy is above this spectred sway,
> It is enthroned in the heart of kings,
> It is an attribute to God himself,
> And earthly power doth then show likest God's
> When mercy seasons justice. Therefore, Jew,
> Though justice be thy plea, consider this,
> That in the course of justice none of us
> Should see salvation : we do pray for mercy ;
> And that same prayer doth teach us all to render
> The deeds of mercy. (IV. i. 183–201.]

When all else has failed she attacks his avarice :

> Shylock, there 's thrice thy money offer'd thee.
> . . . . . .
> Why, this bond is forfeit ;
> And lawfully by this the Jew may claim
> A pound of flesh, to be by him cut off
> Nearest the merchant's heart. Be merciful :
> Take thrice thy money ; bid me tear the bond.
> [IV. i. 226 ; 229–233.]

She is superior to her husband Bassanio in many respects, but never presumes upon her superiority. She is generous, and part of her great wealth she is willing to sacrifice, in order to help and rescue Antonio from the hands of the Jew.

Commenting on the character of Portia, Hudson says : " In Portia Shakespeare seems to have aimed at a perfect scheme of an amiable, intelligent, and accomplished woman. And the result is a fine specimen of beautiful nature enhanced by beautiful art. Eminently practical in her tastes and turn of mind, full of native, homebred sense and virtue, Portia unites therewith something of the ripeness and dignity of a sage, a mellow eloquence, and a large, noble discourse ; the whole being tempered with the best grace and sensibility of womanhood. As intelligent as the strongest, she is at the same time as feminine as the weakest of her sex : she talks like a poet and a philosopher, yet, strange to say, she talks, for all the world, just like a

woman. She is as full of pleasantry, too, and as merry 'within the limit of becoming mirth,' as she is womanly and wise; and, which is more, her arch sportiveness always relishes as the free outcome of perfect moral health. Nothing indeed can be more fitting and well-placed than her demeanour, now bracing her speech with grave maxims of practical wisdom, now unbending her mind in sallies of wit, or of innocent, roguish banter. The sportive element of her composition has its happpiest showing in her dialogue with Nerissa, about the 'parcel of wooers,' and in her humorous description of the part she imagines herself playing in her purposed disguise," while Gervinus observes: "Portia is the most important figure in our drama, and she forms even its true central point; as for her sake, without her fault or knowledge, the knot is entangled, and through her and by means of her conscious effort it is also loosened. She is just as royally rich as Antonio, and as he is encompassed with parasites, so is she by suitors from all lands. She too, like Antonio, and still more than he, is wholly free from every disturbing influence of her possessions upon her inner being. She carries out her father's will in order to secure herself from a husband who might purchase her beauty by the weight. Without this will she would of herself have acted similarly; wooed by princely suitors she loves Bassanio, whom she knew to be utterly poor. . . . A thoroughly superior nature, she stands above Antonio and Bassanio as Helena does above Bertram, higher than Rosaline is raised above Biron and Juliet above Romeo; . . . The most beautiful and the most contradictory qualities, manly determination and womanly tenderness, are blended together in her."

Prince of Arragon. II. ix. 2.

One of the suitors of Portia the rich heiress, who appears at Belmont to try his fortunes with the three caskets. His choice falls on the silver one, but he fares no better than his predecessor, the Prince of Morocco. Unlocking the casket he finds:

> the portrait of a blinking idiot,
> Presenting me a schedule! I will read it.
> [II. ix. 53–54.]

He reads:

> *The fire seven times tried this:*
> *Seven times tried that judgment is*
> *That did never choose amiss.*
> *Some there be that shadows kiss;*
> *Such have but a shadow's bliss;*
> *There be fools alive, I wis,*
> *Silver'd o'er; and so was this.*
> *Take what wife you will to bed,*
> *I will ever be your head:*
> *So be gone: you are sped.* [II. ix. 62–71.]

He bids adieu to Portia and with his train leaves Belmont:

> Still more fool I shall appear
> By the time I linger here:
> With one fool's head I came to woo,
> But I go away with two.
> Sweet adieu. I'll keep my oath,
> Patiently to bear my worth. [II. ix. 72–77.]

Prince of Morocco. I. ii. 132; II. vii, 24.

One of the suitors of Portia a rich heiress. Having learned the conditions upon which he may hope to win her hand, he decides to make a selection from one of the three caskets. Portia tells him:

> You must take your chance;
> And either not attempt to choose at all,
> Or swear, before you choose, if you choose wrong,
> Never to speak to lady afterward
> In way of marriage: therefore be advis'd.
> [II. i. 38–42.]

The Prince makes his choice of the caskets, and being guided by externals only, chooses the golden one, and on unlocking it finds therein a scroll containing the words:

> *All that glisters is not gold;*
> *Often have you heard that told:*
> *Many a man his life hath sold*
> *By my outside to behold:*
> *Gilded tombs do worms infold.*
> *Had you been as wise as bold,*
> *Young in limbs, in judgment old,*
> *Your answer had not been inscroll'd*
> *Fare you well; your suit is cold.* ...
> [II. vii. 65–73.]

Being disappointed in his object he bids Portia adieu, and takes his leave to the flourish and sound of cornets.

Pythagoras. IV. i. 131.

> Thou almost mak'st me waver in my faith
> To hold opinion with Pythagoras. [IV. i. 130–131.]

See *As You Like It*, page 52.

Report. III. i. 7.

> if my gossip Report be an honest woman of her word. [III. i. 7–8.]

A tattling woman. *gossip* = originally meant a sponsor at baptism, and as christening festivities led usually to a good deal of talking, the word came to mean "a talkative person." *Goggins.*

Rhenish wine. I. ii. 101 ; III. i. 40.

Now called Hock.

Rialto. I. iii. 20, 39, 107 ; III. i. 1, 44.

The name of the principal island on which Venice is built. It came to be applied to the Exchange erected on the island. On the Rialto = On 'Change.

"The Rialto which is at the farther side of the bridge as you come from St. Marks, is a most stately building, being the Exchange of Venice, where the Venetian Gentlemen and the Merchants doe meete twice a day, betwixt eleven and twelve of the clocke in the morning, and betwixt five and sixe of the clocke in the afternoone." *Staunton.*

The name was also given to the Ponte di Rialto, which connected the island with St. Mark's quarter.

Roman honour. III. ii. 296.

"That honourable spirit which was so characteristic of the ancient Roman." *Deighton.*

Rome. IV. i. 153.

Salanio. I. i. p. 1 ; II. iv. p. 1 ; II. viii. p. 1 ; III. i. p. 1.

Friend to Antonio and Bassanio, and to whom at the opening of the play Antonio is discussing his feeling of sadness which of late has weighed him down.

It is Salanio along with Salarino who discusses in a street in Venice Antonio's losses at sea. On meeting Shylock they chafe him about the flight of his daughter Jessica.

Salanio with Lorenzo and Jessica is entrusted to bring Antonio's letter to Bassanio telling of his terrible losses at sea.

"Nothing can be more confused," says Knight, "than the manner in which the names of Salarino and Solanio are indicated in the folio of 1623. Neither in that edition, nor in the quartos, is there any enumeration of characters. In the text of the folio we find Salarino and Slarino ; Salanio, Solanio, and Salino. Further, in the third act we have a Salerio, who has been raised to the dignity of a distinct character by Steevens. Gratiano calls this Salerio 'my old Venetian friend ;' and there is no reason whatever for not receiving the name as a misprint of Solanio, or Salanio."

Salarino. I. i. p. 1 ; II. iv. p. 1 ; II. vi. p. 1 ; II. viii. p. 1 ; III. i. p. 1 ; III. iii. p. 1.

Friend to Antonio and Bassanio. Seeing Antonio's sadness he attributes it to his anxiety concerning his ships :

> I know Antonio
> Is sad to think upon his merchandise. [I. i. 39–40.]

but as Antonio denies the charge he further attributes his sadness to his being in love :

> *Salar.* Why, then you are in love,
> *Ant.* Fie, fie !
> *Salar.* Not in love neither ? Then let us say you are sad
> Because you are not merry ; [I. i. 46–48.]

In a street he discusses with Salanio the then one common topic—the losses sustained by Antonio at sea :

> Why, yet it lives there unchecked that Antonio hath a ship of rich lading wracked on the narrow seas ; the Goodwins, I think they call the place ; a very dangerous flat, and fatal, where the carcasses of many a tall ship lie buried, as they say, [II. i. 2–6.]

Shylock meets them, and is chafed by them about the flight of his daughter, Jessica.

See Salanio.

Salerio. III. ii. 220, 221, 229, 239, 267 ; IV. i. p. 1.

The messenger who brings to Bassanio at Belmont the tidings of Antonio's misfortunes.

There appears to be a great deal of confusion in the spelling of this name in the old editions.

See Salanio.

Scottish lord. I. ii. 82.

In the first folio, " Scottish " was omitted for fear of giving offence to King James' countrymen.

Scylla. III. v. 16.

> Truly then I fear you are damned both by
> father and mother : thus when I shun Scylla,
> your father, I fall into Charybdis, your mother
> [III. v. 15–17.]

An adaptation of a line of a modern Latin poem, the Alexandreis of Philippe Gualtier, *Incidis in Scyllam, cupiens vitare Charybdis.* (He falls into Scylla who desires to avoid Charybdis.) Scylla and Charybdis were two rocks, the former on the Italian coast and the latter on the coast of Sicily. In the cave of the former there dwelt a fierce monster resembling a woman that barked like a dog, and under the latter a monster that sucked up everything that came near it, so that any ship passing between, in avoiding the one became a prey to the other.

Servants to Antonio. III. i. p. 73.

Servants to Portia. I. ii. p. 129 ; II. ix. p. 84.

Servitor. II. ix. p. 1.

A male servant ; an attendant.

Shylock. I. iii. 53, 61, 105, 116, 171 ; II. ii. 148, 153 ; II. v. 2 ; III. i. 23, 29 ; III. iii. 3 ; IV. i. 17, 174, 175, 226, 256 ; IV. ii. 11.

The Jew who lends Antonio 3000 ducats for three months—his love of money and his intense hatred have since passed into proverb—a usurer who hoards wealth for the power it gives him, as circumstances prevent him from acquiring power in any other manner.

In his dealings with the christians he is bitterly sarcastic, and his hatred towards Antonio is most marked :

> Yes, to smell pork ; to eat of the habitation which
> your prophet the Nazarite conjured the devil into.
> I will buy with you, sell with you, talk with you,
> walk with you, and so following ; but I will not eat
> with you, drink with you, nor pray with you.
> [I. iii. 34–39.]

Being imbued with a deep sense of justice he faces his opponents at the trial and demands his rights even to the letter of the law, but during the trial his spirit of revenge rises vastly superior to that of his avarice, as he refuses to accept from Bassanio ten times the amount of the original loan, demanding as arranged his pound of flesh :

> Make no more offers, use no farther means ;
> But with all brief and plain conveniency,
> Let me have judgment and the Jew his will.
> [IV. i. 81–83.]

His fondness for his daughter Jessica, and his pathetic lament over the loss of a ring given to him by his wife Leah, is proof that he is not altogether devoid of compassionate feelings, though his heart turns almost to stone when Portia appeals to him for mercy :

> we do pray for mercy ;
> And that same prayer doth teach us all to render
> The deeds of mercy. [IV. i. 199–200.]

His persistent enmity towards Antonio is not altogether personal, but is actuated by a sense of wrong inflicted upon his race, which in bygone centuries has been despised and spat upon, and insulted with great provocation ; and also by the loss of his daughter who carries away no small portion of his ducats. Shylock here takes the opportunity for the vindication of the whole race.

His pertinacity in keeping to the letter of the bond finally crushes him, when he is informed by Portia :

> Shed thou no blood ; nor cut thou less, nor more
> But just a pound of flesh : if thou tak'st more,
> Or less, than a just pound, be it but so much
> As makes it light or heavy, in the substance,
> Or the division of the twentieth part
> Of one poor scruple, nay, if the scale do turn
> But in the estimation of a hair,
> Thou diest and all thy goods are confiscate.
>
> [IV. i. 324–331.]

Commenting on the character of Shylock, Hudson says : " If Portia is the beauty of this play, Shylock is its strength. He is a standing marvel of power and scope in the dramatic art ; at the same time appearing so much a man of Nature's making, that we can hardly think of him as a creation of art. In the delineation Shakespeare had no less a task than to fill with individual life and peculiarity the broad, strong outlines of national character in its most revolting form. Accordingly Shylock is a true representative of his nation ; wherein we have a pride which for ages never ceased to provoke hostility, but which no hostility could ever subdue ; a thrift which still invited rapacity, but which no rapacity could ever exhaust ; and a weakness which, while it exposed the subjects to wrong, only deepened their hate, because it kept them without the means or the hope of redress. Thus Shylock is a type of national sufferings, national sympathies, national antipathies. Himself an object of bitter insult and scorn to those about him ; surrounded by enemies whom he is at once too proud to conciliate and too weak to oppose ; he can have no life among them but money ; no hold on them but interest ; no feeling towards them but hate ; no indemnity out of them but revenge. Such being the case, what wonder that the elements of national greatness became congealed and petrified into malignity ? As avarice was the passion in which he mainly lived, the Christian virtues that thwarted this naturally seemed to him the greatest of wrongs," and Gervinus remarks : " Shylock is the contrast, which we hardly need explain ; although, indeed, in this degenerated age of art and morals, lowness and madness have gone so far as to make a martyr on the stage out of this outcast of humanity. The poet has, it is true, given to this character, in order that he may not sink quite below our interest, a perception of his pariah-condition, and has imputed his outbursts of hatred against Christians and aristocrats partly to genuine grounds of annoyance. Moreover, in his delineation of the usurer he has not been biassed by the hatred of the Christians of that time against all that was Jewish, otherwise he would not have imparted to Jessica her lovely character. . . . He hates indeed the Christians as Christians, and therefore Antonio who has mistreated him ; but he hates him far more because by disinterestedness, by what he calls 'low simplicity,' he destroys his business, because he lends out money gratis, brings down the rate of usance, and has lost him half a million. Riches have made him the greatest contrast to that which they have rendered Antonio, who throughout appears indifferent, incautious, careless, and generous. Shylock on the other hand is meanly careful, cautiously circumspect, and systematically quiet, ever shuffingly occupied as a genuine son of his race, not disdaining the most contemptible means nor the most contemptible object, speculating in the gaining of a penny, and looking so far into the future and into small results that he sends the greedy Launcelot into Bassanio's service, and against his principle eats at night at Bassanio's house, only for the sake of feeding upon the prodigal Christian. This trait is given to him by the poet in a truly masterly manner, in order subsequently to explain the barbarous condition on which he lends Antonio that fatal sum."

Sibylla. I. ii. 112.

> If I live to be as old as Sibylla, I will die as
> chaste as Diana, [I. ii. 112–113.]

In ancient mythology certain women reputed to possess special power of prophecy or divination. According to some accounts they were ten in number, but Shakespeare speaks of nine :

> The spirit of deep prophecy she hath,
> Exceeding the nine sibyls of old Rome ;
>
> 1 *Henry VI.*, I. ii. 55–56.

The one referred to here is the Cumæan Sibyl, identified by Aristotle with the Erythræan, to whom Apollo promised as many years of life as she could hold grains of sand in her hand. She

is said to have lived for one thousand years in the crypts beneath the temple of Apollo. Shakespeare uses the word here as a proverbial type of old age in woman. Cf. *Taming of the Shrew*, I. ii. 70 : " As old as Sibyl."

She figures prominently in Virgil's *Æneid*, Book VI, as the conductor of the poets into the realm of the shades.

According to Livy she came to King Tarquin and offered him nine sibylline books at an exhorbitant price which he refused. She destroyed three and offered him the six at the same price. This offer was again refused, whereupon she destroyed other three, and offered to sell the remaining three at the same figure. Tarquin was so struck by her pertinacity that he bought the books which were found to contain oracular devices regarding the religion of the Romans. They were written in hexameter verse and Greek. The books were kept in the temple of Jupiter in the capitol of Rome, and in 83 B.C., were burnt in the fire which destroyed the temple. A new collection was deposited in the rebuilt temple where they remained until 12 B.C., when they were transferred by Augustus to the temple of Apollo on the Palatine. Many spurious copies of the oracles were however in private hands, and Augustus, on succeeding in the estate of chief bishop, sought them out and burnt them, and subjected the Sibylline books to a critical revision :

> Lepidus died at the same time, to whom Augustus succeeded in the estate of chief bishop, and made sumptuous spectacles and sights unto the people. He burnt all the books of divination and prophecy, except those of the Sibyls : North's *Plutarch*.

Sir Oracle. I. i. 93.

> I am Sir Oracle,
> And when I ope my lips let no dog bark !
> [I. i. 93–94.]

A dogmatical person. The ancient oracles professed to be the wills of the gods.

" Well, Sir Oracle, you that have laid so many schemes to supplant this she-wolf of Gaul, where are all your contrivances now ? " *Sir Walter Scott*.

" But against any of the children of Israel shall not a dog move his tongue, against man or beast " : *Exodus* xi. 7.

Sisters Three. II. ii. 65.

The Three Fates of Greek Mythology, *i.e.* Clotho, Lachesis and Atropos.

Clotho, the youngest was the daughter of Jupiter and Themis, or, according to Hesiod, of Night, and presided over birth. She held the distaff in her hand, and spun the thread of life, whence her name. She was represented wearing a crown with seven stars, and covered with a variegated robe.

Lachesis presided over futurity, and was represented as spinning the thread of life, or, according to some, as holding the spindle. She generally appeared covered with a garment variegated with stars and holding spindles in her hand.

Atropos. According to the derivation of her name, she is inexorable and inflexible, and her duty among the three sisters is to cut the thread of life, without any regard to sex, age or quality. She is represented in a black veil, with a pair of scissors in her hand. *Classical Dictionary*.

Solyman. II. i. 26.

> By this scimitar,
> That slew the Sophy and a Persian prince
> That won three fields of Sultan Solyman,
> [II. i. 24–26.]

Surnamed the magnificent, the greatest of the Turkish Sultans, son of Selim I whom he succeeded in 1520. The reference here is supposed to be to the unfortunate campaign which he undertook against the Persians in 1535. With the Prince of Morocco's boast cf. Brusor : *Soliman and Perseda*, I. iii :

> Against the Sophy in three pitched fields,
> Under the conduct of great Soliman
> Have I been chief commander of an host
> And put the flint-heart Persians to the sword.

Song.

> *Tell me where is fancy bred,*
> *Or in the heart or in the head ?*
> *How begot, how nourished ?*
> *Reply, reply.*
> *It is engender'd in the eyes,*
> *With gazing fed ; and fancy dies*
> *In the cradle where it lies.*
> *Let us all ring fancy's knell :*
> *I'll begin it,—Ding, dong, bell.*
> All. *Ding, dong, bell.* [III. ii. 63–72.]

Song sung whilst Bassanio make comments on, and his choice of, the caskets.

Sophy. II. i. 25.

> By this scimitar,
> That slew the Sophy and a Persian prince
> That won three fields of Sultan Solyman,
> [II. i. 24–26.]

A title borne by the Shahs of Persia meaning 'a wise man.' The first monarch who bore the name was Ismael Sophi, the founder of the Suffavian dynasty in the sixteenth century. Cf. Hakluyt's *Voyages :*

> The King of Persia (whom here we call the great Sophy) is not there so called, but; is called the Shaugh [Shah.] It were dangerous to call him by the name of Sophy, because that Sophy in the Persian tongue, is a begger.

Stephano. V. i. 28, 51.

Servant to Portia, and who announces to Lorenzo that Portia will be at Belmont from the trial scene at Venice before the break of day :

> *Lor.* Who comes so fast in silence of the night ?
> *Ste.* A friend.
> *Lor.* A friend ! what friend ? your name, I pray you, friend ?
> *Ste.* Stephano is my name ; and I bring word
> My mistress will before the break of day
> Be here at Belmont : [V. i. 25–30.]

Tartars. IV. i. 32.

See Turks.

Thisbe. V. i. 7.

> In such a night
> Did Thisbe fearfully o'erstrip the dew,
> And saw the lion's shadow ere himself,
> And ran dismay'd away. [V. i. 6–9.]

A well-known love-story told by Ovid. Thisbe was a beautiful Babylonian lady with whom Pyramus was in love. They lived in adjoining houses, but being forbidden by their parents to meet, they communicated with each other through a hole in the wall which divided the two houses. They agreed to meet at the tomb of Ninus. Thisbe arrived first, and being terrified by the sight of a lioness which had just killed an ox, fled and left her cloak behind. When Pyramus reached the spot and found the cloak, thinking the lioness had carried her off he stabbed himself. Recovering from the scare Thisbe returned to the place, found her lover dead, and she too ended her life. In *Midsummer Night's Dream* Shakespeare makes a comic use of this story. The tale is also told by Chaucer in the *Legend of Good Women.*

Tripolis. I. iii. 18 ; III. i. 102 ; III. ii. 269.

> he hath an argosy bound to Tripolis,
> another to the Indies : [I. iii. 18–19.]

Not the Tripoli in Barbary, North Africa, but the seaport in Syria, near Beyrout. In Crusading times it was an important port and had a considerable trade with Venice in glass.

Troilus. V. i. 4.

> in such a night
> Troilus methinks mounted the Troyan walls,
> And sigh'd his soul toward the Grecian tents,
> Where Cressid lay that night. [V. i. 3–6.]

Son of Priam and Hecuba who fell in love with a Greek maiden named Cressid (Cressida). She was taken by the Greeks in exchange of prisoners, and, in spite of her vow to remain faithful to Troilus, she fell in love with his greatest foe, the Grecian Diomedes. Cf. Chaucer : *Troilus and Criseyde,* v. 647–651 ; 666–669 :

> And every night, as he was wont to done,
> He stood the brighte mone to biholde,
> And al his sorwe he to the mone tolde,
> And seide, ' Y-wis, whan thou art horned newe,
> I shal be glad, if al the world be trewe !
> . . . . . .
> Upon the walles faste ek wolde he walke,
> And on the Greeks oost he wolde see,
> And to himself right thus he wolde talke,
> 'Lo, yonder is myn owne lady free !

" Troilus is meant by Shakespeare to be the type of constancy and Cressida the type of female inconstancy." *Oxford and Cambridge edition.*

Troy. III. ii. 56.

See Alcides.

Tubal. I. iii. 57 ; III. i. 79, 107, 121, 126, 130, 131, 132 ; III. ii. 286.

A wealthy jew and friend of Shylock. Is sent by him in quest of his daughter Jessica. His return with the news of Jessica's extravagance at Genoa and Frankfort in spending fourscore ducats in one night, bring Shylock into a state of frenzy, but Tubal tries as his friend to comfort him with the news of Antonio's losses :

Tub. Your daughter spent in Genoa, as I heard, in one night fourscore ducats.
Shy. Thou stick'st a dagger in me : I shall never see my gold again ; fourscore ducats at a sitting ! fourscore ducats !
Tub. There came divers of Antonio's creditors in my company to Venice, that swear he cannot choose but break.
Shy. I am very glad of it : I 'll plague him ; I 'll torture him : I am glad of it.
Tub. One of them showed me a ring that he had of your daughter for a monkey.
Shy. Out upon her ! Thou torturest me, Tubal : it was my torquoise ; I had it of Leah when I was a bachelor. [III. i. 109–123.]

In his glee at the news of Antonio's losses, Shylock asks Tubal to fee a bailiff in readiness a fortnight before the bond is due :

Go, Tubal,
fee me an officer ; bespeak him a fortnight before. I will have the heart of him, if he forfeit ; for were he out of Venice, I can make what merchandise I will. [III. i. 126–130.]

Elze considers that the name Tubal is taken from Genesis x. 2.

Turks. IV. i. 32.

From stubborn Turks and Tartars, never train'd
To offices of tender courtesy. [IV. i. 32–33.]

" Owing to the religious wars, the Turks were in those days looked upon as a hateful race, while Tartars, the natives of Tartary (more properly Tatary), were supposed to be a wild, savage disposition, and to ' catch a Tartar ' became a proverb for meeting with more than one's match." *Deighton.*

Cf. *Macbeth*, IV. i. 29 :

Nose of Turk, and Tartar's lips ;

Venice. I. i. 115, 180 ; I. iii. 45 ; II. viii. 23 ; III. i. 115, 129 ; III. ii. 239, 305 ; III. iii. 28 ; III. iv. 54 ; IV. i. 102, 203, 217, 229, 310, 311, 347, 434 ; V. i. 16.

A city and capital of the province of Venice. This city was probably better known to the dramatist than any other city on the Continent, partly on account of this commercial importance and partly through the number of English students at the University of Padua.

> In the age of the poet Venice was gazed on with admiration by the people of every country, and by none with more devotion than those of England. Her merchants were princes—her palaces were adorned with the works of Titian, and she was, moreover, the seat of all pleasant delights—The pleasure place of all festivity, the revel of the world, the masque of Italy. *Hunter.*

Venice. Before Shylock's House.

The Scene of Act II., Scenes v. and vi.

Act II., Scene V. Shylock goes to dine with Bassanio and gives instructions to his daughter Jessica to take care of his house during his absence.

Act II., Scene vi. During Shylock's absence, Lorenzo with Gratiano and Salarino carries out the plot of abduction.

Venice. A Court of Justice.

The Scene of Act IV., Scene i. The Trial scene between Shylock the Jew and Antonio. Portia appears in court disguised as a Doctor of Law, and Nerissa as a lawyer's clerk. By insisting on the strict letter of the law, Portia saves Antonio from the clutches of Shylock. At the conclusion of the trial Portia asks Bassanio for his ring as a reward. He refuses, but after she departs, Bassanio is persuaded by Antonio to grant her request and sends Gratiano after her with the ring.

Venice. A Public Place.

The Scene of Act I., Scene iii. Acting on Antonio's instructions, Bassanio seeks for a money-lender, and appears discussing the terms with a Jew named Shylock. Antonio joins them, and Shylock agrees to lend 3000 ducats without interest, conditionally on forfeit of a pound of Antonio's flesh.

Venice. A Room in Shylock's House.

The Scene of Act II., Scene iii. Introduces the under-plot. Jessica bids good-bye to Launcelot Gobbo who is leaving her father's service to enter the house of Bassanio, and gives Launcelot a love-letter to hand to Bassanio's friend, Lorenzo.

Venice. A Street.

The Scene of Act I., Scene i. Act II., Scenes ii., iv. and viii.; Act III., Scenes i. and iii.; Act IV., Scene ii.

Act I., Scene i. Introduces the principal characters, with the exception of Shylock. Antonio meets two friends—Salanio and Salarino—who discuss with him his anxiety on account of having so many richly-laden ships on the high seas. Bassanio appears and being eventually left alone with Antonio, he asks for a loan of money in order that he may win for his wife, Portia, a rich heiress of Belmont.

Act II., Scene ii. Launcelot Gobbo, servant to Shylock, meets his half-blind father. The old man does not recognise his son. Launcelot tells his father he is leaving the Jew's service to enter Bassanio's house.

Act II., Scene iv. Launcelot Gobbo delivers Jessica's letter to Lorenzo and arrangements are made for Jessica's elopement.

Act II., Scene viii. Salanio and Salarino discuss the rage of Shylock at finding his daughter has fled on returning home from dining with Bassanio.

Act III., Scene i. Rumour is rife of Antonio's losses at sea. Shylock enters and rages at the flight of his daughter and her robbery. He is joined by another Jew—Tubal—who urges him on to revenge, and Shylock asks Tubal to engage an officer of the law to arrest Antonio immediately the bond becomes due.

Act III., Scene iii. The three months having expired Shylock takes out a warrant and Antonio is arrested and cast into prison. Guarded by the gaoler he meets Shylock in the street, who refuses to listen to his pleading.

Act IV., Scene ii. Gratiano gives Portia Bassanio's ring, and Nerissa at the same time obtains possession of Gratiano's ring.

Venus' pigeons. II. vi. 5.

> O, ten times faster Venus' pigeons fly
> To seal love's bonds new-made, [II. vi. 5–6.]

The goddess of love whose car was drawn by pigeons or doves. She is represented here as hurrying to set her seal to a newly-made contract of love. Among other birds supposed to draw her car were swans and swallows. Cf. *Lucrece*, 58: "From Venus' doves doth challenge that fair field": and *Tempest*, IV. i. 92–94: 'I met her deity Cutting the clouds towards Paphos, and her son Dove-drawn with her."

Weeping philosopher. I. ii. 52.

> I fear he will prove
> the weeping philosopher when he grows old,
> being so full of unmannerly sadness in his youth.
> [I. ii. 51-53.]

Heraclitus, a celebrated Greek philosopher, born at Ephesus. A man of melancholy disposition who lived in a solitary manner among the wild inhabitants of the mountains. For his custom of weeping over the sins of men he received the appellation of the 'weeping philosopher' in contrast to Democritus of Abdera, who, for his cheerful disposition was called the 'laughing philosopher.' His theory was that the world rose from fire, and wrote treatises in which he supported that there was a fatal necessity. His opinion as to the origin of things was adopted by the Stoics. He died at the age of sixty.

> **You** *that choose not by the view,*
> *Chance as fair and choose as true!*
> *Since this fortune falls to you,*
> *Be content and seek no new.*
> *If you be well pleas'd with this*
> *And hold your fortune for your bliss,*
> *Turn you where your lady is*
> *And claim her with a loving kiss.* [III. ii. 131–138.]

The inscription on the scroll in the leaden casket chosen by Bassanio.

APPENDIX I.

THE STORY OF THE CHOICE OF THREE CASKETS.[1]

[*From the "Gesta Romanorum."*]

Story LXVI.

Ancelmus the Emperour.

Ancelmus regnyd Emperour in the cite of Rome, and he weddid to wife the kynges doȝter of Jerusalem, the whiche was a faire womañ, and long dwelte in his company; but she neuer conceyvid, ne brouȝt forthe frute, and therof were lordis gretly heveid and sory. Happinge in a certeyne evenynge, as he walkide after his soper in a faire greene, and thoȝte of alle the worlde, and specially that he had noon heyr, and howe that the kynge of Naplis strongly therfore noyed him eche ȝere; and so, whenne it was nyȝt, he went to bedde, and tooke a slep, and dremyd this. He sawe the firmament in his most clernesse, and moore cler than it was wonyd to be, and the mone was more pale; and on a party of the mone was a faire coloured brid, and beside hire stoode too bestis, the whiche norisshid the brid with hire heete and brethe. After this come diuerse bestis and briddis fleynge, and thei song so swetly, that the Emperour was with the songe awakid. Thenne on the morowe the Emperour hadde gret merveile of this sweuene, and callid to him divinours, and lordis of alle the empire, and said to hem, "Deere frendis, tellithe me what is the interpretacione of my sweuene, and I shalle wel rewarde you; and but if ȝe do, ȝe shulle be dede." And then thai saide, "Lord, shew to vs thi dreme, and we shulle telle the interpretacione of it." And then the Emperour tolde hem as is said before, fro bigynnynge to endynge. And then thei were glad, and with a gret gladnesse spake to him, and saide, "Ser, this was a good sweuene; for the firmament that thou sawe so clere is the empire, the which hens forwarde shalle be in prosperitie; the paale mone is the empresse, the which hath conceivid, and for hire conceivinge is the more discolourid; the litille bryd is the faire sone whom the emperesse shalle brynge forthe, when tyme comithe; and too bestis ben riche men and wise men, that shulle be obedient to thi childe; and other bestis ben other folke, that neuer made homage, and nowe shulle be subiet to thi sone; the briddis, that songe so swetly, is the empire of Rome, that shalle ioy of thi childis burthe; and, sir, this is the interpretacione of your drem." When the empresse hurde this, she was glad y-nowe; and soone she bare a faire sone, and thereof was maade moche ioy. And when the kynge of Naplis hurde that, he thowte to him selfe, "I haue long tyme holdyne werre ayenst the Emperour, and it may not be but that it wol be tolde to his sone, when that he comythe to his fulle age, howe that I haue foȝt alle my lyfe ayenst his fadir. Ze," thowte he, "he is nowe a childe, and it is goode that I procour for pese, that I may haue rest of him, when he is in his best, and I in my worste." So he wrote letteres to the Emperour, for pese to be had; and the Emperour seynge that he dude that more for cause of drede than of love, he sent him worde aȝen, and saide, that he would make him surte of pese, with condicione that he wolde be in his servitute, and ȝelde him homage alle his life, eche ȝer. Thenne the kynge callid his conseil, and askid of hem what was best to do; and the lordis of his kyngdome saide, that it was goode to folowe the Emperour in his wille. "In the first ȝe aske of him surte of pese; to that we say thus, thou hast a douȝter, and he hathe a sone; late matrimony be maad bytwene hem, and so ther shalle be good sikirnesse; also it is goode to make him homage, and ȝelde him rentes." Thenne the kynge sent worde to the Emperour, and saide, that he wolde fulfille his wille in all poyntys, and ȝve his doȝter to his sone in wife, yf that it were plesing to him. This answere likid wele the Emperour, but he sent worde aȝen, that he wolde not assent to matrimony, but if that his doȝter hadde bene a virgine fro hire natiuite. The kinge was herewith hiely glad, for his doȝter was suche a cleene virgyn. So letteres were maade of this couenaunt; and he maade a shippe to be ordeyned, to lede his doȝter with a certayne of knyȝtis and ladeys to the Emperour, to be mareyd with his sone. And whenne thei were in the shippe, and hadde far passid fro the londe, ther rose vp a gret horribille tempest, and draynt alle that were in the ship, except the mayde. Thenne the mayde sette all hire hope strongly in God; and at the laste, the tempest sesid; but their folowide strongly a gret whale, to devowre this maide. And whenne she sawe that, she moche dradde; and whan the nyȝt com, the maide dredynge that the whale wolde haue swolewide the ship, smot fire at a stone, and hadde gret plente of fire; and as longe as the fire laste, the whale dorst come no nere, but abowte cockis crowe the mayde, for gret vexacione that she hadde with the tempest;

1. Hazlitt's *Shakespeare's Library.*

felle on slepe, and in hire slep the fire went out; and when it was out, the whale com nye, and swolewid bothe the ship and the mayde. And when the mayde felte that she was in the wombe of a whale, she smot, amd maade gret fire, and greuously woundid the whale with a litille kynfe, in so moche that he drowe to the londe, and deyde; for that is the kynde, to drawe to the londe when he shall dye. And in this tyme there was an erle namyd Pirius, and he walkid in his disport by the see, and afore him he sawe the whale come towarde the lond. He gaderid gret helpe and strenght of men; [and] with diuerse instrementis thei smote the whale in euery party of hym. And when the dameselle hurde the gret strokys, she cryde with an hye voys, and saide, "Gentille siris, havithe pite of me, for I am the dowter of a kynge, and a mayde haue y-ben sithe I was borne." Whenne the erle hurde this, he merveilid gretly, and openyd the whale, and tooke out the dameselle. Thenne the maide told by ordre how that she was a kyngys dowter, and howe she loste hire goodis in the see, and how she sholde be mareyd to the sone of the Emperour. And when the erle hurde theise wordis, he was glad, and helde the maide with him a gret while, till tyme that she was wele confortide; and thenne he sent hire solemply to the Emperour. And whenne he sawe hire comynge, and hurde that she had tribulacions in the see, he hadde gret compassione for hire in his herte, and said to hire, "Goode dameselle, thou hast sufferid moche angre for the love of my soone, neuerthelese, if that thou be worthi to have him, I shalle sone preve." The Emperour late make iij. vesselles, and the first was of clene goolde, and full of precious stonys owtewarde, and withinne fulle of deede bonys; and it hade a superscripcione in theise wordis, *Thei that chese me shulle fynde in me that thei seruyde.* The secunde vesselle was alle of cleene siluer, and fulle of precious stonys; and outwarde it had this superscripsione, *Thei that chesithe me, shulle fynde in me that nature and kynde desirithe.* And the third vesselle was of leed, and with inne was fulle of precious stonys; and with oute was sette this scripture, *Thei that chese me, shulle fynde* [*in*] *me that God hathe disposid.* Theise iij. vessellys tooke the Emperour, and shewid the maide, seyinge, "Lo! deere dameselle, here ben thre worthi vessellys, and thou chese on of theise, wherein is profit, and owithe to be chosyne, thenne thou shalt haue my sone to husbonde; and if thou chese that that is not profitable to the, ne to noone othir, forsothe thenne thou shalt not haue hym." Whenne the dowter hurde this, and sawe the thre vessellys, she lifte vp hire yene to God, and saide, "Thowe, Lord, that knowist alle thinges, graunt me thy grace nowe in the nede of this tyme, *scil*, that I may chese at this tyme, wherthorowe I may ioy the sone of the Emperour, and haue him to husbond." Thenne she byhelde the first vesselle, that was so sotilly maad, and radde the suerscriocione; and then she thowte, what haue I deservid for to haue so precious a vesselle, and thoȝ it be neuer so gay with oute, I not howe fowle it is with inne; so she tolde the Emperour that she wolde by no way chese that. Thenne she lokid to the secunde, that was of siluer, and radde the superscripcione; and thenne she saide, "My nature and kynde askithe but dilectacions of the flessh; forsothe ser," quod she, "and I refuse this." Then she lokid to the third, that was of leede, and radde the superscripcione; and then she saide, Sothely, God disposide neuer iville; forsothe that which God hathe disposid wolle I take and chese." And whenne the Emperour sawe that, he saide, "Goode dameselle, opyne nowe that vesselle, and see what thou hast fondyne." And whenne it was openyd, it was fulle of golde and precious stoonys. And thenne the Emperour saide to hire aȝen, Dameselle, thou hast wisely chosen, and woone my sone to thyn husbonde." So the day was sette of hire bredeale, and gret ioy was maade; and the sone regnyde after the decese of the fadir, the whiche maad faire ende. *Ad quod nos perducat!* Amen.

APPENDIX II.

THE ADVENTURES OF GIANNETTO.[1]

[*From the Pecorone of Ser Giovanni Fiorentino, Milano,* 1558,]

THERE lived in Florence, in the house of the Scali, a merchant whose name was Bindo, who had been several times at Tana, and at Alexandria, and had made the other long voyages usually made by the merchants. This Bindo was rich, and had three sons grown to man's estate. He being near his end, called for the two eldest, and in their presence made his will, and left these two heirs of every thing he had in the world; to the youngest he left nothing. The will being made, this youngest, whose name was Giannetto, hearing what had been done, went to his father's bed-side, and said to him, What has my father done? not to have mentioned me in his will is somewhat extraordinary. The father replied, My dear Giannetto, there is no creature living to whom I wish better than to you; and therefore 'tis my desire that you leave this city after my death, and that you go to Venice to your godfather, whose name is Ansaldo; he has no child,

1. Hazlitt's *Shakespeare's Library.*

and has wrote to me often to send you there to him ; and I can tell you, he is the richest merchant amongst the Christians ; and therefore it is my request, that as soon as I am dead, you go and carry this letter to him, and if you behave well, you will be certainly a rich man. The son answered, I am ready to do whatever my dear father shall command : upon which he gave him his benediction, and in a few days died.

The sons all made great lamentation at his death, and paid all necessary honours to his corpse. Some days after, the two brothers sent for Giannetto, and told him, Brother, it is true that our father made a will, and we two are left his heirs, without any mention of you ; nevertheless, you are our brother, and shall have the command of every thing as much as we ourselves ; you shall not want till we are in want. Giannetto replied to this, My dear brothers, I thank you most heartily for your offer, but I am resolved to seek my fortune in some other place, and do you enjoy here the riches left to you. His brothers, finding him determined, made him a present of a horse, and money to bear his expenses. Giannetto took leave of them, and went to Venice, to the counting-house of Ansaldo, and presented the letter given by the father before his death. Ansaldo reading the letter, knew this young man to be the son of his dearest friend Bindo ; and having finished the letter, ran immediately to embrace him, crying out, My dearest godson, whom I have so long wished to see, is welcome to my arms. Then asking news of his father, Giannetto replied, He is dead. Embracing him again with tears, and kissing him, I am much grieved, replied Ansaldo to hear of the death of Bindo ; by his assistance it was that I got the greatest part of what I am worth ; but the joy I feel in seeing you mitigates my sorrow for the loss of him. He conducted him to his house, and gave orders to his clerks, his grooms, his servants, and every one in the house, that Giannetto should be obeyed, and served with more attention than had been paid to himself. He then delivered him the keys of his ready money ; and told him, Son, spend this money in dressing and equipping yourself in the manner you like best ; keep a table to entertain company, and make yourself known ; I shall leave it to you to do as you think best ; and remember, that the more you gain the goodwill of everybody, the more you will be dear to me.

Giannetto now began to visit and frequent the gentlemen of Venice, to give entertainments, had a number of servants, and brought good horses to assist at all tiltings and tournaments, and such like exercises, at which he excelled ; being adroit, expert, well-bred, and knowing how to do the honours on all the occasions that offered ; particularly to Ansaldo, he was more obedient and courteous than if he had been an hundred times his father. He conducted himself so discreetly with all sorts of people, that almost everybody in Venice was fond of him, and loved him greatly. Ansaldo could think of nothing but him ; so much was he pleased with his good manners and behaviour. There was scarce any party of pleasure in Venice to which Giannetto was not invited, so much was he esteemed by all.

Now it happened, that two of his most intimate acquaintance had designed to go with two ships, laden with merchandize, to Alexandria, as was usual every year ; they told Giannetto he would do well to take pleasure in a voyage at sea with them, to see the world, and more especially Damascus, and the countries near it. Giannetto said, In good faith I would go willingly if my father Ansaldo will give leave. We will manage so well with him, his companions answered, as to make him content. They go to Ansaldo, and beg his permission for Giannetto to go in the spring with them to Alexandria ; and desire him to provide him a ship, that he might see a little of the world. Ansaldo said he would give leave if the other desired it. They answered, it was his desire. Ansaldo immediately provided a very fine ship, and loaded it with merchandize, and adorned it with streamers, and furnished it with arms as many as were necessary ; and as soon as it was ready, he gave orders to the captain and sailors to do every thing Giannetto commanded. He told them, he did not send him in hopes of great gain, but to see the world at his pleasure. And when Giannetto was going on board, all Venice was gathered to see him ; for there had not, for a long time, so fine a ship been seen to sail from thence. Everybody was concerned at his departure. He took his leave of Ansaldo and his acquaintance ; and putting out to sea, they hoisted the sails, and stood for Alexandria. The three friends with their ships sailing in company for some days, it happened one morning early, that Giannetto saw a gulph, with a fine port, and asked the captain how the port was called ? He replied, That place belongs to a widow lady, who has ruined many gentlemen. . . . Giannetto, after a little reflection, tells the captain to do every thing in his power to get into the port. The captain bids him consider what he had commanded ; that many persons had gone in who had been stripped of every thing. Giannetto tells him not to trouble himself on that score ; do what I order. He was obeyed ; and in an instant they turned the ship, and slide into the port so easily that the other ships perceived nothing.

In the morning the news was spread of a fine ship being arrived in the port, so that everybody ran to see it. The lady was informed soon of it, and sent for Giannetto, who waited on her immediately, and salutes her with a low bow. She, taking him by the hand, asks him who he is ? from whence he came ? and if he knew the custom of the country ? He answers in the affirmative ; and that the knowledge of that custom was his only reason for coming. The lady replies,

You are a hundred times welcome ; and that day paid him great honours, and sent for her barons, counts, and knights in great number, who were her subjects, to keep Giannetto company. These nobles were highly delighted with the good breeding and manners of Giannetto ; every one was in raptures with him, and the whole day was spent in musick and dancing, and feasting at the court, in honour of him ; and all would have been rejoiced to have him for their lord.

The night being come, the lady taking him by the hand, and leading him to her chamber, said, It seems to be time to go to bed. Giannetto tells the lady he is entirely devoted to her service ; and immediately two damsels enter with wine and sweet meats. The lady says, she is sure he must be thirsty ; and entreats him to taste the wine : he takes the sweet meats and drinks some of the wine, which was prepared with ingredients to cause sleep ; this he was ignorant of, and drank half the cup, as he found it to his taste. He then undresses himself, and goes into the bed, where he instantly falls asleep ; . . . he never wakes till late in the morning ; but the lady rose with the sun, and gave orders to unload the vessel, which she found full of rich and costly merchandize. After nine o'clock, the women servants of the lady go to the bedside, order Giannetto to rise and be gone, for he had lost the ship and every thing belonging to it. He was much ashamed ; and then perceived that he had been guilty of great folly. The lady gave him a horse, and money for his pocket, and he leaves the place very sorrowful and melancholy, and goes forward on the way towards Venice. When he arrives, he dares not return home for shame ; but at night goes to the house of a friend, who is surprised to see him, and inquires of him the cause of his return ? He answers, his ship had struck on a rock in the night, and was broke in pieces, and every thing destroyed ; he held fast a great piece of wood, which threw him on shore, and so he came there by land.

He staid many days in the house of this friend, who going one day to make a visit to Ansaldo, and finding him very disconsolate : I fear, says Ansaldo, so much, that this son of mine is either dead, or that the sea does not agree with him, that I have no rest day or night ; so great is my love to him. The friend told him, he could tell him news of him ; that he had been shipwreckt, and had lost his all ; but that he himself was safe. God be praised, says Ansaldo ; if he be alive, I am satisfy'd : I do not value the loss of the ship : where is he ? The young man reply'd, He is at my house. Ansaldo instantly gets up, and runs to find him, and when he saw him, embracing him, My dear son, says he, you need not fear my displeasure for what has happened ; it is a common accident ; trouble yourself no farther ; as you have received no hurt, all is well. He takes him home, all the way telling him to be cheerful and easy.

The news of this accident was soon known all over Venice, and every one was concerned for the loss Giannetto had sustained. Some time after this, his companions arrived from Alexandria very rich, and demanded what was become of their friend, and having heard the story, they ran to see and embrace him, asking him in what manner he parted from them ? where he went ? that they could hear nothing of him ; that they sailed backwards and forwards all that day, and could not see nor hear any tidings of his ship. They told him their uneasiness had been so great during the voyage, that the pleasure was spoiled by the fear of hearing news of his death. Giannetto tells them, a contrary wind blowing from an arm of the sea, drove his ship plum against a rock near shore, and with difficulty he saved himself ; but every thing was wreckt. This was the excuse Giannetto forged, not to be obliged to make known his folly. They rejoiced with him, and returned thanks to God for his safety ; telling him that next spring, by God's assistance, he might gain as much as he had lost the last ; and therefore, say they, let us enjoy ourselves, and not be dejected : and they amused and diverted themselves as usual. But Giannetto had no thoughts other than of his return to the lady ; and was resolved to marry her, or die in the attempt : and with these thoughts could hardly be chearful. Ansaldo told him frequently, not to be cast down ; says he, We have enough left to live very comfortably. Giannetto said, he should never be happy till he was at liberty to make another voyage. Ansaldo, perceiving his intention, when the time was come, provided another ship of more value, and with more merchandizes than the first ; and, indeed, freighted it with almost all he was worth in the world. His companions, when their ships had every thing in order, set sail, with Giannetto ; and sailing along for several days together, he was all attention to discover once more the port of the lady, which was called The port of the lady of Belmonte. Coming one night to the mouth of it, which was in a gulph of the sea, he immediately knew it to be the same, and shifting sails and rudder, he entered so secretly, that his companions in the other ships had no apprehension that his ship was missing.

The lady the next morning looking on the port from the bedchamber, and seeing the streamers of the ship playing in the wind, knew it ; and asked her maid, if she knew the streamers ? The maid said, she imagined it was the ship of the young man who arrived the last year, and had left so fine a cargo behind him. You are in the right, answered the lady ; he must surely have a great regard for me, for never any one returned here a second time : the maid said, she had never seen a more agreeable man. The lady sent her servants in great number to attend him, who served him with much attention, and he treated them very graciously ; and went to the castle

and presented himself to the lady ; who, as soon as she saw him, embraced him, which embrace he as devoutly returned, and the day was passed in joy and revels ; for the lady had sent for her nobles of both sexes, who came to do honour to Giannetto, and were so well pleased with his behaviour, that they were sorry not to have him for their master. The ladies were enamoured of his dancing ; the comeliness of his person, and the sweetness of his countenance, made all of them suppose him to be the son of some great man. Bedtime being come, the lady taking him by the hand, entreated him to go to rest : when they were seated in the chamber, the two damsels entered with wine and sweet meats ; and having eat and drank of them, they go to bed, and immediately Giannetto falls asleep, . . . but, in short, he waked not the whole night. In the morning, the lady rises, and gives orders to strip the ship. After nine o'clock, he awakes, seeks for the lady, finds nothing ; raises his head from the pillow, and finding it is late, gets up, and is ashamed of what has happened.

He has a horse and money given to him, and is told to be gone, and away he goes sorrowful and sad, and never stops till he gets to Venice ; and at night goes to the house of the same friend, who when he saw him, with great wonder and astonishment asked him what was the matter ? I am undone, says Giannetto, my cursed ill fortune first brought me to Venice. His friend answered, You may well curse your fortune, for you are the cause of the ruin of Ansaldo, who was the greatest and richest merchant of any of the Christians ; and your shame ought to be greater then the loss you have suffered. Giannetto lived privately many days in the house of his friend, not knowing what to do or say, in the design of returning to Florence without seeing Ansaldo. At last he took a resolution of seeing him, and accordingly waited on him. When Ansaldo saw him, he rose from his chair, and running to embrace him, told him he was welcome : Giannetto with tears returned his embraces. Ansaldo, when he had heard his tale, Do not grieve, my dear son, says he, be assured that I cannot be angry, since I find you safe ; we have still enough remaining to live decently ; the sea enriches some men, others it ruins.

All Venice heard the story, and was concerned for Ansaldo : this misfortune obliged him to sell some estates to satisfy his creditors, who furnished the goods. The companions of Giannetto returned again from Alexandria very rich, and when at Venice they were informed of this accident, they said it was the most extraordinary accident that could happen ; they made a visit to Ansaldo and Giannetto, and with great kindness told him not to take too much to heart what had passed. We propose to make, say they, the next year, a voyage on your account : we have been the cause of this your loss, as we advised Giannetto at first to venture to sea ; therefore fear nothing ; as long as we have any thing, it will be at your disposal as much as if it was your own. Ansaldo returned them his thanks, and said he had still enough not to be troublesome to his friends. Poor Giannetto's head was day and night full of the thoughts of his bad success, and he could not put on a face of chearfulness : when Ansaldo enquired what was the matter, he confessed, he could never be contented till he should be in a condition to regain all that he lost. My dear child, you shall go no more, says Ansaldo ; it will be better to stay here, content with the little we have left, than to risk another voyage.

Giannetto told him, he had made a firm resolution, to do all in his power to go again ; that he could not bear the shame of living in the manner he must do. When Ansaldo found him resolved, he began to sell every thing he had, and equip another ship ; and so he did, and disposed of all he was worth, and left himself destitute, to furnish this other fine ship with merchandize : but, as he wanted still ten thousand ducats, he apply'd himself to a Jew at Mestri, and borrowed them on condition, that if they were not paid on the feast of St. John in the next month of June, that the Jew might take a pound of flesh from any part of his body he pleased. Ansaldo agreed, and the Jew had an obligation drawn, and witnessed, with all the form and ceremony necessary ; and then counted him the ten thousand ducats of gold ; with which Ansaldo bought what was still wanting for the vessel. This last ship was finer and better freighted than the other two, and his companions made ready for the voyage, with a design that whatever they gained should be for their friend. When it was time to depart, Ansaldo told Giannetto, that since he well knew of the obligation to the Jew, he entreated him in case any misfortune happened, that he would return to Venice, that he might see him before he died ; and then he could leave the world with satisfaction : Giannetto promised to do every thing that he conceived might give him pleasure. Ansaldo gave him his blessing, they take their leave, and the ships set out.

The two companions observed carefully the ship of Giannetto, while he had nothing in his head but to contrive in what manner to steal into the port of Belmonte ; and he prevailed with one of the sailors in the night to sail the vessel into the port of the lady. The morning being clear, his companions looked round, and not seeing any where the vessel, said to themselves, Giannetto has certainly bad luck ; but continued their course, wondering greatly where the ship could be gone. The ship being arrived in port, all ran from the castle, hearing Giannetto was come again, and wondering much at his return. He must undoubtedly, say they, be the son of some great personage, as he comes every year with such rich merchandize, and fine ships : would to God he was our master ! He was visited by all the principal men of the country, and it was told to the

lady, that Giannetto was arrived in port. She saw from the window the vessel, and knew the streamers ; and making the sign of the cross, cries : This is certainly a bold undertaking ! This is the man who has already left so great riches in this country ; and immediately sent for him.

Giannetto goes to the castle, salutes, embraces her, and makes his bows, and the day is spent in joy and feasting ; and to honour him, a tournament is ordered, and many barons and knights tilted that day. Giannetto did wonders, so well did he understand the lance, and was so graceful a figure on horseback ; he pleased so much, that all were again desirous to have him for their lord.

The lady, when it was the usual time, taking him by the hand, begged him to take his rest. When he passed the door of the chamber, one of the damsels of the lady, laying her mouth to his ear, in a whisper said to him, Make a pretence to drink the liquor, but touch not one drop this evening. He understood what she meant, and when the lady said, I know you must be thirsty, I must have you drink before you go to bed, immediately two damsels, handsome as angels, with wine and sweet meats, in the usual manner, entered the room, and presented the wine. Who can refuse wine from such beautiful hands ? cries Giannetto ; at which the lady smiled. Giannetto takes the cup, and making as if he had drank, pours the wine into his bosom. The lady thinking he had drank, says aside to herself with great joy, You must go, young man, and bring another ship, for this is condemned. . . . The lady was highly pleased with her lover, and early in the morning sent for her principal subjects, telling them that Giannetto was their lord ; and gave them orders to pay all possible honours to him. Immediately the news is spread through the whole territory ; the people crying, Long live our new master ! long live our new master ! the bells and musical instruments inviting all to joy and mirth. The nobles who were not at the castle were sent for to appear there, and behold their master, and assist at all the rejoicings. When Giannetto came out of his chamber, he was knighted, and placed in the chair of state ; had the sceptre put into his hand, and was proclaimed sovereign of the country, with great pomp and splendour ; and when the lords and ladies were coming to the castle, he married the lady in great ceremony. Nothing can be imagined equal to the joy on that occasion, as every one endeavoured to excell in tilting, dancing, musick, and every amusement and diversion practised at such solemnities.

Giannetto, who was of a disposition that did honour to his exaltation, gave presents of every thing of value he had brought with him : he governed excellently well, and caused justice to be administered impartially to all sorts of people. He continued some time in this happy state, and never had entertained a thought of poor Ansaldo, who had given his bond to the Jew for ten thousand ducats. But one day, as he stood at the window of the palace with his bride, he saw a number of people pass along the piazza, with lighted torches in their hands, who were going to make offerings. What is the meaning of this ? says he. The lady answered, They are a company of artificers, who are going to make their offerings at the Church of St. John, this day is his festival. Giannetto instantly recollected Ansaldo, and leaving the window, he gave a great sigh, and turned pale ; running about the room in great distraction. His lady inquired the cause of his sudden change. He said, he felt nothing. She continued to press with great earnestness, till he was obliged to confess the cause of his uneasiness, that Ansaldo was engaged for the money, and that the term was expired ; and the grief he was in, lest his father should lose his life for him : that if the ten thousand ducats were not paid that day, he must lose a pound of his flesh. The lady told him to mount on horseback, and go by land the nearest way, which was better than to go by sea ; to take some attendants, and an hundred thousand ducats ; and not to stop till he arrived at Venice : and if he was not dead, to endeavour to bring Ansaldo to her. Giannetto takes horse with twenty attendants, and makes the best of his way to Venice.

The time being expired, the Jew had seized Ansaldo, and insisted on having a pound of flesh. He entreated him only to wait some days, that if his dear Giannetto arrived, he might have the pleasure of embracing him before his death : the Jew replied he was willing to wait, but, says he, if he comes an hundred times over, I will cut off the pound of flesh, according to the words of the obligation : Ansaldo answered that he was content.

Every one at Venice who had heard of this affair was much concerned : several merchants would have jointly paid the money ; the Jew would not hearken to the proposal, but insisted that he might commit this homicide, to have the satisfaction of saying, that he had put to death the greatest of the Christian merchants. Giannetto making all possible haste to Venice, his lady soon followed him in a lawyer's habit, with two servants following her. Giannetto when he came to Venice, goes to the Jew, and (after embracing Ansaldo) tells him, he is ready to pay the money, and as much as he should demand. The Jew said, he could take no money, since it was not paid at the time due ; but that he would have the pound of flesh. And now this was much talked of, and every one blamed the Jew : but as Venice was a place where justice was strictly administered, and the Jew had his pretensions grounded on publick and received forms, nobody dared to oppose him, and their only resource was entreaty ; and when the merchants of Venice applied to him, he was inflexible. Giannetto offered him twenty thousand, which he refused ; then thirty thousand, afterwards forty, fifty, and at last an hundred thousand ducats. The Jew told him, if

he would give him as much gold as the city of Venice was worth, he would not accept it ; and says he, you know little of me, if you think I will desist from my demand.

The lady now arrives at Venice, in her lawyer's dress ; and alighting at an inn, the landlord asks of one of the servants who his master was ? The servant having learned his lesson, answered that he was a young lawyer who had finished his studies at Bologna, and was returning to his own country. The landlord upon this shews his guest great civility : and when he attended at dinner, the lawyer, inquiring how justice was administered in that city, he answered, Justice in this place is too severe. How comes that ? says the lawyer. I will tell how, says the landlord : You must know, that some years ago there came here a young man from Florence, whose name was Giannetto, he was recommended to the care of a relation who is called Ansaldo : he behaved here so well as to possess the esteem and affections of every living creature, and never was a youth so well beloved. Now this Ansaldo sent him out three times, each time with a ship of great value ; he, every time, was unfortunate : and to furnish the last, Ansaldo was forced to borrow ten thousand ducats of a Jew, on condition, that if he did not repay them in June, at the Feast of St. John, the Jew might take a pound of his flesh. This excellent young man is now returned, and offers to pay an hundred thousand ducats : the wicked Jew won't take them, although the best merchants in the city have applied to him, but to no purpose. Says the lawyer, This question may be easily answered. If you can answer it, says the landlord, and will take the trouble to do it, and save this worthy man from death, you will get the love and esteem of a most deserving young man, and of all the best men of this city. The lawyer caused a proclamation to be made, that whoever had any law matters to determine, they should have recourse to him : so it was told to Giannetto, that a famous lawyer was come from Bologna, who could decide all cases in law. Giannetto proposed to the Jew to apply to this lawyer. With all my heart, says the Jew : but let who will come, I will stick to my bond. When they came to this judge, and had saluted him, he immediately knew Giannetto ; but he did not remember him : for he had disguised his face with the juice of certain herbs. Giannetto, and the Jew, each told the merits of the cause to the judge ; who, when he had taken the bond and read it, said to the Jew, I must have you take the hundred thousand ducats, and release this honest man, who will always have a grateful sense of the favour done to him. The Jew replied, I will do no such thing. The judge answered, It will be better for you. The Jew was positive to yield nothing. Upon this they go to the tribunal appointed for such judgments : and our judge speaks in favour of Ansaldo ; and desiring that the Jew may stand forth, Now, says he, do you (to the Jew) cut off a pound of this man's flesh where you chuse. The Jew ordered him to be stripped naked ; and takes in his hand a razor, which had been made on purpose. Giannetto seeing this, turning to the judge, This, says he, is not the favour I asked of you. Be quiet, says he, the pound of flesh is not yet cut off. As soon as the Jew was going to begin, Take care what you do, says the judge, if you take more or less than a pound, I will order your head to be struck off : and I tell you beside, that if you shed one drop of blood you shall be put to death. Your paper makes no mention of the shedding of blood ; but says expressly, that you may take a pound of flesh, neither more or less ; and if you are wise, you will take great care what you do. He immediately sent for the executioner to bring the block and axe ; and now, says he, if I see one drop of blood, off goes your head. The Jew began to be in great fear, and Giannetto in as great joy. At length the Jew, after much wrangling, told him, You are more cunning than I can pretend to be ; however, give me the hundred thousand ducats, and I am content. No, says the judge, cut off your pound of flesh according to your bond ; I will not give you a farthing : why did not you take the money when it was offered ? The Jew came down to ninety, and then to eighty thousand, but the judge was still resolute. Giannetto told the judge to give what he required, that Ansaldo might have his liberty : but he replied, Let me manage him. Then the Jew would have taken fifty thousand : he said, I will not give you a penny. Give me at least, says the Jew, my own ten thousand ducats, and a curse confound you all. The judge replies, I will give you nothing : if you will have the pound of flesh, take it ; if not, I will order your bond to be protested and annulled. Every one present was greatly pleased ; and deriding the Jew, said, He who laid traps for others, is caught himself. The Jew seeing he could gain nothing, tore in pieces the bond in a great rage. Ansaldo was released, and conducted home with great joy by Giannetto. The hundred thousand ducats he carried to the inn to the lawyer, whom he found making ready to depart. You have done me, says he, a most important service, and I entreat you to accept of this money to carry home, for I am sure you have earned it. I thank you, replied the lawyer, I do not want money ; keep and carry it back to your lady, that she may not have occasion to say, that you have squandered it away idly. Says Giannetto, My lady is so good and kind, that I might venture to spend four times as much, without incurring her displeasure ; and she ordered me, when I came away, to bring with me a larger sum. How are you pleased with the lady ? says the lawyer. I love her better than any earthly thing, answers Giannetto : Nature never produced any woman so beautiful, discreet, and sensible, and seems to have done her utmost in forming her. If you will do me the favour to come and see her, you will be surprised at the honours she will shew you ; and

you will be able to judge whether I speak truth or not. I cannot go with you, says the lawyer, I have other engagements ; but since you speak so much good of her, I must desire you to present my respects to her. I will not fail, Giannetto answered ; and now, let me entreat you to accept some of the money. While he was speaking, the lawyer observed a ring on his finger, and said, If you will give me this ring, I shall seek no other reward. Willingly, says Giannetto ; but as it is a ring given me by my lady, to wear for her sake, I have some reluctance to part with it, and she may think, not seeing it on my finger, and will believe, that I have given it to a woman that I love, and quarrel with me, though I protest I love her much better than I love myself. Certainly, says the lawyer, she esteems you sufficiently to credit what you tell her, and you may say you made a present of it to me ; but I rather think you want to give it to some former mistress here in Venice. So great, says Giannetto, is the love and reverence I bear to her, that I would not change her for any woman in the world, she is so accomplished in every article. After this he takes the ring from his finger, and presents it to him ; and embracing each the other, I have still a favour to ask, says the lawyer. It shall be granted, says Giannetto. It is, replied he, that you do not stay any time here, but go as soon as possible to your lady. It appears to me a thousand years till I see her, Giannetto answered : and immediately they take leave of each other. The lawyer embarked, and left Venice. Giannetto made entertainments, and presents of horses and money to his former companions ; and having made a great expense for several days, he took leave of his Venetian friends, and carried Ansaldo with him, and some of his old acquaintance accompanied them. Everybody shed tears at his departure, both men and women ; his amiable deportment had so gained the good-will of all. In this manner he left Venice, and returned to Belmonte.

The lady arrived some days before ; and having resumed her female habit, pretended to have spent the time at the baths ; and now gave orders to have every thing prepared, and the streets lined with tapestry, and filled with men armed for the tiltings and exercises. And when Giannetto and Ansaldo were landed, all the Court went out to meet them, crying, Long live our sovereign lord ! long live our sovereign lord ! When they arrived at the palace, the lady ran to embrace Ansaldo ; but feigned anger against Giannetto, though she loved him excessively : yet the feastings, tilts and diversions went on as usual, at which all the lords and ladies assisted. Giannetto seeing that his wife did not receive him with her accustomed good countenance, called her, and inquiring the reason, would have saluted her. She told him, she wanted not his caresses : I am sure, says she, you have been lavish of them to some of your former mistresses at Venice. Giannetto began to make excuses. She asked him where was the ring she had given him ? It is no more that what I expected, cries Giannetto, and I was in the right to say you would be angry with me ; but, I swear by all that is sacred, and by your dear self, that I gave the ring to the lawyer who gained our cause. And I can swear, says the lady, with as much solemnity, that you gave the ring to a woman ; and I know it certainly ; therefore swear no more. Giannetto said, If what he had told her was not true, he wished every misfortune to fall on him, that might destroy him ; and that he said all this to the lawyer, when he asked for the ring. The lady replied, You would have done better to stay at Venice with your mistresses, and have sent Ansaldo here ; for I hear they all wept when you came away. Giannetto's tears began to fall, and in great sorrow he assured her that what she supposed could not possibly be true. The lady seeing his tears, which were daggers in her bosom, ran to embrace him, and in a fit of laughter shewed the ring, told every thing which he had said to the lawyer ; that she was herself the lawyer ; and how she obtained the ring. Giannetto was greatly astonished, finding it all true, and was highly delighted with what he had heard ; and went out of the chamber, and told the story to the nobles and to his companions ; and this heightened greatly the love between him and his lady. He then called the damsel who had given him the good advice the evening not to drink the liquor, and gave her to Ansaldo for a wife ; and they spent the rest of their lives in great felicity and contentment.

APPENDIX III.

EXTRACT FROM

CURSOR MUNDI

(The Cursur o the world.)

A Northumbrian Poem of the Fourteenth Century.

MS. Göttingen. 11. 21407–21496.[1]

þan sent þe king constantine,[2]
Sandir men[3] till his moder eline,[4]
For to seke, widvten[5] hone,[6]
þe crois þat iesu was on done,
To find þat hali[7] tre sumquar,[8]
And do a kirc[9] be raised þar :
Sir benciras[10] and ansieris,[11]
þir tua men war messageris,
þai war sent to þe quene fra rome,
Bot herkins nu hu þai gaf dome.
þis leuedi[12] had þat time hir wid
A cristen man was gode goldsmith,
Quatkin[13] thing als scho[14] wald muth,[15]
Wake till hir ful wele he cutht ;
Bot pouer[16] he was, and hard in dett
Till a iuu, and terme had sett,
A sume of mone for to amunt,
þat askid him ful hard acunt. [17]
It was wele sene þat hit[18] was hard,
For he him asked wid sli forward
If he his mone moght noght gete,
þat he suld[19] ȝeild[20] him for his dett
þat ilke weght þat þar war less,
He suld ȝeild of his aun fless,[21]
þe dai es gan, þat dett vnquitt,[22]
þe bodi most bileue[23] nu for itt :
þe cristen dred ful sare for pine,[24]
Bot þe iuu wald neuer fine,[25]
Bath to þe quene curt þai come,
þe iuu thral[26] bad giue him dome,
Scharp knif in hand he bar,
þe cristen man stod nakid þar.
þai all wald haf again him boght,
Bot grant of iuu ne gat þai noght
Of ransun na mare þan a rish,[27]
wald he of here bot of his fless.
[þ]an said benciras and ansiers,
" þu sal haue broþer all þat þe fers,[28]
þe quene has bidden vs to deme[29]
To þe all þat to right es queme,[30]
Sai me hu þu him dight,[31]
If þat he be dempt[32] to þe wid right."
" Hu ? " said þe iuu, " bot bi mi lay,[33]
þe werist[34] þat euer i can or may.
His eien firist[35] putt vte[36] i sall,
And his hend þat he wirkes wid-all,
Tung and nese, and siþen þe lau[e],[37]
Till þat i mi couenand haue."
þe messageris him haue ansuere,
" þan semis naght þu wil him spare,
Take þan þe fless, þat grantes he,
Sua þat þe blod may saued be;
A drope of blod if þat he tine,[38]
we giue vr dome, þe wrang es þine,
Quat-sum[39] his fless was sald or boght,
His blod to sell he neuer thoght,
ȝeild þe þe fless he es wele vnknaun,[40]
Sauue him þe blod, þat es his aun."
[þ]an said þat iuu, " bi sant drightin
Me thinc þe wers part es min ;
[*to take þe flesshe if I, assay.
þen þe blode wil ryn a-way.]
Fordon[41] ȝe haue me wid ȝur dome,
þat ȝe ramainis broght fra rome.
Maugre[42] þarfor mot þai haue,
All þat suilk a dome me gaue ! "
Bensiras þan said " parfay ! [43]
All has þis curt þe herd missay,[44]
Me and mi lauerd[45] sir ansire
þu has missaid vs in þin ire.
And we will missay þe na wight,
Bot ellis of þe we will haf right,
þe quene has sent vs hider-to[46]
þis curt, rightwisnes[47] for to do,
And sothfastnes[48] haue we þe said,
þar-for has þu nu vs missaid."
þe quene bad widuten lett[49]
þe iugement þai suld þam sett,
For sekir was scho þan of site,[50]
þat þe cristen man was quite.[51]
þe iuu was dempt sua þat þe quene
Suld haue his catel[52] all bidene,[53]
In hir merci his tung to take,
þat in hir curt sli missau[54] make.
þe iuu him thoght selcuthli[55] tene[56]
At þis dome þat was sua kene,
And said on hij, all might here,
" Me war leuer ȝu for to lere
Quar lijs ȝur lauerd rode-tre,[57]
þan dampned sua sone to be."

* Fairfax MS.

1. Early English Text Society. 2. Emperor Constantine. 3. Messengers. 4. Ellen, mother of Constantine. 5. without. 6. delay. 7. holy. 8. somewhere. 9. church. 10 and 11. messengers of Constantine to his mother Ellen to give judgment in the case of Ellen's goldsmith. 12. lady. 13. what kind of. 14. soon. 15. utter. 16. poor. 17. reckoning. 18. oath. 19. should. 20. pay. 21. flesh. 22. unpaid. 23. remain. 24. pain. 25. cease. 26. slave. 27. rush. 28. fierce 29. judge. 30. pleasing. 31. treat. 32. adjudged. 33. law. 34. worst. 35. first. 36. over. 37. the rest, remainder. 38. lose. 39. although. 40. ungrateful. 41. undone. 42. curse. 43. indeed. 44. blaspheme. 45. lord. 46. hitherto. 47. righteousness. 48. truth. 49. hinderance. 50. punishment. 51. free. 52. goods. 53. forthwith. 54. slander. 55. wonderfully. 56. injured. 57. rood, cross.

APPENDIX IV.

OF A JEW, WHO WOULD FOR HIS DEBT HAVE A POUND OF THE FLESH OF A CHRISTIAN.[1]

[*From the Orator of Alex. Silvayn, Englished by L.P.*, 4to., 1596.]

A Jew unto whom a Christian Marchant ought nine hundred crownes, would have summoned him for the same in Turckie : the Merchant because he would not be discredited, promised to pay the said summe within the tearme of three months, and if he paied it not, he was bound to give him a pound of the flesh of his bodie. The tearme being past some fifteene daies, the Jew refused to take his money, and demaunded the pound of flesh : the ordinarie Judge of that place appointed him to cut a just pound of the Christians flesh, and if he cut either more or lesse, then his owne head should be smitten off : the Jew appealed from this sentence, unto the chiefe judge, saying :

Impossible is it to breake the credite of trafficke amongst men without great detriment unto the Commonwealth : wherfore no man ought to bind himselfe unto such covenants which hee cannot or wil not accomplish, for by that means should no man feare to be deceaved, and credit being maintained, every man might be assured of his owne ; but since deceit hath taken place, never wonder if obligations are made more rigorous and strict then they were wont, seeing that although the bonds are made never so strong, yet can no man be very certaine that he shal not be a loser. It seemeth at the first sight, that it is a thing no lesse strange than cruel, to bind a man to pay a pound of the flesh of his bodie, for want of money : Surely, in that it is a thing not usuall, it appeareth to be somewhat the more admirable, but there are divers others that are more cruell, which because they are in use seeme nothing terrible at all : as to bind al the bodie unto a most lothsome prison, or unto an intollerable slaverie, where not only the whole bodie but also al the sences and spirits are tormented, the which is commonly practised, not only betwixt those which are either in sect or Nation contrary, but also even amongst those that are all of one sect and nation, yea amongst neighbours and kindred, and even amongst Christians it hath ben seene, that the son hath imprisoned the father for monie. Likewise, in the Roman Commonwealth, so famous for laws and armes, it was lawfull for debt, to imprison, beat, and afflict with torments the free Citizens : How manie of them (do you thinke) would have thought themselves happie, if for a small debt they might have ben excused with the paiment of a pound of their flesh ? Who ought then to marvile if a Jew requireth so small a thing of a Christian, to discharge him of a good round summe ? A man may aske why I would not rather take silver of this man, then his flesh : I might alleage many reasons, for I might say that none but my selfe can tell what the breach of his promise hath cost me, and what I have thereby paied for want of money to my creditors, of that which I have lost in my credit : for the miserie of those men which esteeme their reputation, is so great, that oftentimes they had rather indure any thing secretlie then to have their discredit blazed abroad, because they would not be both shamed and harmed. Neverthelesse, I doe freely confesse, that I had rather lose a pound of my flesh, then my credit should be in any sort cracked : I might also say that I have need of this flesh to cure a friend of mine of a certaine maladie, which is otherwise incurable, or that I would have it to terrifie thereby the Christians for ever abusing the Jewes anie more hereafter : but I will onlie say, that by his obligation he oweth it me. It is lawfull to kill a souldior if he come unto the warres but an houre too late, and also to hang a theefe though he steale never so little : is it then such a great matter to cause such a one to pay a pound of his flesh, that hath broken his promise manie times, or that putteth another in danger to lose both credit and reputation, yea and it may be life and al for griefe ? were it not better for him to lose that which I demand, then his soule, alreadie bound by his faith ? Neither am I to take that which he oweth me, but he is to deliver it me : And especiallie because no man knoweth better then he where the same may be spared to the least hurt of his person, for I might take it in such a place as hee might thereby happen to lose his life : what a matter were it then, if I should cut of his privie members, supposing that the same would altogether weigh a just pound ? Or els his head, should I be suffered to cut it off, although it were with the danger of mine owne life ? I beleeve I should not ; because there were as little reason therein, as there could be in the amends whereunto I should be bound : or els if I would cut off his nose, his lips, his eares, and pull out his eies, to make them altogether a pound, should I be suffered ? Surely I thinke not, because the obligation dooth not specifie that I ought either to chuse, cut, or take the same, but that he ought to give me a pound of his flesh. Of every thing that is sold, he which delivereth the same is to make waight, and he which receiveth, taketh heed that it be just : seeing then that neither the obligation, custome, nor law doth bind me to cut, or weigh, much lesse unto the above mentioned satisfaction, I refuse it all, and require that the same which is due should bee delivered unto me.

1. Hazlitt's *Shakespeare's Library*

THE CHRISTIANS ANSWERE.

It is no strange matter to here those dispute of equitie which are themselves most unjust ; and such as have no faith at all, desirous that others should observe the same inviolable, the which were yet the more tollerable, if such men would bee contented with reasonable things, or at the least not altogether unreasonable : but what reason is there that one man should unto his own prejudice desire the hurt of another ? as this Jew is content to lose nine hundred crownes to have a pound of my flesh, whereby is manifestly seene the antient and cruell hate which he beareth not only unto Christians, but unto all others which are not of his sect ; yea, even unto the Turkes, who overkindly doe suffer such vermine to dwell amongst them, seeing that this presumptuous wretch dare not onely doubt, but appeale from the judgement of a good and just Judge, and afterwards he would by sophisticall reasons proove that his abhomination is equitie : trulie I confesse that I have suffered fifteene daies of the tearme to passe, yet who can tell whether he or I is the cause thereof : as for me I thinke that by secret means he hath caused the money to bee delaied, which from sundry places ought to have come unto me before the tearm which I promised unto him ; Otherwise, I would never have been so rash as to bind my selfe so strictly : but although he were not the cause of the fault, is it therefore said, that he ought to bee so impudent, as to goe about to proove it no strange matter that he should be willing to be paied with mans flesh, which is a thing more natural for Tigres, then men, the which also was never heard of : but this divell in shape of a man, seeing me oppressed with necessitie propounded this accursed obligation unto me. Whereas hee alleageth the Romanes for an example, why doth he not as well tell on how for that crueltie in afflicting debtors over greevously, the Commonwealth was almost overthrowne, and that shortly after it was forbidden to imprison men any more for debt. To breake promise is, when a man sweareth or promiseth a thing, the which he hath no desire to performe, which yet upon an extreame necessitie is somewhat excusable ; as for me, I have promised, and accomplished my promise, yet not so soone as I would ; and although I knew the danger wherein I was to satisfie the crueltie of this mischeevous man with the price of my flesh and blood, yet did I not flie away, but submitted my selfe unto the discretion of the Judge who hath justly repressed his beastlinesse. Wherein then have I falsefied my promise, is it in that I would not (like him), disobey the judgement of the Judge ? Behold I will present a part of my bodie unto him, that he may pay himselfe, according to the contents of the judgement, where is then my promise broken ? But it is no marvaile if this race be so obstinat and cruell against us, for they doe it of set purpose to offend our God whom they have crucified : and wherefore ? Because he was holie, as he is yet so reputed of this worthy Turkish nation : but what shal I say ? Their own bible is full of their rebellion against God, against their Priests, Judges, and leaders. What did not the verie Patriarks themselves, from whom they have their beginning ? They sold their brother, and had it not been for one amongst them, they had slaine him even for verie envie. How manie adulteries and abhominations were committed amongst them ? How manie murthers ? Absalon did not he cause his brother to be murthered ? Did he not persecute his father ? Is it not for their iniquitie that God hath dispersed them, without leaving them one onlie foot of ground ? If then, when they had newlie received their law from God, when they saw his wonderous works with their eies, and had yet their Judges amongst them, they were so wicked, what may one hope of them now, when they have neither faith nor law, but their rapines and usuries ? And that they beleeve they do a charitable work, when they do some great wrong unto anie that is not a Jew ? It may please you then most righteous Judge to consider all these circumstances, having pittie of him who doth wholy submit himselfe unto your just clemencie : hoping thereby to be delivered from this monsters crueltie.

APPENDIX V.

GERNUTUS THE JEW OF VENICE.

A new Song, shewing the cruelties of Gernutus, a Jewe who, lending to a merchant an hundred crowns, would have a pound of his fleshe, because he could not pay him at the time appointed.[1]

To the tune of Blacke and Yellow.

The First Part.

In Venice towne not long agoe
A cruel Jew did dwell,
Which lived all on usurie,
As Italian writers tell.

Gernutus called was the Jew,
Which never thought to dye,
Nor ever yet did any good
To them in streets that lie.

His life was like a barrow hogge,
That liveth many a day,
Yet never once doth any good,
Until men will him slay.

Or like a filthy heap of dung,
That lyeth in a whoard ;
Which never can do any good,
Till it be spread abroad.

So fares it with the usurer,
He cannot sleep in rest,
For feare the thiefe will him pursue
To plucke him from his nest.

His heart doth thinke on many a wile,
How to deceive the poore ;
His mouth is almost ful of mucke,
Yet still he gapes for more.

His wife must lend a shilling,
For every weeke a penny,
Yet bring a pledge, that is double worth,
If that you will have any.

And see, likewise, you keepe your day.
Or else you loose it all :
This was the living of the wife,
Her cow she did it call.

Within that citie dwelt that time
A marchant of great fame,
Which being distressed in his need,
Unto Gernutus came :

Desiring him to stand his friend
For twelve month and a day,
To lend to him an hundred crownes :
And he for it would pay
Whatsoever he would demand of him,
And pledges he should have.
' No,' (quoth the Jew with flearing lookes)
' Sir, aske what you will have.

No penny for the loane of it
For one year you shall pay ;
You may doe me as good a turne,
Before my dying day.

But we will have a merry jeast,
For to be talked long :
You shall make me a bond,' quoth he,
' That shall be large and strong :

And this shall be the forfeyture :
Of your owne fleshe a pound,
If you agree, make you the bond,
And here is a hundred crownes.

' With right good will ! ' the marchant says :
And so the bond was made,
When twelve month and a day drew on
That backe it should be payd,

The marchants ships were all at sea,
And money came not in ;
Which way to take, or what to doe
To thinke he doth begin :

And to Gernutus strait he comes
With cap and bended knee,
And sayde to him, ' Of curtesie
I pray you beare with mee.

My day is come, and I have not
The money for to pay :
And little good the forfeyture
Will doe you, I dare say.'

' With all my heart,' Gernutus sayd,
' Commaund it to your minde :
In thinges of bigger waight then this
You shall me ready finde.'

He goes his way ; the day once past
Gernutus doth not slacke
To get a sergiant presently ;
And clapt him on the backe :

1. Percy's *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*.

And layd him into prison strong,
And sued his bond withall ;
And when the judgement day was come,
For judgement he did call.

The marchants friends came thither fast,
With many a weeping eye,
For other meanes they could not find,
But he that day must dye.

THE SECOND PART.

Of the Jews crueltie ; setting foorth the mercifulnesse of the Judge towards the Marchant. To the tune of Blacke and Yellow.

SOME offered for his hundred crownes
Five hundred for to pay ;
And some a thousand, two or three,
Yet still he did denay.

And at the last ten thousand crownes
They offered, him to save,
Gernutus sayd, ' I will no gold :
My forfeite I will have.

A pound of fleshe is my demand,
And that shall be my hire.'
Then sayd the judge, ' Yet, good my friend,
Let me of you desire

To take the flesh from such a place,
As yet you let him live :
Do so, and lo ! an hundred crownes
To thee here will I give.'

' No, no ' : quoth he ; ' no : judgement here !
For this it shall be tride,
For I will have my pound of fleshe
From under his right side.'

It grieved all the companie
His crueltie to see,
For neither friend nor foe could helpe
But he must spoyled bee.

The bloudie Jew now ready is
With whetted blade in hand,
To spoyle the bloud of innocent,
By forfeit of his bond.

And as he was about to strike
In him the deadly blow :
' Stay ' (quoth the judge) ' thy crueltie ;
I charge thee to do so.

Sith needs thou wilt thy forfeit have ;
Which is of flesh a pound :
See that thou shed no drop of bloud,
Nor yet the man confound.

For if thou doe, like murderer,
Thou here shalt hanged be :
Likewise of flesh see that thou cut
No more than longes to thee :

For if thou take either more or lesse
To the value of a mite,
Thou shalt be hanged presently,
As is both law and right.'

Gernutus now waxt franticke mad,
And wotes not what to say ;
Quoth he at last, ' Ten thousand crownes,
I will that he shall pay ;

And so I graunt to set him free.'
The judge doth answere make ;
' You shall not have a penny given ;
Your forfeyture now take.'

At the last he doth demaund
But for to have his owne.
' No,' quoth the judge, ' doe as you list,
Thy judgement shall be showne.

Either take your pound of flesh,' quoth he,
' Or cancell me your bond.'
' O cruell judge,' then quoth the Jew,
' That doth against me stand ! '

And so with griping grieved mind
He biddeth them fare-well.
[Then] all the people prays'd the Lord,
That ever this heard tell.

Good people, that doe heare this song,
For trueth I dare well say,
That many a wretch as ill as hee
Doth live now at this day ;

That seeketh nothing but the spoyle
Of many a wealthey man,
And for to trap the innocent
Deviseth what they can.

From whome the Lord deliver me,
And every Christian too,
And send to them like sentence eke
That meaneth so to do.

APPENDIX VI.

THE NORTHERN LORD.[1]

In Four Parts.

To a pleasant new Tune.

Part I.

A noble lord of high renowne
Two daughters had, the eldest browne ;
The youngest beautifull and faire.
By chance a noble knight came there.

The father said, Kind sir, I haue
Two daughters, & which do you crave ?
One that is beautifull, he cryed,
The noble knight he then replyed.

She's young, she's beautifull and gay,
And is not to be giuen away ;
But, as jewels are bought and sold,
She shall bring me her weight in gold.

The price, methinkes, you need not grutch,
Since I will freely giue as much
With her owne sister ; if I can
Finde out some other nobleman.

With that bespake the noble knight :
More welcome is the beauty bright
At that high rate, renowned lord,
Then the other with a vast reward.

So then the bargain it was made ;
But ere the money could be paide
He borrow'd it of a wealthy Iew,
The sum so large. The writings drew,

That if he failde, or miss'd his day,
So many ounces he should pay
Of his owne flesh, instead of gold.
All was agreed ; the sum was told.

So he return'd immediately
Vnto the lord, where he did buy
His daughter deare, of beautie rare,
And paide him downe the money there.

He bought her so : it was well knowne
Vnto all men she was his owne.
By her a son he did enioy,
A noble sweete and comely boy.

At length the time of pay drew neare,
Whenas the knight began to feare :
He dreaded much the cruell Jew,
Because the money then was dew.

His lady askt him why he griev'd ?
He said, My jewell, I receiv'd
Such a huge sum, and of a Jew,
And with it I did purchase you.

But now the day of payment's come,
I know not how to raise the summe ;
He'll have my flesh, yea, weight for weight,
Which makes my grief and sorrow great.

Tush ! neuer feare, the dame reply'd :
We'll cross the raging ocean wide,
And so secure you from the fate.
To her request he yeelded strait.

Part II.

Then hauing past the raging seas,
They trauail'd on, till by degrees
Vnto the German court they came ;
The knight, his sonne, and comely dame.

Vnto the emperor he told
His story of the summe of gold
That he had borrowd of a Iew,
And that for feare of death he flew.

The emperor he did erect
A court for them ; and shewd respect
Vnto his guests, because they came
From Britain, that blest land of fame.

As here he liued in delight,
A Dutch lord told our English knight,
That he a ton of gold would lay
He could enioy his lady gay.

This Lord from her, then, was to bring
A rich and costly diamond ring,
That was to proue and testifie
How he did with his lady lye.

1. Hazlitt's *Shakespeare's Library*.

He tried, but neuer could obtaine
Her fauour, but with high disdaine
She did abhor his base intent ;
So to her chambermaid he went,

And told her, if she would but steale
Her lady's ring, and so conceale
The same, and bring it to him strait,
She should enioy his whole estate.

In hopes of such a great reward
The ring she stole ; and the Dutch lord
Did take it to the English knight,
Who almost swounded at the sight.

Home goeth he to his lady strait :
Meeting her at the pallace gate,
He flung her headlong in the moate,
And left her there to sinke or floate.

Soone afterward, in armour greene,
She like a warlike wight was seene ;
And in most gallant seemely sort
She rode vnto the emperors court.

Now, when the emperor behild
Her graue deportment, he was fill'd
With admiration at the sight,
Who call'd her selfe an English knight.

The emperor did then reply :
An English knight's condemn'd to dye
For drowning his false lady gay.
Quoth she, Ile free him, if I may.

Part III.

She to the emperor did ride,
And said, Now let the cause be tryde
Once more ; for Iue resolu'd to saue
This noble gallant from the grave.

It was decreed, the court should set.
The Dutch lord came, seeming to fret,
About the ring ; as if in feare
The truth would make his shame appeare.

And so it chanc'd ; for soone they call
The maid, who on her knees did fall
Before the judge, and did descry
The Dutch lord's shamefull treachery.

The court declared it to be so :
The lady too, for ought we know,
May be aliue : therefore we stay
The sentence till another day.

Now the Dutch lord gaue him the ton
Of gold, that he had iustly wonne ;
Which hauing done with shame and griefe,
The English lord had some reliefe.

The Dutch lord, to reuenge the spight
Upon our noble English knight,
Did send a letter out of hand,
And gaue the Jew to understand,

How he was in the German court :
Therefore, vpon this good report,
The Jew he crost the ocean wide,
Intent on being satisfied.

Soone as he fixt his greedy eies
Vpon the knight, in wrath he cries,
Your hand and seale I haue : behold !
Your flesh Ile haue instead of gold.

Then said the noble knight in greene :
Sir, may not the deed be seene ?
Behold it here ! replyed the Jew,
But I resolue to haue my due.

Lo ! then the knight began to reade.
At last he said : I find in deede
Nothing but flesh you are to haue.
Answerd the Jew, That's all I craue.

The poore distressed knight was broght :
The bloody-minded Jew he thought
That day to be reuengde on him,
And cut his flesh from euery limb.

The knight in greene said to the Jew.
Theres nothing els but flesh your due :
Then, see no drop of blood you shed,
For if you do, you lose your head.

Now take your due with all my hart :
But with his blood we will not part.
With that the Iew soone went his way.
Nor had another word to say.

Part IV.

No sooner were these troubles past
But the wifes father came in hast,
Determin'd for to haue his life
For drowning his beloued wife.

Ouer the seas her father brought
Many braue horses : one was bought
By the disguised knight in greene,
Which was the best that ere was seene.

They brought her lord from prison then,
Guarded by many armed men,
Vnto the place where he must dye ;
And the greene knight was standing by.

Then from her side her sword she drew,
And ran her gelding through and through.
Her father askt, Why dost thou so ?
I may ; it is mine owne, you know.

You sold your gelding, 'tis well knowne ;
I bought it, making it mine owne,
And may doe what I please with it.
So then to her he did submit.

Here is a man arraign'd and cast,
And brought to suffer death at last,
Because your daughter deare he slue ;
But if he did, concerns it you ?

You had your money, when you sold
Your daughter for her weight in gold :
Wherefore he might, as I haue showne,
Do what him pleased with his owne.

Then, hauing changed her armour greene,
And drest her selfe like to a queene,
Her father and her husband strait
Both knew her ; and their ioy was great.

Soone did they carry this report
Vnto the famous German court,
How the renowned English knight
Had found at length his lady bright.

The emperor and his lords of fame
With cheerful harts did then proclaim
An vniuersall ioy, to see
This lady's life and libertie.

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The Tragedy of King Richard the Second

Written. Between 1593–1595.

Published. The first edition in quarto form was published anonymously in 1597, under the following title: "The Tragedie of King Ri | chard the se- | cond. *As it hath beene publikely acted* | *by the right Honourable the* | *Lorde Chamberlaine his Ser* | *uants.* | London | Printed by Valentine Simmes for Andrew Wise, and are | to be sold at his Shop in Paules church yard at | the signe of the Angel. | 1597 | ." A second quarto was published in the following year, and ten years later | in 1608 | a third quarto was issued with "new additions of the Parliament Sceane, and the deposing of King Richard."

There were other plays on Richard's reign extant in the time of Shakespeare:

1. *The Life and Death of Jack Straw*, published in 1593, which dealt with the peasant insurrection of 1381.
2. *The Play of Deposing Richard II.* This play was acted in the streets of London in 1601, on the day previous to the ill-timed rebellion of the Earl of Essex at the latter's request, for the purpose of encouraging the conspirators.
3. A Play, now lost, witnessed by Dr. Simon Forman at the Globe Theatre, on April 30th, 1611, and recorded in his Diary.[1]

Source of the Plot. The leading events are purely historical, Shakespeare's authority being—as in his other historical plays—the *Chronicles* of Raphael Holinshed.[2]

Outline of the Play. In a Parliament held at Shrewsbury in January, 1398, Henry Bolingbroke Duke of Hereford accused Thomas Mowbray Duke of Norfolk of treason, and the matter was referred to a Court to be held in the following April, the Duke of Lancaster, father to the Duke of Hereford; the Duke of York; the Duke of Aumerle, Constable of England; and the Duke of Surrey, Acting Marshal of the realm; acting as sureties for the Duke of Hereford; the Duke of Norfolk being detained under arrest. At this point the play opens in King Richard's palace in London. Addressing his uncle, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, Richard inquires whether he has—in accordance to his bond and oath—brought with him his son Bolingbroke, in order that his accusations against the Duke of Norfolk can be settled:

> Old John of Gaunt, time-honour'd Lancaster,
> Hast thou, according to thy oath and band,
> Brought hither Henry Hereford thy bold son,
> Here to make good the boisterous late appeal,
> Which then our leisure would not let us hear,
> Against the Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Mowbray?

1. *See* Appendix I.
2. *See* Appendix II.

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and on being told he is present commands that both disputants be brought before him.

Bolingbroke having been requested by the king to make his charge against Norfolk, he, taking heaven as his witness, accuses his opponent of treachery, offering to prove his words at the point of the sword :

> First, heaven be the record of my speech !
> . . . . . .
> Now, Thomas Mowbray, do I turn to thee,
> And mark my greeting well ; for what I speak
> My body shall make good upon this earth,
> Or my divine soul answer it in heaven.
> Thou art a traitor and a miscreant,
> Too good to be so, and too bad to live,
> Since the more fair and crystal is the sky,
> The uglier seem the clouds that in it fly.
> Once more, the more to aggravate the note,
> With a foul traitor's name stuff I thy throat ;
> And wish, so please my sovereign, ere I move,
> What my tongue speaks my right drawn sword may prove.

Norfolk answers this accusation in " cold and defiant words," giving Bolingbroke the lie direct, and calling him a " slanderous coward and villian " :

> Let not my cold words here accuse my zeal :
> . . . . . .
> I do defy him, and I spit at him ;
> Call him a slanderous coward and a villain :
> Which to maintain I would allow him odds,
> And meet him, were I tied to run afoot
> Even to the frozen ridges of the Alps,
> Or any other ground inhabitable,
> Where ever Englishman durst set his foot.
> Mean time let this defend my loyalty,
> By all my hopes, most falsely doth he lie.

In a fury, Bolingbroke, " laying aside his high blood's royalty," throws down his gage, a challenge to measure swords with Norfolk :

> Pale trembling coward, there I throw my gage,
> Disclaiming here the kindred of the king ;
> And lay aside my high blood's royalty,
> Which fear, not reverence, makes thee to except.

Norfolk picks up the gage, a sign that Bolingbroke's challenge is accepted :

> I take it up ; and by that sword I swear,
> Which gently laid my knighthood on my shoulder,
> I 'll answer thee in any fair degree,
> Or chivalrous design of knightly trial :

In the hope of appeasing the disputants, Richard inquires of Bolingbroke the charge he makes against Norfolk :

> What doth our cousin lay to Mowbray's charge ?

and Bolingbroke accuses Norfolk of using in a fraudulent manner money entrusted to him to pay the troops ; and also of plotting the murder of the Duke of Gloucester :

> Look, what I speak, my life shall prove it true ;
> That Mowbray hath received eight thousand nobles
> In name of lendings for your highness' soldiers,
> The which he hath detain'd for lewd employments,
> . . . . . .
> Further I say, and further will maintain
> Upon his bad life to make all this good,
> That he did plot the Duke of Gloucester's death,

Norfolk stoutly defends himself against Bolingbroke's insulting speech, declaring that such accusations are only dictated by " the rancour of a villain, A recreant and most degenerate traitor : " and throwing down his gage claims a right to defend his honour in the lists, at the same time imploring the king to fix a day for the duel :

> And interchangeably hurl down my gage
> Upon this overweening traitor's foot,
> To prove myself a loyal gentleman
> Even in the best blood chamber'd in his bosom.
> In haste whereof, most heartily I pray
> Your highness to assign our trial day.

Mowbray having acted under the king's orders " to make the duke (of Gloucester) secretlie awaie," Richard endeavours to hush the matter up to his honour, and under the pretext of effecting a reconciliation, pledges himself to " calm " the Duke of Norfolk, if old John of Gaunt—Bolingbroke's father—will " calm " his son :

> Wrath-kindled gentlemen, be ruled by me ;
> . . . . . .
> Forget, forgive ; conclude and be agreed ;
> Our doctors say this is no month to bleed.
> Good uncle, let this end where it begun ;
> We 'll calm the Duke of Norfolk, you your son.

In spite of the requests of the king and John of Gaunt, both Norfolk and Bolingbroke refused to be reconciled. Casting himself at Richard's feet, Norfolk craves pardon for refusing to obey his commands ; but the king insists on the gage being placed in his hand :

> Rage must be withstood :
> Give me his gage : lions make leopards tame.

to which Norfolk replies :

> Yea, but not change his spots : take but my shame,
> And I resign my gage.

a sacrifice that Norfolk is so reluctant to make that he exclaims " Mine honour is my life ; both grow in one ; Take honour from me, and my life is done." Turning to Bolingbroke the king requests him to follow the example of Norfolk, but casting a fierce and angry look at his opponent, he says :

> O, God defend my soul from such deep sin !
> Shall I seem crest-fallen in my father's sight ?
> Or with pale beggar-fear impeach my height
> Before this out-dared dastard ?

" We were not born to sue, but to command ; " haughtily replies the king and possibly with the hope that both will perish in the encounter, forthwith decrees that the knights shall settle their quarrel in the lists at Coventry upon Saint Lambert's day :

> Which since we cannot do to make you friends,
> Be ready, as your lives shall answer it,
> At Coventry, upon Saint Lambert's day :
> There shall your swords and lances arbitrate
> The swelling difference of your settled hate :

Cf. *Extract* 1 from Holinshed.

The Duke of Lancaster's Palace supplies the next scene. It reveals the duke in conversation with his sister-in-law, the Duchess of Gloucester. The duchess is clamouring for revenge upon Norfolk for the murder of her husband, but old Gaunt—

knowing that if Norfolk is guilty he was in reality only an agent of Richard's—fearing to implicate the king, advises her to leave the quarrel to the will of heaven, for :

> God's is the quarrel ; for God's substitute,
> His deputy anointed in His sight,
> Hath caused his death : the which if wrongfully,
> Let heaven revenge ; for I may never lift
> An angry arm against His minister.

and exhorts her to turn for aid :

> To God, the widow's champion and defence.

" Why, then, I will," replies the duchess, and bidding farewell to Gaunt who is about to set out for Coventry to witness the duel between Bolingbroke and Norfolk,—she expresses a hope that " Hereford's spear " will enter " butcher Norfolk's breast ! " As they separate—Gaunt to Coventry and the Duchess to her seat at Plashy—she asks to be ' commended ' to her brother-in-law, the Duke of York, telling him to avoid visiting her in her widowed home :

> Therefore commend me ; let him not come there,
> To seek out sorrow that dwells every where.
> Desolate, desolate, will I hence and die :
> The last leave of thee takes my weeping eye.

The third scene is the Lists at Coventry. The Lord Marshal and the Duke of Aumerle enter, and the former learning that both the champions are ready for the fray, promises to call upon them immediately the king arrives. Amid a blast of trumpets, the king—attended by a brilliant retinue of great nobles and their ladies—enters, and takes his place upon the throne. Preceded by a Herald Norfolk rides in, and having saluted the king the Marshal inquires the cause for which he has come to fight :

> In God's name and the king's, say who thou art,
> And why thou comest thus knightly clad in arms ;
> Against what man thou comest, and what thy quarrel :
> Speak truly, on thy knighthood and thy oath ;
> As so defend thee heaven and thy valour !

to which Norfolk replies :

> My name is Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk ;
> Who hither come engaged by my oath—
> Which God defend a knight should violate !—
> Both to defend my loyalty and truth
> To God, my king, and his succeeding issue,
> Against the Duke of Hereford that appeals me ;
> And, by the grace of God and this mine arm,
> To prove him, in defending of myself,
> A traitor to my God, my king, and me :
> And as I truly fight, defend me heaven !

A second trumpet sounds, and Bolingbroke, with his Herald dashes in, and after saluting Richard, is inquired of by the Marshal :

> What is thy name ? and wherefore comest thou hither,
> Before King Richard in his royal lists ?
> Against whom comest thou ? and what 's thy quarrel ?
> Speak like a true knight, so defend thee heaven !

to which Bolingbroke makes answer :

> Harry of Hereford, Lancaster and Derby,
> Am I ; who ready here do stand in arms,
> To prove, by God's grace and my body's valour,
> In lists, on Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk,
> That he is a traitor, foul and dangerous,
> To God of heaven, King Richard and to me ;
> And as I truly fight, defend me heaven !

The Lord Marshal having forbidden—as was the usual custom—any man under pain of death to enter or " touch the lists, Except the marshal and such officers Appointed to direct these fair designs," Bolingbroke craves permission to kneel and kiss his sovereign's hand, which permission is granted, by Richard, who descends and embracing Bolingbroke, remarks :

> Cousin of Hereford, as thy cause is right,
> So be thy fortune in this royal fight !

Both champions take their places in the lists, the two combatants receive their lances, after the Lord Marshal had satisfied himself that they were of equal length ; and the Heralds on each side make proclamation :

> *First Her.* Harry of Hereford, Lancaster and Derby,
> Stands here for God, his sovereign and himself,
> On pain to be found false and recreant,
> To prove the Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Mowbray,
> A traitor to his God, his king and him ;
> And dares him to set forward to the fight.
> *Sec. Her.* Here standeth Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk,
> On pain to be found false and recreant,
> Both to defend himself and to approve
> Henry of Hereford, Lancaster and Derby,
> To God, his sovereign and to him disloyal ;
> Courageously and with a free desire
> Attending but the signal to begin.

" Sound, trumpets ; and set forward, combatants " shouts the Lord Marshal, and as each knight drives the spurs into his horse's flanks and couches his lance for the fray, the king gives the signal for the charge to stop, " Stay, the king hath thrown his warder down." The combatants reign up their chargers. " Let them lay by their helmets and their spears, And both return back to their chairs again : " commands the king. The trumpets sound a long flourish, after which the king consults with his nobles, and then calling the two knights to him, proclaims the banishment of Bolingbroke from the country for the space of ten years :

> Therefore, we banish you our territories :
> You, cousin Hereford, upon pain of life,
> Till twice five summers have enrich'd our fields
> Shall not regreet our fair dominions,
> But tread the stranger paths of banishment.

Bolingbroke receives his sentence in a loyal and submissive manner, gravely remarking that he is comforted by the fact that his " banishment will be gilded by the golden beams of the same sun " which will shine upon them both :

> Your will be done : this must my comfort be,
> That sun that warms you here shall shine on me ;
> And those his golden beams to you here lent
> Shall point on me and gild my banishment.

Turning to Norfolk, the king banishes him for ever :

> Norfolk, for thee remains a heavier doom,
> Which I with some unwillingness pronounce :
> The sly slow hours shall not determinate
> The dateless limit of thy dear exile ;
> The hopeless word of " never to return "
> Breathe I against thee, upon pain of life.

With trembling lips Norfolk vigorously protests against this heavy sentence :

> A heavy sentence, my most sovereign liege,
> And all unlook'd for from your highness' mouth :
> A dearer merit, not so deep a maim
> As to be cast forth in the common air,
> Have I deserved at your highness' hands.
> The language I have learn'd these forty years,
> My native English, now I must forego :

but the king curtly answers that the time for pleading has passed :

> It boots thee not to be compassionate :
> After our sentence plaining comes too late.

to which Norfolk despairing cries :

> Then thus I turn me from my country's light,
> To dwell in solemn shades of endless night.

Calling the two combatants again before him, Richard makes them lay their hands on his sword and swear that they will never meet, or hold communication with one another, nor plot against him. On rising from their knees, Bolingbroke calls once more on Norfolk to confess his crime, but Norfolk replies :

> No, Bolingbroke : if ever I was traitor,
> My name be blotted from the book of life,
> And I from heaven banish'd as from hence !
> But what thou art, God, thou, and I do know ;
> And all too soon, I fear, the king shall rue.

and bidding the king farewell, departs into exile, saying :

> Farewell, my liege. Now no way can I stray ;
> Save back to England, all the world's my way.

Seeing the sorrow of old Gaunt at the banishment of his son Bolingbroke, Richard, not wishing to act with too great severity against the house of Lancaster, reduces Bolingbroke's term of banishment by four years, knowing well his popularity with the common people. Bolingbroke does not even thank the king for a remission of his sentence. " Four lagging winters and four wanton springs " he gravely remarks, but old Gaunt expresses his gratitude, although he fears he may never see his son again :

> I thank my liege, that in regard to me
> He shortens four years of my son's exile :
> But little vantage shall I reap thereby ;
> For, ere the six years that he hath to spend
> Can change their moons and bring their times about,
> My oil-dried lamp and time-bewasted light
> Shall be extinct with age and endless night ;
> My inch of taper will be burnt and done,
> And blindfold death not let me see my son.

to which Richard makes reply: "Why, uncle, thou hast many years to live." adding that Bolingbroke "is banish'd upon good advice, Whereto *thy* tongue a party-verdict gave:" "You urged me as a judge" retorts old Gaunt, and allowed "my unwilling tongue, Against my will to do myself this wrong." But Richard merely bids father and son to take leave of each other and amid a flourish of trumpets, departs.

Bolingbroke's friends now crowd round to bid him adieu, one of them offering to accompany him on his way, but Bolingbroke, overwhelmed with grief, makes no reply.

Taking old Gaunt by the hand, Bolingbroke assures his father that he will ever remain true to his native land, and with words of farewell upon his lips, passes into exile:

> Then, England's ground, farewell; sweet soil, adieu;
> My mother, and my nurse, that bears me yet!
> Where'er I wander, boast of this I can,
> Though banish'd, yet a trueborn Englishman.

Cf *Extract* 2 from Holinshed.

The concluding scene of this Act shows us the Court where we find Richard surrounded by his favourites. The king inquires of Aumerle as to how far he accompanied Bolingbroke on his way into exile, and Aumerle replies it was but to the next highway. Richard further inquires as to Bolingbroke's parting words, and Aumerle tells him that they merely consisted of one word "farewell," adding, that he hoped the word would have "added years to his short banishment." The king is jealous of Bolingbroke, and fears him on account of his popularity with the people, for "Off goes his bonnet to an oyster-wench; A brace of draymen bid God speed him well," to which Green remarks: "Well, he is gone; and with him go these thoughts," and reminds Richard that Ireland claims his attention, the rebels having broken out in open war. Richard decides to cross over to Ireland to suppress the rebellion, and is discussing the arrangements, when Bushy enters with the news that John of Gaunt has been suddenly taken ill and wishes the king to pay him a visit:

> Old John of Gaunt is grevious sick, my lord,
> Suddenly taken; and hath sent post haste
> To entreat your majesty to visit him.

Being in need of money for his Irish campaign, Richard—knowing that Lancaster is wealthy—meditates on seizing his estates, and prays that heaven may speed his death:

> Now put it, God, in the physician's mind
> To help him to his grave immediately!
> The lining of his coffers shall make coats
> To deck our soldiers for these Irish wars.
> Come, gentlemen, let 's all go visit him:
> Pray God we may make haste, and come too late!

to which all present add "Amen." Cf. *Extract* 3 from Holinshed.

The second Act opens in Ely house, the residence of the Bishop of Ely, where old Gaunt lies dying. He longs for the presence of the king, as he wishes to give him some final counsel:

> Will the king come, that I may breathe my last
> In wholesome counsel to his unstaid youth?

but York tells him :

Vex not yourself, nor strive not with your breath ;
For all in vain comes counsel to his ear.

" But they say the tongues of dying men Enforce attention like deep harmony " retorts old Gaunt, but York—who is at this point loyal to Richard—assures him the king's ears are " stopp'd with other flattering sounds, As praises, of whose taste the wise are fond." But Gaunt feels constrained to speak, and as he lies awaiting the coming of the king he mutters words showing his love for his native land, in the following often-quoted speech :

This royal throne of kings, this scepter'd isle,
This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
This other Eden, demi-paradise ;
This fortress built by Nature for herself
Against infection and the hand of war ;
This happy breed of men, this little world,
This precious stone set in the silver sea,
Which serves it in the office of a wall,
Or as a moat defensive to a house,
Against the envy of less happier lands ;
This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England,
This nurse, this teeming womb of royal kings,
Fear'd by their breed and famous by their birth,
Renowned for their deeds as far from home,
For Christian service and true chivalry,
As is the sepulchre in stubborn Jewry
Of the world's ransom, blessed Mary's Son ;
This land of such dear souls, this dear dear land,
Dear for her reputation through the world,
Is now leased out, I die pronouncing it,
Like to a tenement or pelting farm :
England, bound in which the triumphant sea,
Whose rocky shore beats back the envious siege
Of watery Neptune, is now bound in with shame,
With inky blots and rotten parchment bonds :
That England, that was wont to conquer others,
Hath made a shameful conquest of itself,
Ah, would the scandal vanish with my life,
How happy then were my ensuing death !

Richard—accompanied by the Queen and others—enters, and York urges Gaunt to " deal mildly with his youth ; " " How fares our noble uncle, Lancaster ? " are the Queen's comforting words, but Richard addresses him as " aged Gaunt." " Old Gaunt indeed, and gaunt in being old : . . . For sleeping England long time have I watch'd ; . . . Gaunt am I for the grave, gaunt as a grave," rejoins Lancaster, but Richard sneeringly remarks " Can sick men play so nicely with their names ? " Rising from his pillow, the sick nobleman soundly rates his nephew for his misgovernment of the realm, and warns him against flatterers, telling him that his grandfather would disapprove of his actions, and reminds Richard that he is merely " Landlord of England, not King." Richard listens to this scathing denunciation with every outward show of patience, but at length, white with fury, he turns on the old man, and calling him " A lunatic lean-witted fool " who " Darest with thy frozen admonition presume on an ague's privilege," tells him that if such words had not been uttered by a " brother to great Edward's son " he would have had him executed :

A lunatic lean-witted fool,
. . . . . .
Wert thou not brother to great Edward's son,
This tongue that runs so roundly in thy head
Should run thy head from thy unreverent shoulders.

But Gaunt is fearless. " O, spare me not, my brother Edward's son," he retorts, and boldly accusing Richard of causing the death of Gloucester, he solemnly warns the king of the fatal course he is pursuing. As the old man is borne away by his attendants in a dying condition, Richard, with a frown cruelly remarks : " And let them die that age and sullens have ; For both hast thou, and both become the grave." Presently Northumberland enters with the news that Lancaster has passed away :

> His tongue is now a stringless instrument ;
> Words, life and all, old Lancaster hath spent.

to which Richard replies :

> The ripest fruit first falls, and so doth he ;
> His time is spent, our pilgrimage must be.

Richard orders his officers to seize upon the dead man's estate—now the lawful possessions of Bolingbroke—and employ their value to carry out his Irish campaign :

> Towards our assistance we do seize to us
> The plate, coin, revenues and moveables,
> Whereof our uncle Gaunt did stand possess'd.

but York—himself a man of no moral aptitude—denounces such a dishonourable act. Being the last of " noble Edward's sons " he pertinently asks : " How long shall I be patient ? and bear such things as a brother's (Gloucester's) death, a nephew's (Bolingbroke's) banishment, and the confiscation of the ancestral estates " and declaring that he will not be a party to it leaves the room, adding as he does so that " such events can never fall out good." Immediately York has gone Richard reiterates the order for confiscating Lancaster's property ; and after announcing that he intends to leave for Ireland on the morrow, appoints the Duke of York as Lord-Governor of England during his absence :

> Go, Bushy, to the Earl of Wiltshire straight :
> Bid him repair to us to Ely House
> To see this business. To-morrow next
> We will for Ireland ; and 'tis time, I trow :
> And we create, in absence of ourself,
> Our uncle York lord governor of England ;

On the departure of the king for Ireland, certain nobles dissatisfied at the vacillating course of the king and the shameful manner in which he has stripped Bolingbroke—as lawful heir to Lancaster's wealth—of his just inheritance, converse together as to the best means to ensure their own safety, and resolve to bind themselves together for active measures.

News arrives from Brittany that Bolingbroke is assembling a force to invade England during Richard's absence, intending to land at Ravenspurgh, on the Yorkshire coast. On the news being conveyed to the nobles, Northumberland exclaims : " Away with me in post to Ravenspurgh : But if you faint, as fearing to do so, Stay and be secret, and myself will go." " To horse, to horse ! urge doubts to them that fear," cries Ross, and " Hold out my horse, and I will first be there," ejaculates Willoughby, and leaping into their saddles they hasten off to Ravenspurgh to meet Bolingbroke. Cf. *Extract* 4 from Holinshed.

We are next at Windsor Castle, where we find the queen in a state of melancholy, although she had promised during Richard's absence, to " entertain a cheerful disposition " :

Bushy. Madam, your majesty is too much sad :
You promised, when you parted with the king,
To lay aside life-harming heaviness,
And entertain a cheerful disposition.

" To please the king I did ; to please myself I cannot do it ; " she replies, adding that she cannot account for her depression, except it is in " bidding farewell to so sweet a guest As my sweet Richard : " When Bushy suggests that it is " nothing but conceit, my gracious lady," she remarks that her grief must be the foreboding of some evil genius :

But what it is, that is not yet known ; what
I cannot name ; 'tis nameless woe, I wot.

Green now enters, and enquires whether the king has left for Ireland. " I hope the king is not yet shipp'd for Ireland." " Why hopest thou so ? 'tis better hope he is ; " answers the queen, only to learn that Bolingbroke has landed at Ravenspurgh, where he has been joined by Northumberland and other nobles. " Why have you not proclaim'd Northumberland And all the rest revolted faction traitors ? " inquires Bushy, to which Green replies : " We have : whereupon the Earl of Worcester Hath broke his staff," and has fled northwards to join Bolingbroke. At this point York enters in a state of despondency, for knowing how Richard is hated by the people, regrets an old man like himself should be left to defend the king's supremacy. A servant enters and announces that many of the nobles have joined the rebels, and fearing that the Commons will go over to Hereford's side, York requests the servant to proceed forthwith to Plashy to his sister the Duchess of Gloucester and ask for a loan of a thousand pounds, as money is required very urgently, but the servant informs York that such an errand would be fruitless, for the duchess has breathed her last. In a state of despair York knows not which way to turn, but giving orders to those who still remain loyal to the king, to " muster forces and meet him at Berkeley " although he " should to Plashy go " he leaves the room with the queen, remarking that " everything is left at six and seven."

On his departure, Bushy, Green and Bagot conclude it will be useless to oppose Bolingbroke, and therefore decide to save themselves by flight. Bushy and Green proceed to Bristol, and take refuge in the Castle there :

Green. Well, I will for refuge straight to Bristol castle,
The Earl of Wiltshire is already there.
Bushy. Thither will I with you.

while Bagot—taking advantage of the fair winds—crosses over to Ireland to warn the king of the rebellion :

I will to Ireland to his majesty.
Farewell : if heart's presages be not vain,
We three here part that ne'er shall meet again.

That they have little hope of York being able to hold out against the forces of Bolingbroke is shown by their subsequent conversation :

Green. Alas, poor duke ! the task he undertakes
Is numbering sands and drinking oceans dry :
Where one on his side fights, thousands will fly.
Farewell at once, for once, for all, and ever.
Bushy. Well, we may meet again.
Bagot. I fear me, never.

Cf. *Extract* 5 from Holinshed.

The third scene is descriptive of Bolingbroke's march to meet York. Accompanied by Northumberland and a large army which is rapidly augmented as it proceeds, they march from Ravenspurgh in Yorkshire to Berkeley in Gloucestershire. Having crossed into Gloucestershire Bolingbroke inquires of Northumberland how far it is to Berkeley, but Northumberland admits that he is a stranger in those parts, although Bolingbroke's conversation has been so entertaining that the distance from Ravenspurgh has seemed very short indeed. On the way south they are joined by Northumberland's son—Harry Percy—of whom Northumberland asks news of his brother the Lord Worcester. Percy replies that after Northumberland had been proclaimed a traitor, Worcester threw off his allegiance to the king, and went to join Bolingbroke at Ravenspurgh. Percy is then introduced to Bolingbroke who gladly accepts the young lord's services, and on Northumberland inquiring of his son the distance to Berkeley Castle, and the strength of the garrison under York's command, Percy, pointing in the distance, says :

> There stands the castle, by yon tuft of trees,
> Mann'd with three hundred men, as I have heard :
> And in it are the Lords of York, Berkeley, and Seymour ;
> None else of name and noble estimate.

Immediately afterwards they are joined by the Lords Ross and Willoughby and their forces :

> Here come the Lords of Ross and Willoughby,
> Bloody with spurring, fiery-red with haste.

They are welcomed by Bolingbroke, to which Ross makes reply " Your presence makes us rich, most noble lord," to which Willoughby adds " And far surmounts our labour to attain it."

These lords have scarcely been welcomed when Berkeley approaches, and having addressed Bolingbroke as the " Lord of Hereford " is reminded that since the death of old John of Gaunt he has succeeded to the title of the " Duke of Lancaster " :

> *Berk.* My Lord of Hereford, my message is to you.
> *Boling.* My lord, my answer is—to Lancaster ;
> And I am come to seek that name in England ;
> And I must find that title in your tongue,
> Before I make reply to aught you say.

Berkeley apologises and courteously explains that the Duke of York—as Lord-Governor of England—has sent him to enquire why Bolingbroke is marching through the country at the head of an armed force. He has no sooner uttered the words, than York appears, and Bolingbroke, kneeling down, greets him as " My noble uncle ! " " Show me thy humble heart, and not thy knee, Whose duty is deceivable and false," retorts York. " My gracious uncle ! " proceeds Bolingbroke. " Tut, tut ! " curtly replies York, " Grace me no grace, nor uncle me no uncle : I am no traitor's uncle ; and that word ' grace ' In an ungracious mouth is but profane." Asking to know " his fault," York tells Bolingbroke that he is guilty of " gross rebellion and detested treason," for being " a banish'd man " he has returned " Before the expiration of his time," and taken up " arms against his sovereign," but Bolingbroke replies that he was banished as " Hereford " but he has returned to claim his title as the " Duke of Lancaster." After this parley between Bolingbroke and York has ended, Northumberland tells York that Bolingbroke has not been justly treated, while Ross adds that it is obligatory upon York to see that he is restored to his just inheritance. York is compelled to admit his " cousin's wrongs," but denies the right of Bolingbroke to " Be his own carver and cut out his way," and brands him

as a rebel and a traitor to King Richard. Northumberland again reminds York that Bolingbroke has only returned to claim his legal rights, and York knowing that the force under his command is too weak for action, promises to remain neutral, at the same time offering to entertain them at Berkeley Castle :

> Well, well, I see the issue of these arms :
> I cannot mend it, I must needs confess,
> Because my power is weak and all ill left :
> But if I could, by Him that gave me life,
> I would attach you all and make you stoop
> Unto the sovereign mercy of the king ;
> But since I cannot, be it known to you
> I do remain as neuter. So, fare you well ;
> Unless you please to enter in the castle
> And there repose you for this night.

York's offer is gladly accepted by Bolingbroke, after which he invites York to accompany him to Bristol, to assist in ousting " Bushy, Bagot and their complices, The caterpillars of the commonwealth," who have taken possession of the castle, an invitation which he very reluctantly accepts, for although he is " loath to break his country's laws," he admits that :

> Things past redress are now with me past care.

Cf. *Extract* 6 from Holinshed.

The next scene—a short one—shows us a Camp in Wales. Salisbury, sent over from Ireland, has collected together in the king's defence, a Welsh army 40,000 strong. Weary of waiting for the return of the king from Ireland, the Welsh captain suggests the disbandment of the force :

> My Lord of Salisbury, we have stay'd ten days,
> And hardly kept our countrymen together,
> And yet we hear no tidings from the king ;
> Therefore we will disperse ourselves : farewell.

but Salisbury induces them to remain under arms a little longer, as Richard has every confidence in them. Rumour is rife that the king is dead, and this is " confirmed " by many " bad omens " which have occurred of late : " The bay-trees in our country are all wither'd, And meteors fright the fixed stars of heaven ; The pale-faced moon looks bloody on the earth," and even " prophets whisper fearful change." These " signs " which " forerun the death or fall of kings " create such an evil impression upon their superstitious minds ; and being assured " that Richard their king is dead " they disband themselves and go over to the side of Bolingbroke :

> Farewell : our countrymen are gone and fled,
> As well assured Richard their king is dead.

to which Salisbury sadly mutters :

> Ah, Richard, with the eyes of heavy mind
> I see thy glory like a shooting star
> Fall to the base earth from the firmament,

for all

> Thy friends are fled to wait upon thy foes,
> And mostly to thy good all fortune goes.

Cf. *Extract* 7 from Holinshed.

The Third Act opens before the Castle of Bristol. The castle having been taken by Bolingbroke's forces, he demands that Bushy and Green—two of Richard's followers—be brought before him :

> Bring forth these men.
> Bushy and Green, I will not vex your souls—
> Since presently your souls must part your bodies—

and telling them that it is their influence that has led the king to his ruin, orders their executions ; a penalty, which according to Bushy, is " more welcome than Bolingbroke to England."

> *Boling.* You have misled a prince, a royal king,
> . . . . . .
> Made a divorce betwixt his queen and him,
> . . . . . .
> Myself, a prince by fortune of my birth,
> Near to the king in blood, and near in love
> Till you did make him misinterpret me,
> . . . . . .
> This and much more, much more than twice all this,
> Condemns you to the death. See them deliver'd over
> To execution and the hand of death.
> *Bushey.* More welcome is the stroke of death to me
> Than Bolingbroke in England. Lords, farewell.
> *Green.* My comfort is that heaven will take our souls
> And plague injustice with the pains of hell.

Bolingbroke then makes preparations to meet Glendower—a supporter of Richard, but before doing so bids York to convey to the queen a message of affection :

> Tell her I send to her my kind commends ;
> Take special care my greeting be deliver'd.

to which York replies :

> A gentleman of mine I have despatch'd
> With letters of your love to her at large.

Cf. *Extract* 8 from Holinshed.

The coast of Wales supplies the next scene. Richard—accompanied by the Bishop of Carlisle, Aumerle and forces—lands in the vicinity of Barkloughly Castle, and being asked by Aumerle " How brooks your grace the air, After your late tossing on the breaking seas ? " Richard, in an outburst of sentimentality greets his native land, bidding it to refuse all hospitality to traitors :

> Dear earth, I do salute thee with my hand,
> . . . . . .
> So, weeping, smiling, greet I thee, my earth,
> . . . . . .
> Feed not thy sovereign's foe, my gentle earth,
> Nor with thy sweets comfort his ravenous sense ;
> . . . . . .
> This earth shall have a feeling and these stones
> Prove armed soldiers, ere her native king
> Shall falter under foul rebellion's arms.

To this the Bishop of Carlisle answers that heaven will never forsake a consecrated king : " Fear not, my lord : that Power that made you king Hath power to keep you king in spite of all," at the same time they must make use of the means

which heaven puts in their way : " The means that heaven yields must be embraced, And not neglected ; else, if heaven would, And we will not, heaven's offer we refuse, The proffer'd means of succour and redress," to which the more practical Aumerle adds that owing to Richard dallying, Bolingbroke has collected a large force : " He means, my lord, that we are too remiss ; Whilst Bolingbroke, through our security, Grows strong and great in substance and in power." Addressing him as " Discomfortable cousin ! " Richard avers that as " thieves and robbers range abroad unseen " under cover of darkness, but " Stand bare and naked, trembling at themselves " when daylight returns, so that " this thief, this traitor, Bolingbroke " who has invaded his kingdom during his absence, will " tremble at his sin," when he sees him " rising in his throne," for " Not all the water in the rough rude sea Can wash the balm off from an anointed king," nor the " breath of wordly men depose The deputy elected by the Lord." Salisbury enters, and the king eagerly inquires about the Welsh forces, only to be told that he has arrived " one day too late," and that the Welshmen having heard he was dead, have dispersed and gone over to Bolingbroke. This news makes the king turn deadly pale. " Comfort, my liege : why looks your grace so pale ! " are Aumerle's comforting words, and recovering himself, Richard bursts out in boastful language : " am I not king ? Awake, thou coward majesty ! thou sleepest. Is not the king's name twenty thousand names ? Arm, arm, my name ! a puny subject strikes At thy great glory," declaring that " York Hath power enough to serve our turn." At this moment Scroop enters with the sad tidings that Bolingbroke at the head of a mighty force, is sweeping all before him : " So high above his limits swells the rage Of Bolingbroke, covering your fearful land With hard bright steel and hearts harder than steel. White-beards have arm'd their thin and hairless scalps Against thy majesty ; boys, with women's voices, Strive to speak big and clap their female joints In stiff unwieldy arms against thy crown : Thy very beadsmen learn to bend their bows Of double-fatal yew against thy state ; Yea, distaff-women manage rusty bills Against thy seat : both young and old rebel, And all goes worse than I have power to tell." This causes the king to enquire as to the whereabouts of Wiltshire, Bagot, Bushy and Green :

> Where is the Earl of Wiltshire, where is Bagot ?
> What is become of Bushy ? where is Green ?
> That they have let the dangerous enemy
> Measure our confines with such peaceful steps ?
> If we prevail, their heads shall pay for it :
> I warrant they have made peace with Bolingbroke.

" Peace have they made with him indeed, my lord," began Scroop, and Richard, bursting into a passion, exclaims :

> O villains, vipers, damn'd without redemption !
> Dogs, easily won to fawn on any man !
> Snakes, in my heart-blood warm'd, that sting my heart !
> Three Judases, each one thrice worse than Judas !
> Would they made peace ? terrible hell make war
> Upon their spotted souls for this offence !

" Uncurse their souls " continues Scroop in solemn tones, for " their peace is made With heads, and not with hands : those whom you curse Have felt the worst of death's destroying wound, And lie full low, graved in the hollow ground." " Is Bushy, Green and the Earl of Wiltshire dead " anxiously inquires Aumerle, to which Scroop replies that " all of them at Bristol lost their heads." " Where is the duke my father with his power ? " asks Aumerle, but Richard despondently interposes : " No matter where ; of comfort no man speak " but let us " talk of graves, of worms

and epitaphs . . . let us sit upon the ground And tell sad stories of the death of kings : How some have been deposed ; some slain in war ; Some haunted by the ghosts they have deposed ; Some poison'd by their wives ; some sleeping kill'd ; All murder'd : " But " My lord, wise men ne'er sit and wail their woes, But presently prevent the ways to wail," interjects Carlisle, to which Aumerle adds " My father hath a power ; inquire of him, And learn to make a body of a limb." This makes Richard turn to Scroop, and inquire as to the whereabouts of York and his army, adding : " Speak sweetly, man, although thy looks be sour," and Scroop reluctantly admits that York has joined Bolingbroke, that all the northern castles are in his power, and all the southern gentlemen-in-arms have gone over to his side. All hope is now past, and after rebuking Aumerle for having uttered words of comfort, Richard in despair retires to the stronghold of Flint Castle, to await the coming of his valiant opponent :

> By heaven, I 'll hate him everlastingly
> That bids me be of comfort any more.
> Go to Flint castle : there I 'll pine away ;

and

> He does me double wrong
> That wounds me with the flatteries of his tongue,
> Discharge my followers : let them hence away,
> From Richard's night to Bolingbroke's fair day.

Cf. *Extract* 9 from Holinshed.

The next scene is before Flint Castle in North Wales. Bolingbroke appears with his forces and learns of the desertion of the Welsh forces and the landing of Richard. Northumberland informs Bolingbroke that " Richard not far from hence hath hid his head," and is rebuked by York for not saying " King Richard," for " alack the heavy day When such a sacred king should hide his head." Northumberland excuses himself by saying that it was " only to be brief, Left I his title out," but York retorts that " The time hath been, Would you have been so brief with him, he would Have been so brief with you, to shorten you, For taking so the head, your whole head's length." This argument is cut short by the entrance of Harry Percy who brings the news that Richard is in the castle :

> *Percy.* The castle royally is mann'd, my lord,
> Against thy entrance.
> *Boling.* Royally !
> Why, it contains no king ?
> *Percy.* Yes, my good lord,
> It doth contain a king ; King Richard lies
> Within the limits of yon lime and stone :
> And with him are the Lord Aumerle, Lord Salisbury,
> Sir Stephen Scroop, besides a clergyman
> Of holy reverence ; who, I cannot learn.
> *North.* O, belike it is the Bishop of Carlisle.

Bolingbroke immediately orders a trumpeter to sound a parley, and Richard—with the Bishop of Carlisle, Aumerle, Salisbury, Scroop and others—appears on the castle walls. Northumberland in the name of Bolingbroke offers respectful homage to Richard, who is ready to make complete submission to the king, if the decree of banishment be repealed and his confiscated estates restored. Richard is surprised that Bolingbroke requests nothing more than this, for the sentence of banishment has been terminated by Bolingbroke himself, and it is now only a question of formality on the part of the king. Richard tells Northumberland that he has long

stood to watch for Bolingbroke to kneel to his lawful king as it is his duty to do so, and requests Northumberland to " Tell Bolingbroke . . . that every stride he makes upon my land Is dangerous treason : " for he has come to claim the crown. To this Northumberland personally pledges himself that Bolingbroke comes not with any treacherous intentions but only to claim his legal rights. Then tell him, replies Richard that " all his fair demands Shall be accomplish'd without contradiction : " at the same time regretting that he is forced by circumstance to retract the sentence on one whom he has so lately banished. As Northumberland is departing, Richard turns to Aumerle and asks : " Shall we call back Northumberland, and send Defiance to the traitor, and so die ? " but Aumerle replies " No, good my lord ; let 's fight with gentle words, Till time lend friends and friends their helpful swords."

Having informed Bolingbroke that the king has pardoned him, Northumberland presently returns with a message that Bolingbroke wishes to speak with Richard in the base court of the castle :

> My lord, in the base court he doth attend
> To speak with you ; may it please you to come down.

Looking round on his followers, Richard sees that resistance is hopeless :

> Down, down I come ; like glistering Phaeton,
> Wanting the manage of unruly jades.
> In the base court ? Base court, where kings grow base,
> To come at traitors' calls and do them grace.
> In the base court ? Come down ? Down, court ! down, king!
> For night-owls shriek where mounting larks should sing.

The king, with his attendants, enters below, and Bolingbroke kneels before his monarch, who reproaches him for his lowly attitude :

> Fair cousin, you debase your princely knee
> To make the base earth proud with kissing it :

" My gracious lord, I come but for mine own," replies Bolingbroke, and is surprised when Richard promises to grant all he asks : " Your own is yours, and I am yours, and all " and even offers to accompany Bolingbroke to London : " For do we must what force will have us do. Set on towards London, cousin, is it so ? " an offer which is readily accepted. Cf *Extract* 10 from Holinshed.

The Duke of York's garden at Langley supplies the concluding scene of this Act. It opens with the queen enquiring of her ladies what sport they can devise " To drive away the heavy thought of care ? " One suggests " a game of bowls," and the queen remarks that it would " make me think the world is full of rubs, And that my fortune runs against the bias." Dancing is then proposed, but the queen again objects as her heart is so full of sorrow, that her legs cannot keep time to any joyous dance. Tale-telling and singing are next suggested, but at this moment a gardener and two servants enter, and the queen and her ladies retire " into the shadow of the trees " to listen to their conversation for " They 'll talk of state ; for every one doth so Against a change ; woe is fore run with woe."

The gardener then gives one of the servants instructions : " Go, bind thou up yon dangling apricocks, Which, like unruly children, make their sire Stoop with oppression of their prodigal weight : Give some supportance to the bending twigs. Go thou, and like an executioner, Cut off the heads of too fast growing sprays, That look too lofty in our commonwealth : All must be even in our government. You

thus employ'd, I will go root away The noisome weeds, which without profit suck The soil's fertility from wholesome flowers." But the servant asks why "such law and form and due proportion" should be observed in their own garden, when in the garden of the realm the fairest flowers are choked up, the fruit-trees all unpruned, her hedges ruin'd, and her wholesome herbs swarming with caterpillars? "Hold thy peace:" demands the gardener, for such pruning has lately been done by Bolingbroke, who has plucked up root and all the Earl of Wiltshire, Bushy and Green. "What, are they dead?" asks the servant. "They are" replies the gardener, and "Bolingbroke Hath seized the wasteful king," adding that if Richard had only trimmed and dressed his land like "we dress and trim this garden" he would not have been lopped off as a useless bough. "What, think you then the king shall be deposed?" anxiously asks the servant. "Depress'd he is already, and deposed 'Tis doubt he will be: letters came last night To a dear friend of the good Duke of York's, That tell black tidings."

Being "press'd to death through want of speaking!" the queen emerges from her hiding-place, and chastises the gardener for his "rudeness" for "divining" Richard's downfall:

> Thou, old Adam's likeness, set to dress this garden,
> How dares thy harsh rude tongue sound this unpleasing news?
> What Eve, what serpent, hath suggested thee
> To make a second fall of cursed man?
> Why dost thou say King Richard is deposed?
> Darest thou, thou little better thing than earth,
> Divine his downfall? Say, where, when, how,
> Camest thou by this ill tidings? speak, thou wretch.

"Pardon me, madam: little joy have I To breathe this news; yet what I say is true. King Richard, he is in the mighty hold Of Bolingbroke: . . . Post you to London, and you will find it so;" answers the gardener. Lamenting the fact that she is the last to hear what concerns her most, the queen decides to proceed forthwith to London; and then turning to the gardener, says: "Gardener, for telling me these news of woe, Pray God the plants thou graft'st may never grow." "Poor queen! he mutters, "I would my skill were subject to thy curse," if it would only relieve your heavy burden, and forthwith decides to plant on the spot where her tears fell, a

> bank of rue, sour herb of grace:
> Rue, even for ruth, here shortly shall be seen,
> In the remembrance of a weeping queen.

At the opening of the fourth Act we are in Westminster Hall, where a Parliament is being held. Bolingbroke bids Bagot reveal his knowledge concerning Gloucester's death, and Bagot lays the guilty charge on Lord Aumerle. Aumerle denies this, calling Bagot "a liar" and offering to prove it with his "knightly sword." Fitzwater supports Bagot in this accusation, boldly saying: "I heard thee say, and vauntingly thou spakest it, That thou wert cause of noble Gloucester's death." "Fitzwater" replies Aumerle "thou are damn'd to hell for this," to which Percy adds: "Aumerle, thou liest;" and throws down his gage as a challenge. Other lords throw down their gages, and Aumerle is on the point of picking them up, when Surrey charges Fitzwater with being guilty of the crime. Fitzwater vigorously denies Surrey's accusation, whereupon Surrey throws down his gauntlet as a challenge to fight, calling Fitzwater a "Dishonourable boy!" Accepting the challenge, Fitzwater remarks that he overheard "the banish'd Norfolk say, That thou,

Aumerle, didst send two of thy men To execute the noble duke at Calais." To end the dispute, Bolingbroke announces that the sentence of banishment against Norfolk shall be repealed so that he can appear as a witness: "These differences shall all rest under gage Till Norfolk be repeal'd: repeal'd he shall be, And, though mine enemy, restored again To all his lands and signories: when he 's return'd, Against Aumerle we will enforce his trial," but the Bishop of Carlisle answers that it is too late, for Norfolk having fought in the east against "black Pagans, Turks and Saracens," had retired to Venice, and given "his pure soul unto his captain Christ, Under whose colours he had fought so long." Aumerle's guilt is therefore left to be decided by combat on a day to be appointed by Bolingbroke: "Lord appellants, Your differences shall all rest under gage Till we assign you to your days of trial." At this point, York enters, announces Richard's abdication, and salutes Bolingbroke as "Henry the Fourth of England."

> Great Duke of Lancaster, I come to thee
> From plume-pluck'd Richard; who with willing soul
> Adopts thee heir, and his high sceptre yields
> To the possession of thy royal hand:
> Ascend his throne, descending now from him;
> And long live Henry, fourth of that name!

As Bolingbroke ascends the throne, the Bishop of Carlisle protests, and denouncing him as a traitor, predicts that as he is a usurper, his accession will cause dissatisfaction in the country: "And if you crown him, let me prophesy; The blood of English shall manure the ground, And future ages groan for this foul act;" Carlisle is thereupon arrested by Northumberland on the charge of high treason. Bolingbroke now gives orders for Richard to be brought to the bar of the Hall, in order for him to make renunciation of the crown. Richard appears, and inquiring the reason he is brought hither, York tells him he is to publicly resign his crown to Bolingbroke which he proceeds to do, and pardoning all those who have broken their vows to him, hails Bolingbroke as King Harry, wishing him "many years of sunshine days:"

> Long mayst thou live in Richard's seat to sit,
> And soon lie Richard in an earthly pit!
> God save King Harry, unking'd Richard says,
> And send him many years of sunshine days!

And "What more remains?" he asks, only to be told by Northumberland that he is required to read aloud a paper setting forth his crimes: "No more, but that you read These accusations and these grievous crimes, Committed by your person and your followers Against the state and profit of this land; That, by confessing them, the souls of men May deem that you are worthily deposed;" to which Richard retorts that if Northumberland's crimes were placed on record the most heinous one would be his treatment of his king. When Northumberland insists on his reading the paper, Richard declares his eyes are so full of tears he cannot see, and calls for a mirror that he may look upon his own face. Gazing steadily at his own reflection and muttering: "A brittle glory shineth in this face: As brittle as the glory is the face;" he dashes the glass in a "hundred shivers" on the floor of the hall, remarking: "Mark, silent king, the moral of this sport, How soon my sorrow hath destroy'd my face;" to which Bolingbroke replies: "The shadow of your sorrow hath destroy'd The shadow of your face." Richard then begs permission to retire, and Bolingbroke gives orders for him to be conveyed to the Tower. Bolingbroke having announced his coronation will take place the following Wednesday, all leave

the Hall with the exception of the Bishop of Carlisle, the Abbot of Westminster and Lord Aumerle, who moralise on the proceedings just enacted :

Abbot. A woeful pageant have we here beheld.
Car. The woe 's to come ; the children yet unborn
Shall feel this day as sharp to them as thorn.

" You holy clergymen, is there no plot To rid the realm of this pernicious blot ? " asks Aumerle, to which Westminster replies that it is only after he has taken the sacrament that he can freely speak his mind, and forthwith invites them to

Come home with me to supper ; and I 'll lay
A plot shall show us all a merry day.

Cf. *Abstract* 11 from Holinshed.

The opening of the fifth Act is a Street leading to the Tower of London, where the queen is waiting to say a word of farewell to her husband : " This way the king will come ; this is the way To Julius Cæsar's ill-erected tower, To whose flint bosom my condemned lord Is doom'd a prisoner by proud Bolingbroke." On his appearance she remarks on the change in Richard's deportment, and realises that he is a man under the shadow of death. Seeing her sorrow, Richard implores her not to weep over " grim Necessity " but to return to France and enter a religious house, for " Our holy lives must win a new world's crown, Which our profane hours here have thrown down." But the queen reminds him that he is " a lion and a king of beasts " to which Richard replies : " a king of beasts, indeed ; " would to God I had been a king of men. Again urging the queen to repair to France, and to think of him as one dead, he tells her that as she sits round the fire during the " winter's tedious nights " and hears from the " good old folks, tales Of woeful ages long ago betid," she shall, ere they bid " good-night " tell the " lamentable tale of himself, and send the hearers weeping to their beds," for even the " senseless brands " will, with compassion " weep the fire out " while " some will mourn in ashes, some coal-black, For the deposing of a rightful king."

At this point Northumberland enters with the news that Bolingbroke has changed Richard's place of confinement to Pomfret Castle, and the queen is to be sent away to France :

My lord, the mind of Bolingbroke is changed ;
You must to Pomfret, not unto the Tower.
And, madam, there is order ta'en for you ;
With all swift speed you must away to France.

Turning to Northumberland, Richard with dignity foretells his revolt from Bolingbroke—a prophecy very speedily to be fulfilled— : " Northumberland, thou ladder wherewithal The mounting Bolingbroke ascends my throne, The time shall not be many hours of age More than it is, ere foul sin gathering head Shall break into corruption : " " My guilt be on my head, and there an end. Take leave and part ; for you must part forthwith " replies Northumberland, and on Richard turning to the queen to bid her farewell, she pleads for leave to share her husband's company in captivity or in exile. But Northumberland tells her this cannot be, and after a tender farewell, they separate, never to meet again, Richard remarking :

So two, together weeping, make one woe.
Weep thou for me in France, I for thee here ;
Better far off, than near, be ne'er the near.
Go, count thy way with sighs ; I mine with groans.

Cf. *Extract* 12 from Holinshed.

The next scene is the Duke of York's palace. It opens with the duchess reminding her husband that he had promised to tell her the rest of the story—from which he broke off with weeping—of the entry of Bolingbroke and Richard into London, and York goes on to describe how Bolingbroke, as he rode through the streets " Mounted upon a hot and fiery steed " was acclaimed by the people, who shouted " God save thee, Bolingbroke," and " Jesu preserve thee ! welcome Bolingbroke ! " while " men's eyes Did scrowl on gentle Richard ; no man cried ' God save him ! ' " No joyful tongue gave him his welcome home : But dust was thrown upon his sacred head ; which he shook off with " gentle sorrow." Aumerle now appears. " Here comes my son Aumerle," remarks the duchess, but York tells her he is now the " Earl of Rutland," having been deprived of his ducal dignity for supporting Richard :

> Aumerle that was ;
> But that is lost for being Richard's friend,
> And, madam, you must call him Rutland now :
> I am in parliament pledge for his truth
> And lasting fealty to the new made king.

Being welcomed by his mother, who asks him who now adorn the court of the newly-crowned king, Aumerle replies : " I know not, nor I greatly care not : " " What news from Oxford ? hold those justs and triumphs ? " enquires York, to which Aumerle makes answer : " For aught I know, my lord, they do." Noticing in his son's pocket a document from which hangs a seal, York demands to know the meaning of it :

> What seal is that, that hangs without thy bosom ?
> Yea, look'st thou pale ? let me see the writing.

He replies " My Lord, 'tis nothing," to which York answers that he " will be satisfied when he sees the writing." Aumerle asks his father to pardon him, as " It is a matter of small consequence, Which for some reasons, I would not have seen." " Which for some reasons, sir, I mean to see," for " I fear, I fear,—" " What should you fear ? " interposes the duchess, " 'Tis nothing but some band, that he is enter'd into For gay apparel 'gainst the triumph day." Describing his wife as " a fool " York asks her " what doth he with a bond, That he is bound to ? " and declaring that he will " see the writing " forthwith snatches the document from his son's pocket, and after reading it calls out " Treason ! foul treason ! Villain ! traitor ! slave ! " Hastily summoning a servant York calls for his horse. " Saddle my horse. God for his mercy, what treachery is here ! " and as the duchess enquires " Why, what is it, my lord ? " he repeats " Give me my boots, I say ; saddle my horse," at the same time threatening to " impeach the villain." " What is the matter ? " again asks the duchess, and York answers " Peace, foolish woman." " I will not peace," replies the duchess and turning to Aumerle enquires of him, and Aumerle exclaims : " Good mother, be content ; it is no more Than my poor life must answer." Turning to York the duchess implores him not to implicate their only son, but York tells her she is a " mad woman " to try to " conceal this dark conspiracy " for " A dozen of them here have ta'en the sacrament, And interchangeably set down their hands To kill the king at Oxford," and with the words " Make way, unruly woman ! " he dashes away to lay the document before Bolingbroke at Windsor.

Immediately he has gone the duchess urges her son to mount his father's horse, and gallop in haste to Windsor to ask pardon of Bolingbroke before his

father arrives, promising to follow herself, to intercede with the king on his behalf :

> After, Aumerle ! mount thee upon his horse ;
> Spur post, and get before him to the king,
> And beg thy pardon ere he do accuse thee.
> I 'll not be long behind ; though I be old,
> I doubt not but to ride as fast as York :
> And never will I rise up from the ground
> Till Bolingbroke have pardon'd thee. Away, be gone !

Cf. *Extract* 13 from Holinshed.

We are next at Windsor Castle, where we find Bolingbroke in conversation with Percy and other lords. The king is enquiring the whereabouts of his " unthrifty son " as it is " full three months since I did see him last." Percy replies that " some two days since I saw the prince, And told him of those triumphs held at Oxford," but his reply was that he preferred " the stews " to " court life." " As dissolute as desperate " observes Bolingbroke, adding " yet through both I see some sparks of better hope, which elder years May happily bring forth." At this point, Aumerle appears in hot haste, and begs a private audience of the king. Percy and the other lords withdraw, and Aumerle, having been granted permission to lock the door so that no man may enter, falls at the king's feet and asks for pardon. Almost immediately York arrives, and finding the door locked, calls out " My liege, beware ; look to thyself ; Thou hast a traitor in thy presence there." " Villain, I 'll make thee safe," observes Bolingbroke, drawing his sword, but Aumerle begs the king to " Stay thy revengeful hand ; thou hast no cause to fear." On York threatening to break the door open if he is not admitted, Bolingbroke himself opens the door and hastily enquires : " What is the matter, uncle ? speak ; Recover breath ; tell us how near is danger, That we may arm us to encounter it." " Peruse this writing here, and thou shalt know The treason that my haste forbids me show," excitedly exclaims York, and demands that his son be punished for his complicity in the plot. Before Bolingbroke can answer the duchess appears, and calls out : " What ho, my liege ! for God's sake, let me in," to which the king inquires : " What shrill-voiced suppliant makes this eager cry ? " only to receive the answer :

> A woman, and thy aunt, great king ; 'tis I.
> Speak with me, pity me, open the door :
> A beggar begs that never begg'd before.

Bolingbroke gives orders for her to be admitted, and on entering she turns to the king with the words :

> O king, believe not this hard-hearted man !
> Love loving not itself none other can.

and York excitedly ejaculates :

> Thou frantic woman, what dost thou make here ?
> Shall thy old dugs once more a traitor rear ?

to which the duchess replies : " Sweet York, be patient." Casting herself at the king's feet she begs for pardon for her son. Bolingbroke bids the duchess rise, but she refuses to do so until her request is granted : " Not yet, I thee beseech : For ever will I walk upon my knees, And never see day that the happy sees, Till thou give joy ; until thou bid me joy, By pardoning Rutland, my transgressing boy."

Aumerle too falls on his knees at his mother's side : " Unto my mother's prayers I bend my knee," while York, going down on his knees also, urges speedy punishment : " Against them both my true joints bended be. Ill mayst thou thrive, if thou grant any grace ! " But the duchess is not to be denied. Making a further eloquent appeal for clemency, she tells the king that York does not plead in earnest, for " look upon his face ; His eyes do drop no tears, his prayers are in jest ; His words come from his mouth, ours from our breast : He prays but faintly and would be denied ; We pray with heart and soul and all beside : . . . His prayers are full of false hypocrisy ; Ours of true zeal and deep integrity." " Good aunt, stand up," requests Bolingbroke, but the duchess answers : " Nay, do not say, ' stand up ; ' Say ' pardon ' first, and afterwards ' stand up.' . . . ' Pardon ' should be the first word of thy speech. . . . The word is short, but not so short as sweet ; No word like ' pardon ' for kings' mouths so meet." " Speak it in French, king ; say, ' pardonne moi ' " [" Excuse me " or " pardon me "] ejaculates York, and the duchess upbraids him for his mockery, calling him " my sour husband, my hard-hearted lord," and earnestly appeals to the king to

> Speak ' pardon ' as 'tis current in our land ;

and not

> The chopping French we do not understand.

Bolingbroke again requests the duchess to rise, but she replies " I do not sue to stand : Pardon is all the suit I have in hand," and the king is so moved by her passionate request that he proclaims Aumerle's pardon : " I pardon him, as God shall pardon me," and as she rises from her knees, in an ecstasy of joy designates Bolingbroke as " A god on earth." The scene closes with the king giving orders to York to apprehend the other conspirators.

We are still at Windsor Castle in the next scene. Sir Pierce of Exton and a servant enter, and the former remarks : " Didst thou not mark the king, what words he spake, ' Have I no friend will rid me of this living fear ? ' Was it not so ? " Being assured by the servant that " These were his very words," Exton concludes that Bolingbroke wishes to get rid of Richard, and with the words : " I am the king's friend, and will rid his foe," leaves the castle with this purpose in view, and the same night, jumping into his saddle, rides with feverish haste along the Great North Road to Pomfret Castle. Cf. *Extract* 14 from Holinshed.

Our next scene is Pomfret Castle. It opens with Richard in his dungeon, soliloquising over his unhappy fate ;

> I have been studying how I may compare
> This prison where I live unto the world :

As he soliloquies, the strains of sweet music played by someone about the castle, fall upon his ears :

> Music do I hear ?
> Ha, ha, keep time : how sour sweet music is,
> When time is broke and no proportion kept !
> So is it in the music of men's lives,

for " I wasted time, and now doth time waste me ; For now hath time made me his numbering clock : . . . but my time Runs posting on in Bolingbroke's proud joy,

While I stand fooling here, his Jack o' the clock." Declaring that "This music mads me; let it sound no more;" he calls down a blessing on the heart that played it:

> For 'tis a sign of love; and love to Richard
> Is a strange brooch in this all-hating world.

At this point a groom enters, and on Richard inquiring who he is and what brings him "Where no man never comes, but that sad dog That brings me food to make misfortune live?" tells him that having been a groom in his service, he has yearned to see his former royal master ever since Bolingbroke rode through the streets of London on "roan Barbary" that horse which he had so often dressed. "Rode he on Barbary?" exclaims Richard, "Tell me, gentle friend, How went he under him?" and the groom replies: "So proudly as if he disdain'd the ground," to which Richard cries that even the "jade that had eaten bread from his royal hand," had proved disloyal to him, or he would have stumbled and "broke the neck Of that proud man that did usurp his back?" but "Forgiveness, horse! why do I rail on me, Since thou, created to be awed by man, Wast wont to bear?"

But Richard's life was fast drawing to a close. The Keeper, with a dish of food, now enters, and orders the groom to depart: "Fellow, give place; here is no longer stay," to which Richard sympathetically adds: "If thou love me, 'tis time thou wert away," and the groom forthwith departs, remarking as he bids Richard farewell: "What my tongue dares not, that my heart shall say." Being requested by Richard to taste the food, as was the usual custom, the keeper tells him that "Sir Pierce of Exton, Who lately came from the king, commands the contrary." "The devil take Henry of Lancaster and thee! Patience is stale, and I am weary of it," ejaculates Richard and falls upon the keeper with his fists. The keeper cries "Help, help, help!" and Exton and his men rush into the cell. "How, now! what means death in this rude assault? Villain, thy own hand yields thy death's instrument," cries Richard, and snatching the axe from the foremost man fells him to the ground with the remark: "Go thou, and fill another room in hell," and turning to a second kills him also. Before he can recover himself however, Exton, who had stood by with a dagger in his hand waiting his opportunity, plunges the weapon into the breast of Richard, who, falling on the floor of his cell, exclaims:

> That hand shall burn in never-quenching fire
> That staggers thus my person. Exton, thy fierce hand
> Hath with the king's blood stain'd the king's own land.
> Mount, mount, my soul! thy seat is up on high;
> Whilst my gross flesh sinks downward, here to die.

Leaning over the lifeless body of Richard, Exton repents the crime he has committed, and leaves the prison cell intending to bear the dead body to Bolingbroke:

> As full of valour as of royal blood:
> Both have I spill'd; O would the deed were good!
> For now the devil, that told me I did well,
> Says that this deed is chronicled in hell.
> This dead king to the living king I 'll bear:
> Take hence the rest, and give them burial here.

The final scene brings us back to Windsor Castle. Bolingbroke is telling York that the rebels have set fire to the town of Cicester in Gloucestershire, when Northumberland enters with the news that four of the traitors—Oxford, Salisbury, Blunt, and

Kent—have been beheaded. He is immediately followed by Fitzwater who announces that he has disposed of Brocas and Seely—" Two of the dangerous consorted traitors That sought at Oxford thy dire overthrow." Percy enters, and reports that the " grand conspirator, Abbot of Westminster, With clog of conscience and sour melancholy Hath yielded up his body to the grave," and also that he has brought with him the Bishop of Carlisle to receive sentence at the king's hands. Addressing the Bishop, Bolingbroke tells him to :

> Choose out some secret place, some reverend room,
> More than thou hast, and with it joy thy life ;
> So as thou livest in peace, die free from strife ;

for although he has ever been his enemy, he intends to allow him to live, as :

> High sparks of honour in thee have I seen.

Exton now appears, followed by persons bearing a coffin, and addressing Bolingbroke, says :

> Great king, within this coffin I present
> Thy buried fear : herein all breathless lies
> The mightiest of thy greatest enemies,
> Richard of Bordeaux, by me hither brought.

In surprise, Bolingbroke answers :

> Exton, I thank thee not ; for thou hast wrought
> A deed of slander, with thy fatal hand,
> Upon my head and all this famous land,

to which Exton retorts : " From your own mouth, my lord, did I this deed," but Bolingbroke tells him :

> They love not poison that do poison need,
> Nor do I thee : though I did wish him dead,
> I hate the murderer, love him murdered,

and bids him " With Cain go wander thorough shades of night, And never show his head by day nor light," and then turning to the assembled lords he protests that his soul is so sorrowful, that after he has paid his last tribute to Richard, he will :

> make a voyage to the Holy Land,
> To wash this blood off from my guilty hand :
> March sadly after ; grace my mournings here ;
> In weeping after this untimely bier.

Cf. *Extract* 15 from Holinshed.

Scene : England and Wales.

CHARACTERS, PLACE-NAMES, ETC.

Abbot of Westminster. IV. i. p.1, 152 ; V. vi. 19.

Appears in Bolingbroke's Parliament.

He is the chief instigator in the conspiracy against Bolingbroke (Henry IV.) and after Bolingbroke has proclaimed the day of his coronation, in reply to Aumerle as to whether " there is no plot To rid the realm of this pernicious blot ? " invites him and the Bishop of Carlisle to supper, promising to reveal to them a plot which will " show us all a merry day." Cf. *Extract* 11 from Holinshed.

In the last scene Percy enters and reports the death of the Abbot :

> The grand conspirator, Abbot of Westminster,
> With clog of conscience and sour melancholy
> Hath yielded up his body to the grave ;
> [V. vi. 19–21.]

This ecclesiastic has generally been supposed to have been William of Colchester ; but French thinks that ' the abbot who took part in the latter scenes of this play was his successor, Richard Harounden, or Harweden.' Dart in his History and Antiquities of the Abbey Church of St. Peter, Westminster, after speaking of the date of the death of William of Colchester, which he states was uncertain, says : ' Richard Harounden is next nam'd, of whom we know nothing certain, but during this interval of Darkness I find the year before the Deposition of Richard II. the Abbat of Westminster attending Richard II. into Ireland, and after his Return appointed with others to go to him in the Tower, concerning his Resignation ; and soon after concern'd at his Usage, join'd with the Dukes of Exeter, Surrey, and Aumarle, &c., the Bishop of Carlisle, and principally the Abbat of Westminster, had an uncommon aversion to Henry IV., for that when the Earl of Darby, he had declared the Clergy had too much, and the King too little ; but I rather think out of a true Loyalty to release their captiv'd Sovereign, but this being discover'd and several executed the Abbat fled from his Monastery, and dying of an Apoplex, escap'd publick Execution. This Harounden I take to be the Man whom the Monks privately buried without Tomb or Inscription ; nor do we know in what part of the Church they laid him probably, for Fear ; but as I am not certain, I leave it doubtful.' This passage is quoted by French but with many inaccuracies. I have transcribed it from Dart's work. As French gives it, it makes perfect nonsense ; and it must be confessed that, even when correctly quoted, it is far from intelligible. The writer apparently means to say that this Richard Harweden joined in Aumerle's conspiracy, not so much out of hatred to Henry IV., as from a feeling of loyal sympathy for the deposed and imprisoned Richard. When the conspiracy was discovered, the abbot fled ; and afterwards died a natural death from apoplexy. This tallies to a certain extent with Shakespeare's account :

> The grand conspirator, Abbot of Westminster
> With clod of conscience and sour melancholy
> Hath yielded up his body to the grave.

It would appear that there is a great discrepancy between the different authorities as to the date of William of Colchester's death ; and, on the whole, it seems most probable that the Abbot, mentioned in this play, was Richard Harounden. Both Grafton and Rapin agree that this Abbot of Westminster, who played such an important part in Aumerle's conspiracy, died suddenly of a fit ; and this corresponds both with Shakespeare's account, and with that given by Dart, of Harounden's death. If the Abbot of this play was William of Colchester, it is, as French points out, very unlikely that he would have been allowed to escape unpunished, and to continue in the enjoyment of his high office for fourteen years after his having taken part in such a conspiracy. It is also remarkable that none of the historians mention that William of Colchester died either a violent, or a sudden death. *Irving edition.*

Dean Stanley relates that "he was sent by Henry IV., with sixty horsemen to the Council of Constance, and died twenty years after Shakespeare reports him to have been hanged for his treason."

Abel's. I. i. 104.

> Which blood, like sacrificing Abel's, cries,
> Even from the tongueless caverns of the earth,
> [I. i. 104–105.]

The voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground. See *Genesis* iv. 10.

Abraham. IV. i. 104.

> Sweet peace conduct his sweet soul to the bosom
> Of good old Abraham! [IV. i. 103–104.]

'The sons of Edward sleep in Abraham's bosom.' See *Luke* xvi, 22.

Adam's likeness. III. iv. 73.

The first gardener. Tennyson in the earlier editions of *Lady Clare Vere de Vere* calls him the 'grand old gardener.'

Alps. I. i. 64.

> And meet him, were I tried to run afoot
> Even to the frozen ridges of the Alps, [I. i. 63–64.]

"Mowbray is expressing his determination to meet Bolingbroke in combat, even if he were compelled to follow him to the snow-clad Alps." *Oxford and Cambridge edition.*

Antipodes. III. ii. 49.

The people living on the opposite side of the earth.

Archbishop of Canterbury. II. i. 282.

Thomas Arundel, brother to the Earl of Arundel; Bishop of Ely, 1374; Chancellor 1386–89; Archbishop of York, 1388; Chancellor 1391–96, and Archbishop of Canterbury, 1396. With his brother the Earl of Arundel, and the Duke of Gloucester was implicated in the conspiracy against Richard, and administered the sacrament to them on their oath; Impeached by the House of Commons and banished in 1397; he returned to England with Henry IV. whom he crowned in 1399, and was again Chancellor 1399, 1407 and 1412. (1353–1414.)

Attendants. I. i. p.1; III. iii. p.1, p.187; IV. i. p.276; V. vi. p.1.

Bagot, Servant to King Richard. I. iii. p. 7; I. iv. p.1, 23; II. i. p.69; II. ii. p.1; II. iii. 165; III. ii. 122; IV. i. p.1, 1, 2.

On the arrival of Bolingbroke on the coast of Yorkshire, Green and Bushy decide to seek refuge in Bristol Castle, and invite Bagot to accompany them:

> *Green.* Well, I will for refuge straight to Bristol castle,
> The Earl of Wiltshire is already there.
> *Bushy.* Thither will I with you; for little office
> The hateful commons will perform for us,
> Except like curs to tear us all to pieces.
> Will you go along with us? [II. ii. 135–140.]

but Bagot declines, saying:

> No; I will to Ireland to his majesty,
> Farewell: [II. ii. 141–142.]

According to Holinshed he fled first to Chester and thence to Ireland, but French says he escaped from Bristol Castle after its fall, and joined the king in Ireland. This is however, inconsistent with III. ii. 122 where Richard inquires as to the whereabouts of Bagot.

He next appears in Westminster Hall before Bolingbroke, where he accused Aumerle of being privy to the death of the Duke of Gloucester, after which he passes off the stage.

It would appear that the real Christian name of Bagot should be William, and he is so called in a writ, dated St. Alban's, July 12, 1399, addressed to 'William le Scrop, Earl of Wiltshire, John Bussy, Henry Grene, and William Bagot, chivalers,' respecting the keeping of Wallingford Castle, in which Richard's queen, Isabel, then lay. Rymer's *Fœdera*. Sir William Bagot, the person intended in this play, was Sheriff co. Leicester, 6 and 7 Richard II., and Knight of the Shire, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, and 20 Richard II. He escaped from Bristol Castle, and joined the king in Ireland, but on his return

was committed by Henry IV. to the Tower, whence he was released November 12, 1400, and being received into favour served again in Parliament. He died in 1407, and was buried at Baginton, co. Warwick, leaving by his wife, Margaret, sister and heir of Robert de Whatton, an only daughter, Isabel, who married Thomas Stafford, of Pipe, c. Hereford. Bolingbroke, the night before his intended combat with Mowbray, lodged at Sir William Bagot's manor-house at Baginton, a short distance from Gosford-green, near Coventry, where the lists were formed, on 'St. Lambert's Day,' September 17, 1398. *French.*

See also Bushy and Green.

Barbary. V. v. 78, 81.

The favourite horse of King Richard the Second. There is no historical foundation for the story, probably Shakespeare may have got the hint from the following passage from Froissart: "And as it was informed me, king Richard had a greyhound called Math,[1] who always waited upon the king and would know no man else; for whensoever the king did ride, he that kept the greyhound did let him loose and he would straight run to the king and fawn upon him and leap with his fore feet upon the king's shoulders. And as the king and the earl of Derby talked together in the court, the greyhound, who was wont to leap upon the king, left the king and came to the earl of Derby, duke of Lancaster, and made to him the same friendly countenance and cheer as he was wont to do to the king. The duke, who knew not the greyhound, demanded of the king what the greyhound would do. 'Cousin,' quoth the king, 'it is a great good token to you and an evil sign to me.' 'Sir, how know you that?' quoth the duke. 'I know it well,' quoth the king, 'the greyhound maketh you cheer this day as king of England, as ye shall be, and I shall be deposed. The greyhound hath this knowledge naturally: therefore take him to you; he will follow you and forsake.' The duke understood well those words and cherished the greyhound, who would never after follow king Richard, but followed the duke of Lancaster."

Barkloughly castle. III. ii. 1.

Probably Harlech castle in North Wales. See *Extract* 9 from Holinshed.

Beaumond. II. ii. 54.

One of Bolingbroke's supporters who joined him on his arrival at Ravenspurgh. He was Henry Beaumont, fifth Baron Beaumont, great-grandson of John, second baron, who married Alianor Plantagenet (of Lancaster), great-grand-daughter of Henry III. The fifth baron succeeded his father, John, fourth baron, who was Constable of Dover Castle, and a K.G. in 1396 and died in 1413. *See Extract* 5 from Holinshed.

Beggar and the King, The. V. iii. 80.

> Our scene is alter'd from a serious thing,
> And now changed to "The Beggar and the King."
> [V. iii. 79–80.]

A reference to the ballad of *King Cophetua and the Beggar Maid. See* Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* and Tennyson's *Beggar Maid.*

Berkeley. II. ii. 119; II. iii. 1, 51.

Berkeley Castle, near the town of Berkeley on the river Severn. The Duke of York gathered his forces together at this castle, and the meeting of York and Bolingbroke took place outside the castle. King Edward II. was murdered there on the 21st of September, 1327. Cf. Gray: *The Bard,* 53:

> Mark the year, and mark the night,
> When Severn shall reöcho with affright
> The shrieks of death thro' Berkeley's roofs that ring,
> Shrieks of an agonizing king.

Bishop of Carlisle. III. ii. p.1; III. iii. 30, p.62; IV. i. p.1; V. vi. p.19, 22, 24.

Although we see but little of Carlisle we gain a deep insight into the uprightness of his character.

1. Or according to another text 'Blemach.' A similar story to this was told about Charles of Blois and the earl of Montfort.

He whole-heartedly supports Richard, and is a believer in the divine right of kings, but nevertheless adopts—when convenient—a more practical view, for when Richard lands on the coast of Wales from Ireland and addresses his native land in sentimental language, expressing the opinion that :

> This earth shall have a feeling and these stones
> Prove armed soldiers, ere her native king
> Shall falter under foul rebellion's arms.
> [III. ii. 24–26.]

Carlisle interposes with :

> The means that heaven yields must be embraced,
> And not neglected ; else, if heaven would,
> And we will not, heaven's offer we refuse,
> The proffer'd means of succour and redress.
> [III. ii. 29–32.]

thus urging the king not to depend on an abstract power, but to make good use of the aids which heaven provides to maintain his sovereignty.

In Bolingbroke's parliament at Westminster Hall, Carlisle is the only one who fearlessly supports Richard, and urges Bolingbroke to allow him to defend himself against his enemies :

> And shall the figure of God's majesty,
> His captain, steward, deputy elect,
> Anointed, crowned, planted many years,
> Be judged by subject and inferior breath,
> And he himself not present ? [IV. i. 125–129.]

at the same time expressing the opinion that if Bolingbroke is proclaimed king it will sow the seeds of strife throughout the land :

> And if you crown him, let me prophesy ;
> The blood of English shall manure the ground,
> And future ages groan for this foul act ;
> Peace shall go sleep with Turks and infidels,
> And in this seat of peace tumultuous wars
> Shall kin with kin and kind with kind confound ;
> Disorder, horror, fear and mutiny
> Shall here inhabit, and this land be call'd
> The field of Golgotha and dead men's skulls.
> [IV. i. 136–144.]

For his boldness Carlisle is arrested on a charge of treason, but Bolingbroke recognising the nobility of his character pronounces but a light sentence on him, saying :

> Carlisle, this is your doom :
> Choose out some secret place, some reverend room,
> More than thou hast, and with it joy thy life ;
> So as thou livest in peace, die free from strife :
> For though mine enemy thou hast ever been
> High sparks of honour in thee have I seen.
> [V. vi. 24–29.]

Gervinus says : " In the midst of the struggle between right and merit stands Carlisle, as a man of genuine loyalty, knowing no motive but fidelity and duty, not concealing the truth from the lawful king, and ruining himself in opposing unsparingly the shield of right against the usurper who raises himself to power."

" The Bishop of Carlisle which was a man well learned, and of good courage, stood vp and sayde : ' My Lordes, I require you to take hede what aunswere you make vnto this question : For I thinke there is none of you worthie or mete to geue iudgement on so noble a Prince as King Richard is, whom we haue taken and honoured for our souereigne and liege Lorde, by the space of xxij yeres, & I assure you, there is not so ranke a traytor, nor so arrant a thefe, nor yet so cruel a murderer, apprehended or deteyned in prison for his offence, but he shall be brought before the Iustice to heere his iudgement : And yet ye will proceede to the iudgement of an annoynted king, and here neyther hys aunswere nor excuse. And I say, that the Duke of Lancaster, whom you call king, hath more offended and more trespassed to king Richard & this realme, then the king hath eyther done to him or to vs. For it is manifest and well knowen, that the Duke was banished the Realme by king Richard and hys counsaile, and by the iudgement of his awne father (for the space of x yeres) for what cause all you knowe, and yet without licence of king Richarde he is returned againe into the realme, yea and that is worsse, hath taken vpon him the name, title, & preheminence of a king. And therefore I say, that you haue done manifest wrong, to proceede in any thing against king Richard, without callying him openly to his aunswere and defence.' Assoone as the Bishop had ended his tale, he was attached by the Erle Marshall, and committed to ward in the Abbey of Saint Albones." *Grafton.*

This loyal prelate was Thomas Merk, or Merkes, who had been a Benedictine monk of Westminster, and was appointed to the see of Carlisle in 1397. He was much employed in secular matters both at home and abroad. His was the only dissentient voice raised in Parliament against the deposed Richard being sentenced to secret and close imprisonment ; and he was deprived of his bishopric, and sent to the Tower for his attachment to his ill-fated master.

Subsequently Thomas Merk was sent to Westminster to remain in custody of its abbot, for which the writ is dated June 23, 1400. This circumstance is alluded to in the play as taking place before the bishop's removal to the Tower, in Act IV., Scene 1, where Westmoreland says,—

> 'My Lord of Westminster, be it your charge
> To keep him safely till his day of trial.'

Carlisle was afterwards released by Henry IV., and it is expressly stated in the writ for his enlargement, dated at Westminster, November 28, 1400 (Rymer's *Fœdera*), that Thomas Merk, late Bishop of Carlisle, was pardoned on account of the excellence of his character. To this point also the poet alludes, Act V., Scene 6, where the new king explains the reason of his leniency to the bishop :

> 'For though mine enemy thou hast ever been,
> High sparks of honour in thee have I seen.'

According to Bishop Kennet, Henry IV. bestowed upon Thomas Merk the vicarage of Sturminster-Marshal, co. Dorset ; whilst Ritson states that he was presented by the Convent of Westminster to the rectory of Todenham, co. Gloucester ; others again assert that he held both these livings. Thomas Mark died in 1409 ; he was named by King Richard as one of the executors to his will, and in that capacity had a legacy of 'a gold cup of the value of twenty pounds' sterling. *French.*

Black Prince. II. iii. 101.

> *York.* As when brave Gaunt, thy father, and myself
> Rescued the Black Prince, that young Mars of men,
> From forth the ranks of many thousand French.
> [II. iii. 100–103.]

Edward, Prince of Wales, son of Edward III. Wright remarks : "It does not appear that Shakespeare had any historical authority for his statement. No such incident is recorded of the battle of Navarette, at which the Black Prince and John of Gaunt were present in 1367. John of Gaunt was not with the prince at Poitiers in 1356, nor did the prince accompany him in his expedition to France in 1372, and there is no mention of the Duke of York on any of these occasions."

Blunt. V. vi. 8.

Sir Thomas Blunt one of the conspirators against Henry IV. His execution at Cirencester was attended by circumstances of great barbarity, and he was taunted by Sir Thomas Erpingham in the midst of his torments, which he endured with great heroism. He was one of the persons present at the Abbot of Westminster's supper. At the coronation of Richard the Second, July 16, 1377, Sir Thomas Blunt (as deputy for the Countess of Pembroke) held the napkin for the king, when he washed his hands before the banquet. Holinshed says : "Manie other that were priuie to this conspiracie, were taken, and put to death, some at Oxford, as sir Thomas Blunt, sir Benet Cilie, knight." See also *Extract* 11 from Holinshed.

Bourdeaux. V. vi. 33.

The capital of the Gironde, France. It was the birthplace of Richard II., his father, the Black Prince having had his seat here as governor of Aquitaine.

Bristol. III. ii. 142.

> Ay, all of them at Bristol lost their heads.
> [III. ii. 142.]

See Bristol Castle.

Bristol. Before the Castle.

The Scene of Act III., Scene i. Bolingbroke with his forces capture the castle. The Earl of Wiltshire, Bushy and Green are taken prisoners, and being found guilty of treason, are beheaded.

Bristol Castle. II. ii. 135 ; II. iii. 164.

The refuge of the Earl of Wiltshire, Sir John Bushy, and Sir Henry Green at the time of Bolingbroke's landing at Ravenspurgh. Cf. Holinshed : "The lord treasurer, Bushie, Bagot, and Greene, perceiuing that the commons would cleaue vnto, and take part with, the duke, slipped awaie ; leauing the lord gouernour of the realme, and the lord chancellor, to make what shift they could for themselues. Bagot got him to Chester, and so escaped into Ireland ; the other fled to the castell of Bristow, in hope there

to be in safetie." On the castle being taken by the forces under Bolingbroke they were beheaded. See *Extract* 8 from Holinshed.

The castle dates from the ninth century, being founded by Edward the Elder. Stephen taken prisoner in 1141 was sent to this castle and there confined in chains; and Princess Eleanor was a captive there for forty years. Later Edward II. was a prisoner there until he was removed to Berkeley, where he was murdered. In 1646, during the siege of Bristol by Cromwell, the castle was successfully defended by Prince Rupert, and on Cromwell being declared Protector issued a warrant for its demolition.

Brittany. II. i. 278.

The north-western peninsula of France.

Brocas. V. vi. 14.

Sir Bernard Brocas, son of Sir Bernard Brocas, chamberlain to King Richard's first queen, and Master of the Buck-hounds, an office which he obtained by marriage with Mary, daughter and heir of Sir John de Roche, and their son, Sir Bernard, succeeded to the office, which became hereditary in the family of Brocas until the reign of James the First. He was one of the conspirators against Henry IV. On being captured at Oxford he was drawn, hanged and beheaded at London. Holinshed says: "Manie other that were priuie to this conspiracie, were taken, and put to death, some at Oxford, as sir Thomas Blunt, sir Benet Cilie, knight, . . . but sir Leonard Brokas, and others . . . , were drawne, hanged, and beheaded at London."

Bushy, Servant to King Richard. I. iii. p. 7; I. iv. 23, p.53, 53; II. i. p.69, 215; II. ii. p.1; II. iii. 165; III. i. p.1, 2; III. ii. 123, 141; III. iv. 53.

He enters with the news that John of Gaunt is lying sick at Ely House:

> Old Gaunt of Gaunt is grievous sick, my lord,
> Suddenly taken; and hath sent post haste
> To entreat your majesty to visit him. [I. iv. 54–56.]

On the demise of John of Gaunt, Bushy is sent by Richard to the Earl of Wiltshire bidding the latter go to Ely House and seize the property of Gaunt in order to pay for his Irish war:

> Go, Bushy, to the Earl of Wiltshire straight:
> Bid him repair to us to Ely House
> To see this business. [II. i. 215–217.]

Later we find him at Windsor Castle endeavouring to comfort the Queen, who is grieved at Richard's departure for Ireland, as she has a presentiment of approaching trouble.

With Green he proceeds to Bristol Castle, and the castle being taken by Bolingbroke's forces he is taken prisoner and beheaded:

> Bring forth these men.
> Bushy and Green, I will not vex your souls—
> Since presently your souls must part your bodies—
> [III. i. 1–3.]

These three persons—Bushy, Bagot and Green—were chief among the evil councillors of King Richard, by whose profuse extravagance they largely profited. Shakespeare calls them

> 'The caterpillars of the commonwealth.'

Fabyan says, 'In this 22 year of King Richard the common fame ran that the king had letten to farm the realm unto Sir William Scrope, Earl of Wiltshire, and then Treasurer of England, to Sir John Bushy, Sir John Bagot, and Sir Henry Green, Knights.' In the play only the first of these persons is named as enjoying this great and unconstitutional privilege,—

> 'The Earl of Wiltshire hath the realm in farm.'

Sir John Bushy was Speaker of the House of Commons in 1394, and, with Sir Henry Green, was one of the six commoners appointed to act with twelve peers, as Commissioners in 1398, invested with the whole power of the Lords and Commons. Sir John Bushy, or Bussey as the name is found in later times, was Sheriff co. Lincoln, 2, 4, and 14 Richard II. Grafton attributes the death of the Earl of Arundel, and the exile of his brother, the archbishop, chiefly to the influence of Sir John Bushy.

Bolingbroke besieged Richard's obnoxious ministers in Bristol Castle, and with the exception of Bagot had them executed, without a trial;—

> *Aumerle.* Is Bushy, Green, and the Earl of Wiltshire dead?
> *Scroop.* Yea, all of them at Bristol lost their heads.
> *French.*

See also Bagot and Green.

Cain. V. vi. 43.

With Cain go wander thorough shades of night. [V. vi. 43.]

See *Genesis* iv. 12–14.

Calais. I. i. 126 ; IV. i. 13, 82.

A seaport in France and the scene of Gloucester's death in 1397. Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk was Governor of the town at this time.

Captain of a band of Welshmen. II. iv. p. 1.

The leader of an army of Welshmen gathered together by Salisbury to aid Richard against Bolingbroke.

Weary of waiting for the king's arrival he suggests the disbandment of the army :

My Lord of Salisbury, we have stay'd ten days,
And hardly kept our countrymen together,
And yet we hear no tidings from the king ;
Therefore we will disperse ourselves : farewell.
[II. iv. 1–4.]

But on being asked to remain a little longer, answers that rumours are current that Richard is dead, and that many "omens" seem to confirm this :

'Tis thought the king is dead ; we will not stay.
The bay-trees in our country are all wither'd,
And meteors fright the fixed stars of heaven ;
The pale-faced moons looks bloody on the earth,
And lean-look'd prophets whisper fearful change ;
[II. iv. 7–11.]

"King Richard sent the Earl of Salisbury to excite the Welch against Bolingbroke ; he raised 20,000 men, who remained a fortnight in the field, and then disbanded on hearing a report that the king was dead. *Creton. See* Act II., Scene iv.

"It will not be out of place here to remark, that the renowned Glendower of the next play, who is alluded to in this, Act III., Scene i., was actually in attendance on Richard as his 'beloved esquire and minstrel ;' he must have escaped capture at Flint, since he headed a band of his countrymen, with whom he harassed the rear of Bolingbroke's forces, as far as Coventry, when he carried off his illustrious prisoner to London.

"The name of the herald who accompanied Bolingbroke and summoned Richard at Flint, has been preserved ; he is called, 'Richard del Brugge, Lancaster King at Arms del North.'" *French.*

Caucasus. I. iii. 295.

O, who can hold a fire in his hand
By thinking on the frosty Caucasus.
[I. iii. 294–295.]

There is a passage resembling this in Tully's *Fifth Book of Tusculan Questions*, translated by John Dolman, and published in 1561.

Shakespeare, however, I believe, was thinking on the words of Lyly : "I speake this to an end, that though thy exile seem grievous to thee, yet guiding thy selfe with the rules of philosophie, it shall be more tolerable : he that is colde doth not cover himselfe with *care* but with clothes ; he that is washed in the rayne, drieth himselfe by the *fire*, not by his *fancie ;* and thou which art banished." etc. *Malone.*

Cicester. V. vi. 3.

Kind uncle York, the latest news we hear
Is that the rebels have consumed with fire
Our town of Cicester in Gloucestershire ;
But whether they be ta'en or slain we hear not.
[V. vi. 1–4.]

= Cirencester, a town in Gloucestershire.

After the failure of the Oxford plot and the futile attempt to surprise Henry at Windsor, the rebel lords took refuge at Cirencester, on the 6th January, where they were attacked and captured by the populace who confined them in the Abbey. The next evening a captain attached to them set fire to some houses in the town in the hope that the prisoners might escape in the confusion, but the populace brought the prisoners out of the Abbey, and beheaded the Earls of Salisbury and Kent. As a reward for their loyalty Henry granted to the inhabitants four does and six bucks from his forest at Brandon, and two hogsheads of wine from his port of Bristol to be delivered yearly. He also, on petition of the citizens granted them a Charter of Incorporation. Cf. *Rapin*, Vol. i, Book xi.

Cotswold. II. iii. 9.

The hilly district of Gloucestershire.

Court, The.

The Scène of Act I., Scene iv. This scene which shows the king surrounded by his favourites, develops the character of Richard, showing his hatred and fear of Bolingbroke and his utter disregard for his subjects. Having got rid of Bolingbroke, his attention is directed to the rebellion in Ireland. A messenger brings news of the illness of the Duke of Lancaster, and Richard—being hard pressed for money for his Irish campaign—prays for the speedy death of the Duke. Coleridge observes: "This is a striking conclusion to a first act,—letting the reader into the secret;—having before impressed us with the dignified and kingly manners of Richard, yet by well managed anticipations leading us on to the full gratification of pleasure in our own penetration. In this scene a new light is thrown on Richard's character. Until now he has appeared in all the beauty of royalty; but here, as soon as he is left to himself, the inherent weakness of his character is immediately shown."

Coventry. I. i. 199; I. ii. 45, 56.

In Warwickshire; the place appointed by Richard for the duel between Bolingbroke and Norfolk to take place. See *Extract* 1 from Holinshed.

Coventry, The Lists at.

The Scene of Act I., Scene iii. The place appointed for the duel between Bolingbroke and Norfolk. Upon the order being given for the duel to commence, Richard throws down his warder and stops the charge. Richard banishes Bolingbroke from the realm for ten years—which is subsequently reduced by four years—and Norfolk for ever.

[The remission of Bolingbroke's sentence took place at Eltham some time after the events at Coventry.]

Derby. I. iii. 35, 100, 104, 113.

= Bolingbroke. One of his earlier titles, and under which title he was called to a seat in the House of Peers in 1385.

Destinies. I. ii. 15.

> Some of these seven are dried by nature's course,
> Some of those branches by the Destinies cut:
> [I. ii. 14–15.

The Three Fates, goddesses of vengeance. I is Atropos, the third Destiny, who cuts th thread of human life.

Of the seven sons of Edward III., four died a natural death, namely Edward the Black Prince William of Hatfield, Lionel of Antwerp, Duke o Clarence, and William of Windsor.

Duchess of Gloucester. I. ii. p.1; II. ii 90.

Appears in one scene of the play only, whe we find her in the palace of her brother-in-law the Duke of Lancaster.

The duchess is clamouring for revenge upo the Duke of Norfolk for the murder of he husband, but Lancaster—knowing that even i Norfolk committed the deed he was but th tool of Richard, and not willing to implicate th king—advises her to leave her cause to the wil of heaven and to turn for aid "To God, th widow's champion and defence." The Duches answers: "Why, then, I will," and bidding Gaunt farewell, expresses a hope that he husband's wrongs may sit:

> on Hereford's spear,
> That it may enter butcher Mowbray's breast!
> Or, if misfortune miss the first career,
> Be Mowbray's sins so heavy in his bosom,
> That they may break his foaming courser's back,
> And throw the rider headlong in the lists,
> A caitiff recreant to my cousin Hereford!
> [I. ii. 47–53.

She also bids Gaunt commend her to his brother, Edmund York, adding:

> let him not come there,
> To seek out sorrow that dwells every where.
> [I. ii. 71–72.

[The Duchess of Gloucester was the widow o Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester youngest son of Edward III., of whom there has been so frequent mention. She was the Eleano de Bohun who was the daughter and co-heiress of Humphrey, Earl of Hereford. She had one son and three daughters. The son died unmarried in 1399. The eldest daughter, Anne Plantagenet, married Edmund Stafford, fifth Earl of Stafford, who was slain at Shrewsbury and their son Humphrey Stafford was created

Duke of Buckingham, and is one of the characters n the Second Part of Henry VI. Shakespeare supposes her to have died at Plashy. She really lied at Barking, whither she had retired after the death of her husband, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, where a monumental brass ablet to her memory may still be seen.] *Irving dition.*

Duchess of York. V. ii. p.1 ; V. iii. p.87.

Appears in the last act of the play, when we ind her in conversation with her husband the luke, in their palace at Langley.

York is telling her how Richard has been insulted in the streets of London, while Bolingbroke was received with shouts of acclamation.

Aumerle their son enters, and is greeted by the luchess :

Here comes my son Aumerle. [V. ii. 41.]

o which York remarks :

Aumerle that was ;
But that is lost for being Richard's friend,
And, madam, you must call him Rutland now :
[V. ii. 41–43.]

During a conversation which follows, the duke notices in Aumerle's pocket a document, from which hangs a seal, and demands to know its contents. The duchess remarks that it is probably some trifling matter into which Aumerle has entered :

What should you fear ?
'Tis nothing but some band, that he is enter'd into
For gay apparel 'gainst the triumph day. [V. ii. 64–66.]

York, however, is not satisfied, and forthwith plucks the document from his son's pocket, and, having read its contents, calls out : " Treason, foul treason ! Villain ! traitor ! slave ! " The luchess implores him not to implicate their only on, but York calls for his horse and departs to ay the document before Bolingbroke at Windsor. mmediately on his departure the duchess urges Aumerle to mount his father's horse and gallop o Windsor, and obtain pardon of Bolingbroke efore his father arrives, promising to follow him mmediately :

After, Aumerle ! mount thee upon his horse ;
Spur post, and get before him to the king,
And beg thy pardon ere he do accuse thee.
I 'll not be long behind ; though I be old,
I doubt not but to ride as fast as York :
And never will I rise up from the ground
Till Bolingbroke have pardon'd thee. Away, be gone !
[V. ii. 111–117.]

On arriving at Windsor, the duchess begs audience of the king :

What ho, my liege ! for God's sake, let me in.
[V. iii. 74.]

to which Bolingbroke makes reply :

What shrill-voiced suppliant makes this eager cry ?
[V. iii. 75.]

only to receive the answer :

A woman, and thy aunt, great king ; 'tis I.
Speak with me, pity me, open the door :
A beggar begs that never begg'd before.
[V. iii. 76–78.]

On being admitted, addressing Bolingbroke, she says :

O king, believe not this hard-hearted man !
Love loving not itself none other can. [V. iii. 87–88.]

and falling on her knees before him craves pardon for her son. Bolingbroke bids her rise, but she answers :

Not yet, I thee beseech :
For ever will I walk upon my knees,
And never see day that the happy sees,
Till thou give joy ; until thou bid me joy,
By pardoning Rutland, my transgressing boy.
[V. iii. 92–96.]

and she makes her request in so passionate a manner that Bolingbroke pardons Aumerle :

With all my heart
I pardon him. [V. iii. 135–136.]

to which she makes reply :

A god on earth thou art.
[V. iii. 137.]

It is in this instance that the character of the duchess appeals to us as a devoted and loyal mother, in exhibiting so great a love for her unworthy son. [An historical inaccuracy. The Duke of York was twice married, first to Isabella of Castile, who was Aumerle's mother ; and secondly to Joan Holland the daughter of the Earl of Kent and the Duchess of the play. Aumerle is represented as the " only son " of York but he had a younger brother, Richard, Earl of Cambridge, who married Anne Mortimer.]

This lady was not the mother of ' Aumerle,' as evidently supposed to be by the poet, the first wife of Edmund of Langley having died in 1394 ; consequently the ' Duchess of York,' at the time of the action of this play, was his second wife, Joan Holland, third daughter of Thomas, second Earl of Kent, the son of Joan, the ' Fair Maid of

Kent,' by her first husband, Sir Thomas Holland, K.G. This duchess, surviving her husband, by whom she had no issue, married secondly the 'Lord Willoughby' in this play, his second wife; thirdly Henry, the 'Lord Scroop' in *King Henry V.*; and fourthly Sir Henry Bromflete, Lord de Vescy, whose daughter, Margaret Bromflete married the 'Young Clifford' in the *Third Part of King Henry VI.* *French.*

Duke of Aumerle, son to the Duke of York. I. iii. p.1, 1, 64; I. iv. p.1, 1; II. i. p.69; II. iii. 125; III. ii. p.1; III. iii. 27, p.62, 160; IV. i. p.1, 6, 8. 34, 44, 52, 61, 79, 81, 90; V. ii. 41, p.46, 81, 85, 111; V. iii. p.24.

A supporter of Richard, and a man of a very crafty disposition.

There is a suspicion that he was concerned in the death of the Duke of Gloucester and is accused of the deed before a Parliament held in Westminster Hall. Owing to lack of evidence the charge is dismissed, his father pledging himself as a guarantee of his future loyalty:

> *York.* I am in parliament pledge for his truth
> And lasting fealty to the new made king.
> [V. ii. 44–45.]

Aumerle is with Richard in Flint Castle, and when the latter is faced with defeat, craftily suggests that he should:

> fight with gentle words,
> Till time lend friends and friends their helpful swords.
> [III. iii. 131–132.]

He is a man of untrustworthy nature, for no sooner has he been pardoned by Bolingbroke for "being Richard's friend" than he suggests a plot against him, for addressing the Bishop of Carlisle and the Abbot of Westminster, says:

> You holy clergymen, is there no plot
> To rid the realm of this pernicious blot?
> [IV. i. 324–325.]

When the plot is discovered Aumerle does not trouble himself as to the fate of his fellow conspirators, but thinking only of himself hastens to Windsor and seeks pardon of Bolingbroke (Henry IV.). Thus we see the cowardice in his nature, which nevertheless has some redeeming features, one of which is his constant loyalty to Richard. This attachment cost him a title, being degraded by Bolingbroke from the dignity of the Duke of Aumerle to his former rank of Earl of Rutland:

> *Duch.* Here comes my son Aumerle.
> *York.* Aumerle that was;
> But that is lost for being Richard's friend,
> And madam, you must call him Rutland now:
> [V. ii. 41–43

"This prince, Edward Plantagenet, eldest son of the Duke of York, was raised, Sept. 29, 1397, from being Earl of Rutland to be Duke of Albemarle, or Aumerle. He was deeply implicated in the murder of his uncle Gloucester. He attended King Richard to Ireland, but deserted his cause, and joined Bolingbroke before Flint Castle. The whole of his early career is marked by deceit and treachery to both parties, and Richard told him to his face that 'he was unworthy of the appellation of duke, earl, or knight.' Bolingbroke, when king, degraded him to his former rank, thus his father tells his duchess, Act V., Scene ii.—

> 'Aumerle that was,
> For that is lost for being Richard's friend,
> And, madam, you must call him Rutland now.'

For his share in the plot against Henry IV. he was pardoned, a fact which is so admirably worked out in the play, and Aumerle lived to succeed his father as 'Duke of York,' under which style he will be found in *King Henry V.*

[The Duke of Aumerle—as Edward, Duke of York—is also a character in *King Henry the Fifth.* (q.v.)]

Duke of Bretagne. II. i. 285.

= John de Montfort, Duke of Brittany, who according to Holinshed furnished Bolingbroke with 3,000 soldiers and eight ships for his expedition to England. His widow, Joan of Navarre, became the second wife of Henry IV. See *Extract* 4 from Holinshed.

Duke of Exeter. II. i. 281.

John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon, Half-brother of Richard. His widowed mother having become the wife of Edward the Black Prince, he married Elizabeth, daughter of John of Gaunt, and thus became brother-in-law to Bolingbroke

(Henry IV.). Chamberlain of England 1389; assisted Richard in overthrowing Gloucester and Arundel for which he was created Duke of Exeter. Conspired against Henry, and being captured was beheaded at Plashy.

Duke of Gloucester's death. I. i. 100.

Thomas of Woodstock, Earl of Buckingham, and Duke of Gloucester, youngest son of Edward III., born 1355. In 1374 married Eleanor Bohun, daughter of the Earl of Hereford, whose sister married Bolingbroke in 1380; Constable of England, 1376; created Duke of Gloucester, 1385; threatened Richard with deposition if he did not dismiss his favourites. He held the reins of power during the minority of Richard; arrested by Richard in 1397 and taken to Calais where he died—probably murdered—the same year. [Hearing that Gloucester's guilt was proved, Richard] "sent vnto Thomas Mowbraie, earle marshall and of Notingham, to make the duke secretlie awaie. The earle prolonged time for the executing of the kings commandement, though the king would haue had it doone with all expedition, whereby the king conceiued no small displeasure, and sware that it should cost the earle his life if he quickly obeied not his commandement. The earle thus, as it seemed, in maner inforced, called out the duke at midnight, as if he should haue taken ship to passe ouer into England, and there in the lodging called the princes In, he caused his seruants to cast featherbeds vpon him, and so smoother him to death; or otherwise to strangle him with towels (as some write). This was the end of that noble man, fierce of nature, hastie, wilfull, and giuen more to war than to peace: and in this greatlie to be discommended, that he was euer repining against the king in all things, whatsoeuer he wished to haue forward. . . . His bodie was afterwards with all funerall pompe conueied into England, and buried at his owne manor of Plashie within the church there; in a sepulchre which he in his life time has caused to be made, and there erected." *Holinshed.*

Duke of Lancaster's Palace.

The Scene of Act I., Scene ii. This scene interposes between the challenge in Scene i. and the Combat in Scene iii. It shows a conversation between the Duke of Lancaster and the widowed Duchess of Gloucester. The Duchess craves for revenge on the Duke of Norfolk, hoping that Hereford's spear will enter Norfolk's breast. Lancaster, not wishing to implicate the king tells the duchess to leave her cause in the hands of God. The Palace was the Savoy, so-named after Peter, the Earl of Savoy, uncle to Eleanor, queen of Henry III., who gave it to her second son, Edmund, Earl of Lancaster.

Duke of Surrey. IV. i. p.1, 74.

Appears in Bolingbroke's Parliament at Westminster Hall, where he supports Aumerle when the latter is charged with being concerned in the death of the Duke of Gloucester. *See* Lord Marshal.

This personage was Thomas Holland, third Earl of Kent, son of Thomas, second Earl, by his wife, Alice Fitz-alan, eldest daughter of Richard, ninth Earl of Arundel, and grandson of Sir Thomas Holland, K.G., and Joan, 'Fair Maid of Kent.' The Thomas Holland in this play succeeded his father in 1397, as Earl of Kent, and was created by King Richard, Sept. 29, 1397, Duke of Surrey; he is the only nobleman that has even borne that title. He was also constituted Lieutenant of Ireland, and a K.G.: as one of the adherents of the deposed king he was degraded by Henry IV. at his accession, to his former title of Kent; and joining in the plot against that monarch, he escaped after its detection to Cirencester with the Earl of Salisbury, when they were routed by the townsfolk, and, being taken and executed, their heads were set upon London Bridge. This nobleman married Joan Stafford, third daughter of Hugh, Earl of Stafford, but died without issue.

Earl of Northumberland. II. i. p.147, 274; II. ii. 53, 56; II. iii. p.1; III. i. p.1, 35; III. iii. p.1, 7, 121, 129, 142, 172; IV. i. p.1, 229, 271; V. i. p.51, 55, 76; V. vi. p.5, 10.

On account of a personal quarrel with Richard, Northumberland becomes Bolingbroke's chief supporter, in spite of the feud which existed between the houses of Lancaster and Percy.

When Bolingbroke lands at Ravenspurgh, Northumberland becomes the leader of the rebellious nobles and is the first to join him, for which he is proclaimed a traitor, in consequence of which his brother, the Earl of Worcester, Steward of the royal household resigns his Stewardship and deserts Richard.

His conduct towards the fallen king is brutal, as is exemplified in the deposition scene when he strives to humiliate Richard by endeavouring to force him to read publicly a list of the crimes he has committed :

> No more, but that you read
> These accusations and these grievous crimes,
> Committed by your person and your followers
> Against the state and profit of this land ;
> That, by confessing them, the souls of men
> May deem that you are worthily deposed.
> [IV. i. 222–227.]

but even Bolingbroke cannot allow Richard to suffer such indignity for he interposes with :

> Urge him no more, my Lord Northumberland.
> [IV. i. 271.]

In reality Northumberland entertains no devotion towards Bolingbroke, there is no true confidence between the two, each trying to use the other for his own purpose, and their separation was to eventually take place, as is foretold by Richard in the last act of the play :

> Northumberland, thou ladder wherewithal
> The mounting Bolingbroke ascends my throne,
> The time shall not be many hours of age
> More than it is, ere foul sin gathering head
> Shall break into corruption : thou shalt think,
> Though he divide the realm, and give thee half,
> It is too little, helping him to all ;
> And he shall think that thou, which know'st the way
> To plant uprightful kings, wilt know again,
> Being ne'er so little urged, another way
> To pluck him headlong from the usurped throne.
> [V. i. 55–65.]

These nobles—The Earl of Northumberland, and Henry Percy, surnamed Hotspur, his son—were the chief supporters of Bolingbroke in his views to the crown, although they were afterwards in arms against him, as will be seen in the next play. The great house of Percy descended from one of the Norman captains who fought at Hastings, William de Percy, who was rewarded with a barony of thirty knights' fees, and the hand of the Saxon heiress of the lands, Emma de Port. He accompanied Duke Robert *Courtehose*, to the Holy Land, where he died in 1096, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Alan de Percy, whose son William, by his wife Alice de Clare, had two daughters, of whom the second, Agnes de Percy, became sole heiress ; she married the brother of Adelais, second queen of Henry I., Jocelyn de Louvain, who thereupon adopted the surname of Percy ; their descendant, Henry de Percy, ninth feudal lord, was summoned to Parliament by writ 27 Edward I., 1299 ; he obtained by purchase the barony and castle of Alnwick, co. Northumberland, still one of the proud possessions of the house of Percy. His grandson of the same name, third Baron Percy of Alnwick, one of the heroes of Cressy, inherited the barony and castle of Warkworth, which has been given to his father by Edward III. ; by his wife, the lady Mary Plantagenet, youngest daughter of Henry, Earl of Lancaster, son of Edmund *Cruche-back*, Henry Percy had two sons, both important characters in Shakespeare's plays, and in history ; the eldest being Henry Percy, the Earl of Northumberland in this play, and the second son, Thomas Percy, is the Earl of Worcester in the next drama. There was, it will be seen, a close affinity between the families of Lancaster and Percy ; for Bolingbroke's mother, Blanche, was first or german-cousin to the Northumberland in this play. Henry Percy had been raised to that dignity by Richard at his coronation in 1377, but he was the first to join Bolingbroke at his landing from exile, and for this defection he was proclaimed a traitor, as noticed in the play. By treachery and false oaths he obtained possession of Richard's person, and gave him up to his ambitious cousin, who lodged his royal prisoner in the Tower of London, where he obtained from the hapless captive a resignation of the crown in his own favour. It was Northumberland who suggested to Parliament that the deposed king should be removed to a secret place of confinement, and in consequence he was sent first to Leeds Castle, co. York, and thence to Pontefract. There are no remains of Leeds Castle, and but one small tower still exists of the once stately fortress at Pontefract, which is second only to the Tower of London for the number of royal and noble victims who have perished within its walls.

The history of the powerful ' Percies of the North ' belongs so much to the reign of Henry IV.

that the further consideration of the family will be deferred till the next play, wherein 'young Harry Percy' is a leading character; but in this play he takes small part in the action, and is introduced by his father as if a stranger to Bolingbroke, though in reality Hotspur commanded his forces before Flint castle, a place which had been a gift from King Richard to Northumberland, who inveigled his royal benefactor within its walls. *French.*

[The Earl of Northumberland and Henry Percy, surnamed Hotspur, are also characters in the First Part of *King Henry the Fourth.* (q.v.)]

Earl of Salisbury. II. iv. p.1, 1; III. ii. p.63; III. iii. 2, 27, p.62; V. vi. 8.

Plays no important part in the action of the play.

He is sent over from Ireland, and collects together a large army of Welshmen to aid Richard. Being weary of waiting for the arrival of the king from Ireland, the Welsh captain suggests that the force be disbanded:

> My Lord of Salisbury, we have stay'd ten days,
> And hardly kept our countrymen together,
> And yet we hear no tidings from the king;
> Therefore we will disperse ourselves: farewell.
> [II. iv. 1–4.]

but Salisbury requests them to stay a little longer:

> Stay yet another day, thou trusty Welshman:
> The king reposeth all his confidence in thee.
> [II. iv. 5–6.]

Rumours have however, reached the Welsh army that Richard is dead, and these rumours are confirmed by ill-omens, which cause them to desert and go over to Bolingbroke's side, on which Salisbury remarks that he sees Richard's glory "like a shooting star Fall to the base earth from the firmament," for all his friends "are fled to wait upon his foes."

He was one of Richard's most faithful adherents, and was concerned in the treasonable plot against Bolingbroke—Henry IV.—and being captured at Cirencester was beheaded.

This loyal noble is not connected with the Earl of Salisbury in *King John*, but was Sir John de Montacute, third Earl of Salisbury of that surname, son of Sir John de Montacute, one of the heroes of Cressy, who married Margaret, daughter of Thomas Monthermer, whose father, Ralph de Monthermer, married a daughter of Edward the First, the Princess Joan of Acres, widow of Gilbert de Clare. The Earl in this play was one of the few who adhered faithfully to the fortunes of King Richard, and he joined the two Hollands, 'Kent,' and 'Huntingdon,' (the latter being the person called by Bolingbroke in derision, 'our trusty brother-in-law'), when they proposed to surprise the new king at Windsor under the guise of Christmas mummers, but on the discovery of the plot, Salisbury suffered with the Earl of Kent, as alluded to in the play, in the last scene, where Northumberland says,—

> I have to London sent
> The heads of Salisbury, Spencer, Blunt, and Kent.'

This last line, which is the reading in the folio of 1623, agrees with history better than the line in the quartos,—

> 'The heads of Oxford, Salisbury, Blunt, and Kent.'

for Thomas Despencer, Earl of Gloucester, was beheaded in 1400 as a rebel to Henry IV.; whilst the then Earl of Oxford, Aubrey de Vere, though dying in the same year, was too infirm to take a part in plots, or even in his office of hereditary Lord High Chamberlain.

The Earl of Salisbury married Maud, daughter of Sir Adam Francis, Knight, Sheriff of Herts, 1392, by whom he had, with other children, his eldest son, Thomas, who was restored to his father's forfeited honours; he is the valiant 'Earl of Salisbury' in *King Henry V.*, and also figures in the *First Part of King Henry VI. French.*

Earl of Wiltshire. II. i. 215; II. ii. 136; III. ii. 122, 141; III. iv. 53.

Sir William le Scroop, son of Richard le Scroop, [elder brother of Sir Stephen Scroop who appears in Scene III. ii.]. Served with John of Gaunt at Harfleur. Appointed Chamberlain of the King's household in 1393; K.G., 1394; Treasurer of England, 1397, and Created Earl of Wiltshire by Richard the same year. He helped to negotiate the marriage of Richard and Isabel of France, and on Richard seizing the Duke of Lancaster's estates gave Wiltshire the castles of Pickering and Knaresborough. Arrested by Bolingbroke

at Bristol and executed. Holinshed says: "The lord treasurer, Bushie, Bagot, and Greene, perceiving that the commons would cleaue vnto, and take part with, the duke, slipped awaie; leauing the lord gouernour of the realme, and the lord chancellor, to make what shift they could for themselues. Bagot got him to Chester, and so escaped into Ireland; the other fled to the castell of Bristow, in hope there to be in safetie." See also *Extract* 8 from Holinshed.

Earl of Wiltshire. II. i. 256.

The Earl of Wiltshire hath the realm in farm.
[II. i. 256.]

Realm in farm = the king had assigned to the Earl of Wiltshire the revenues of the country and the right of taxation in return for a fixed monthly sum.

Earl of Worcester. II. ii. 58.

Sir Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, son of Sir Henry Percy, third baron Percy, and the youngest brother of the Earl of Northumberland; served in France, 1369–73; K.G., 1376; took part in Buckingham's French expedition, 1380–81; steward of Richard's household, 1394; created Earl of Worcester, 1397.

When his brother was proclaimed a traitor he broke his white staff (the sign and token of his office as Steward of the Royal Household) in the presence of the king's servants, to show that he had released himself from the duties of that office, and joined Bolingbroke at Ravenspurgh. Cf. Holinshed: "Sir Thomas Persie, earle of Worcester, lord steward of the kings house, either being so commaned by the king, or else vpon displeasure (as some write) for that the king had proclaimed his brother the earle of Northumberland, traitor, brake his white staffe, (which is the representing signe and token of his office,) and without delaie went to duke Henrie."

He afterwards joined his brother—Northumberland's—rebellion against Henry IV., and at the battle of Shrewsbury was taken prisoner and executed.

[The Earl of Worcester is also a character in the *First Part of King Henry the Fourth.* (q.v.)]

Eden. II. i. 42.

This other Eden, demi-paradise. [II. i. 42.]

This patriotic passage (lines 40–55) is quoted in a collection of English poems called *England's Parnassus*, published in 1600.

Edmund of Langley, Duke of York. Uncle to the King. I. ii. 62, 67; II. i. p.1, 151, 184, 220; II. ii. p.73, 73, 144; II. iii. 34, 52, 55, 78, p.81; III. i. p.1; III. ii. 89, 200; III. iii. p.1; III. iv. 70, 89, 200; IV. i. p.107, p.162; V. ii. p.1, 88, 107, 115; V. iii. p.46, 91; V. vi. p.1, 1.

Is presented to us as being well-minded but weak, unable to make any impression on those he would assist, and furthermore being actuated by personal reasons rather than national.

When Richard gives orders for Gaunt's estates to be seized, York shows his sense of justice by strongly reproving him:

Seek you to seize and gripe into your hands
The royalties and rights of banish'd Hereford?
Is not Gaunt dead, and doth not Hereford live?
Was not Gaunt just, and is not Harry true?
Did not the one deserve to have an heir?
Is not his heir a well-deserving son?
Take Hereford's rights away, and take from time
His charters and his customary rights;
Let not to-morrow then ensue to-day;
Be not thyself; for how art thou a king
But by fair sequence and succession?
Now, afore God—God forbid I say true!—
If you do wrongfully seize Hereford's rights,
Call in the letters patents that he hath
By his attorneys-general to sue
His livery, and deny his offer'd homage,
You pluck a thousand dangers on your head,
You lose a thousand well-disposed hearts,
And prick my tender patience to those thoughts
Which honour and allegiance cannot think.
[II. i. 189–208.]

but his words are unheeded, Richard merely replying: "Think what you will, we seize into our hands His plate, his goods, his money and his lands," and the duke seeing that his pursuing the matter may be detrimental to himself allows it to drop, thus revealing his weakness.

The same weakness is apparent when York meets Bolingbroke during the latter's march to Berkeley Castle, for after inquiring:

Why have those banish'd and forbidden legs
Dared once to touch a dust of England's ground?
II. iii. 90–91.]

and receiving the answer that Bolingbroke only comes to claim his rights, finding himself in a somewhat difficult position on account of being confronted with a much larger force than his own, says :

> Well, well, I see the issue of these arms :
> I cannot mend it, I must needs confess,
> Because my power is weak and all ill left :
> But if I could, by Him that gave me life,
> I would attach you all and make you stoop
> Unto the sovereign mercy of the king ;
> But since I cannot, be it known to you
> I do remain as neuter. [II. iii. 152–159.]

and thus seeks to foster his own ends rather than carry out his duties as the Lord Governor of the realm.

The only one instance in which we find York showing his loyalty—and here it is only because his loyalty is consonant with his own personal interests—is, when he discovers the treasonable plot against Bolingbroke (Henry IV.), acts with promptitude, even implicating his own son who is a party to the plot, for addressing his wife, says :

> Away, fond woman ! were he twenty times my son,
> I would appeach him. [V. ii. 101–102.]

All through the play, there is evidently behind York's " loyal " actions a personal desire, and this love of self, masked by a pretence of loyalty, gives the keynote to his character.

Commenting on this character, Gervinus says : " Contrasted with him (Carlisle) is the old York, whom Coleridge, in consequence of an incorrect apprehension of the character, has placed in a false opposition to Richard. The true picture of such an agitated age would be wanting if this character were absent. He is the type of political faintheartedness and neutrality, at a time when partisanship is a duty, and of that cowardly loyalty which turns to the strong and powerful. When Richard is still in his full power, he considers he has gone too far in extolling to the young king the virtues of his father. When Richard seizes the Lancastrian lands, his natural sense of right, and his anxiety respecting his own property, urge him to utter impressive warnings, but when the king makes him as a ' just ' man his governor in England, he allows himself to be appeased. Bolingbroke lands, and York sees through his project, and warns him not to take what he should not ; his integrity even here shows him the path which his weakness suffers him not to follow. He would like to serve the king and to discharge his duty to his lord, but he thinks he has also a duty of kinship and conscience respecting Bolingbroke's lawful claims to his inheritance. That he stood for the moment in the place of the king he heeds not. Helpless as to action, he loses his head in unutterable perplexity, but not his character. He resolves to remain neutral. He sees the finger of God in the desertion of the people, and lets it be ; for Richard he has tears, few words, and no deeds. With loyalty such as this countries go to ruin, while they prosper at usurpations such as Bolingbroke's. But that this weakness of the weak can amount to a degree in which it becomes the most unnatural obduracy, and in which the cruelty of the usurper is guiltless when compared with it, has been displayed by Shakespeare in a truly masterly manner when he suffers York to accuse his own son of high treason and to urge his death with pertinacity. He goes so far as to wish that the king may ' ill thrive, if he grant any grace.' In this trait conscientiousness and fidelity are mingled indistinguishably with the fear of exposure and suspicion. Such is servile loyalty ; under the rule of the weak it is weak, and affords but a frail support ; under that of the strong it is strong, and is an efficient and trustworthy power."

This prince was of more quiet habit than his brothers, and his natural indolence caused him to give way to the more impetuous Lancaster, and the turbulent Gloucester, during the minority of the young king, who, however, on his going to Ireland appointed the Duke of York to be Regent during his absence. It was whilst Richard was away, that the banished Bolingbroke, now Duke of Lancaster by his father's death, landed at Ravenspur, July 4, 1399, and the Duke of York marched at the head of a large force against him ; but his soldiers soon evinced more inclination to side with the popular Bolingbroke than to support the royal leader,—

> ' Where one on his side fights, thousands will fly.'

Shakespeare pourtrays him in what appears to be his true character, loyal and amiable, but weak and irresolute. The ' aged York,' at the accession of Henry IV., retired to his palace at King's Langley, co. Herts., and died there in

1402. His first wife, Isabel, died in 1394, before the play opens, therefore the ' Duchess of York ' must be his second wife, Joan Holland, third daughter of Thomas, second Earl of Kent, son of Joan, ' Fair Maid,' but the Duke of York had no issue by this marriage." *French.*

Edward's blood. II. i. 131.

> May be a precedent and witness good
> That thou respect'st not spilling Edward's blood :
> [II. i. 130–131.]

Gaunt accuses Richard of being responsible for the Duke of Gloucester's death.

Edward's sacred blood. I. ii. 17.

> One vial full of Edward's sacred blood,
> [I. ii. 17.]

= one branch. An echo of the " divine right of kings."

Edward's seven sons. I. ii. 11 ; II. i. 171.

Edward III. His seven sons were (1) Edward the Black Prince (1330–76) ; (2) William of Hatfield (1336–44) ; (3) Lionel of Antwerp, Duke of Clarence (1338–1368) ; (4) John of Gaunt (1340–1399) ; (5) Edmund of Langley, Duke of York (1341–1402) ; (6) William of Windsor (died in infancy) ; (7) Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester (1355–1397).

Edward's son. II. i. 121, 124, 125.

Edward, the Black Prince, son of Edward III., and father of Richard II. He died in 1376.

Ely House. I. iv. 58 ; II. i. 216.

The palace of the Bishop of Ely in Holborn, which has left its name in Ely Place.

Ely House.

The Scene of Act II., Scene i. The Palace of the Bishop of Ely, where the Duke of Lancaster lies sick unto death. Richard visits him, and the Duke administers a rebuke to the king on his misgovernment of the realm, but the rebuke is disregarded. [Shakespeare represents Gaunt as an old man, but he was only fifty-nine years of age at his death. There is no historical authority for the visit of Richard to Gaunt at Ely House.] On the death of Lancaster, Richard seizes his estates to pay for his Irish war. Northumberland conspires against the king, being joined by many other nobles. News arrives that Bolingbroke is getting together a force to invade England, and the nobles make their way to Ravenspurgh on the coast of Yorkshire to meet him.

England. I. iii. 207.

> Now no way can I stray ;
> Save back to England, all the world's my way.
> [I. iii. 206–207.]

= All the world is open to me and I cannot go wrong except to return to my native land. Cf. Milton : *Paradise Lost* xii., 646–647 :

> The world was all before them, where to choose
> Their place of rest, and Providence their guide.

England. I. iv. 35.

> As were our England in reversion his,
> And he our subjects' next degree in hope.
> [I. iv. 35–36.]

= as if he were heir-presumptive and that the crown would fall to him on the death of Richard. *reversion* = a legal term, meaning " right of future possession."

England. II. i. 77.

> For sleeping England long time have I watch'd ;
> [II. i. 77.]

= for England, which so long has suffered itself to indulge in a dangerous sleep, I have kept watch. *Deighton.*

England. IV. i. 264.

> An if my word be sterling yet in England,
> [IV. i. 264.]

" if my command is still current, is accepted as something of standard value ; " *Deighton.*

England. II. i. 50, 65, 220 ; II. iii. 71, 140 ; III. i. 32 ; IV. i. 17.

England's face. III. iii. 97.

> Ten thousand bloody crowns of mothers' sons
> Shall ill become the flower of England's face,
> [III. iii. 96–97.]

" The choicest youths of England, who shall be slaughtered in this quarrel, or have bloody crowns." *Malone.*

England's private wrongs. II. i. 166.

= the grievances of the English people. *Verity.*

English feasts. I. iii. 67.

> Lo, as at English feasts, so I regreet
> The daintiest last, to wake the end most sweet :
> [I. iii. 67–68.]

An allusion to the custom in the time of Shakespeare, which commonly ended a feast. " The custom of ending a great dinner with confectionary of elaborate structure was general throughout England in Shakespeare's time, and still exists in college halls. . . . Compare Bacon (*Life and Letters*, ed. Spedding) : ' Let not this Parliament end, like a Dutch feast, in salt meats ; but like an English feast, in sweet meats.' " (*Clarendon Press Series.*) At the coronation feast of Katherine of Valois, Henry V.'s queen, they had " a devise in sugar, painted and gilded, described as ' a pelican sitting on her nest with her birds, and an image of St. Katherine holding a book and disputing with doctors.' " (Davey's *Pageant of London*, i. 277.) Compare the American custom of moulding ices and ice cream into fantastic shapes for dessert. *Moffatt.*

Eve. III. iv. 75.

> What Eve, what serpent, hath suggested thee
> To make a second fall of cursed man ?
> [III. iv. 75–76.]

The serpent tempted Eve to eat of the forbidden fruit, and Eve in her turn tempted Adam both being in consequence driven out of the garden of Eden.

Flint Castle. III. ii. 209.

North Wales, about twelve miles from Chester. It was beseiged and taken by the Parliamentary forces in 1643. It is now in ruins. According to Shakespeare, the place where Richard surrendered to Bolingbroke. See also *Wales. Before Flint Castle.*

France. I. i. 131.

> Since last I went to France to fetch his queen :
> [I. i. 131.]

The Duke of Norfolk was joined in commission with Edward Earl of Rutland (the Aumerle of this play) to go to France in the year 1395, in the king's name, to demand in marriage (Isabel, the queen of our present drama) the eldest daughter of Charles the Sixth, then between seven and eight years of age. The contract of marriage was confirmed by the French King in March, 1396 ; and in November, 1396, Richard was married to his young consort in the chapel of St. Nicholas, in Calais, by the Archbishop of Canterbury. His first wife, Anne, daughter to the Emperor of Germany, Charles the Fourth, whom he had married in 1382, died at Shene, on Whitsunday, 1394. His marriage with Isabella, as is manifest from her age, was merely political ; and accordingly it was accompanied with an agreement for a truce between France and England, for thirty years. *Malone.*

France. V. i. 22, 37, 54, 78, 87.

Francis Quoint. II. i. 284.

A supporter of Bolingbroke's who landed with him at Ravenspurgh. See *Extract* 4 from Holinshed.

Gardeners, Two. III. iv. p. 24.

The Queen and two of her ladies are talking in the garden at Langley, when a gardener and two servants enter, and anticipating that they will talk of state matters :

> They 'll talk of state ; for every one doth so
> Against a change ; woe is forerun with woe.
> [III. iv. 27–28.]

they retire into the shadow of some trees.

The gardener gives instructions to the servant to tidy up the garden :

> Go, bind thou up yon dangling apricocks,
> Which, like unruly children, make their sire
> Stoop with oppression of their prodigal weight :
> Give some supportance to the bending twigs.
> Go thou, and like an executioner,
> Cut off the heads of too fast growing sprays,
> That look too lofty in our commonwealth :
> All must be even in our government.
> [III. iv. 29–36.]

but the servant replies :

> Why should we in the compass of a pale
> Keep law and form and due proportion,
> Showing, as in a model, our firm estate,
> When our sea-walled garden the whole land
> Is full of weeds ; her fairest flowers choked up,
> Her fruit-trees all unpruned, her hedges ruin'd,
> Her knots disorder'd, and her wholesome herbs
> Swarming with caterpillars ? [III. iv. 40–47.]

He is reproved by the gardener who commands him to " Hold thy peace : " for :

> He that hath suffer'th this disorder'd spring
> Hath now himself met with the fall of leaf :
> [III. iv. 48–49.]

and :

> Bolingbroke
> Hath seized the wasteful king. [III. iv. 54–55.]

The servant inquires if the gardener thinks the king will be deposed, and is told that :

> Depress'd he is already, and deposed
> 'Tis doubt he will be : letters came last night
> To a dear friend of the good Duke of York's,
> That tell black tidings. [III. iv. 68–71.]

Unable to bear the suspense any longer, the queen appears, and upbraids the gardener for his words. He assures her that what he says is true, and being dismayed at the news she decides to go to London at once. Turning to the gardener she says :

> Gardener, for telling me these news of woe,
> Pray God the plants thou graft'st may never grow.
> [III. iv. 100–101.]

on which words the gardener soliloquises :

> Poor queen ! so that they state might be no worse,
> I would my skill were subject to thy curse.
> Here did she fall a tear ; here in this place
> I 'll set a bank of rue, sour herb of grace :
> Rue, even for ruth, here shortly shall be seen,
> In the remembrance of a weeping queen.
> [III. iv. 102–107.]

Glendower. III. i. 43.

> Come, lords, away,
> To fight with Glendower and his complices :
> [III. i. 42–43.]

An historical inaccuracy. Glendower's rebellion did not take place until twelve months after the capture of Bristol Castle by Bolingbroke's forces.

" Bolingbroke is, as it were, but just arrived ; he is now at Bristol, weak in his numbers ; has had no meeting with a parliament ; nor is so far assured of the succession, as to think of going to suppress insurrections before he is planted in the throne. Besides, we find the opposition of Glendower begins *The First Part of King Henry IV.*, and Mortimer's defeat by that hardy Welchman is the tidings of the first scene of that play. Again, though Glendower in the very first year of King Henry IV. beginning to be troublesome, put in for the supremacy of Wales, and imprisoned Mortimer ; yet it was not till the succeeding year that the King employed any force against him." *Theobald.*

Holinshed however states that Glendower was with King Richard at Flint Castle.

Gloucester. I. ii. 16 ; II. i. 128.

= Duke of Gloucester.

Gloucester's death. I. i. 132 ; I. ii. 36 ; II. i. 165 ; IV. i. 3, 10, 37.

See Duke of Gloucester's death.

Gloucestershire. II. iii. 3.

Gloucestershire, Wilds in.

The Scene of Act II., Scene iii. Bolingbroke marches from Ravenspurgh to Doncaster and is joined by Northumberland, Henry Percy—Northumberland's son—and the Lords Ross and Willoughby. They meet the Duke of York, who brands Bolingbroke as a rebel, but being forced to admit that Bolingbroke is only come to claim his rights he promises to remain neutral. York's collapse is a great disaster to Richard. [Courtenay says : " The march of Bolingbroke from Ravenspurgh to Berkeley Castle, and his interview with the Duke of York, who soon gave up the notion of opposing him " is from the *Chronicle*. I suspect too, that York, who, according to one authority, must have been in Bristol when it fell into the hands of Bolingbroke, did, in fact, negotiate with the invader, and preserve a neutrality, but not without a struggle, well described by Shakespeare, between his loyalty and his disgust at the king's misgovernment. . . . Shakespeare makes York a doubtful adherent of Henry, even at a later period." [At Flint, in Act III., Scene iii.]

Golgotha. IV. i. 144.

A place of Golgotha, that is to say, a place of a skull. See *Matthew* xxvii. 33.

Green. Servant to King Richard. I. iii. p.7; I. iv. p.1, 23; II. i. p.69; II. ii. p.41, 62; III. i. p.1, 2; III. ii. 123, 141; III. iv. 53.

He bears news to the queen that Bolingbroke has landed on the Yorkshire Coast, and that many of the nobles have joined him.

With Bushy he seeks refuge in Bristol Castle:

> Well, I will for refuge straight to Bristol castle,
> The Earl of Wiltshire is already there.
> [II. ii. 135–136.]

but the castle being taken by the forces under Bolingbroke he is taken prisoner and executed.

Sir Henry Green appears to be the second son of Sir Henry Green, Justice of the King's Bench, 23 Edward III., by Catharine his wife, daughter and heir of Sir John Drayton, of Drayton, co. Northampton, and the character in the play became Sir Henry Green of Drayton, his elder brother, Sir Thomas, inheriting Boughton and Green's-Norton. The second Sir Henry Green married Matilda, daughter of Thomas Mauduit of Warminster, and had issue. *French.*

See also Bushy and Bagot.

Groom. V. v. p. 67.

Visits Richard in prison at Pomfret Castle. Being asked:

> What art thou? and how comest thou hither,
> Where no man never comes, but that sad dog
> That brings me food to make misfortune live?
> [V. v. 69–71.]

he replies:

> I was a poor groom of thy stable, king,
> When thou wert king; who, travelling towards York,
> With much ado at length have gotten leave
> To look upon my sometime royal master's face.
> [V. v. 72–75.]

adding, how grieved he was to see Bolingbroke riding through the streets of London "on roan Barbary, That horse that thou so often hast bestrid, That horse that I so carefully have dress'd!" "Rode he on Barbary," exclaims Richard, "Tell me, gentle friend, How went he under him?" and the groom replies: "So proudly as if he disdain'd the ground," which causes Richard to say:

> So proud that Bolingbroke was on his back!
> That jade hath eat bread from my royal hand;
> This hand hath made him proud with clapping him.
> Would he not stumble? would he not fall down,
> Since pride must have a fall and break the neck
> Of that proud man that did usurp his back?
> Forgiveness, horse! why do I rail on thee,
> Since thou, created to be awed by man,
> Wast born to bear? I was not made a horse;
> And yet I bear a burthen like an ass,
> Spurr'd, gall'd, and tired by jauncing Bolingbroke.
> [V. v. 84–94.]

On the arrival of the keeper the groom is ordered to depart, Richard saying "If thou love me, 'tis time thou wert away," to which the groom replies: "What my tongue dares not, that my heart will say."

Guard. V. i. p. 7.

The Guard which conducted Richard through the streets of London when he was ordered to be confined in the Tower. The place of confinement was, however, changed to Pomfret Castle.

Hallowmass. V. i. 80.

> Sent back like Hallowmass or short'st of day.
> [V. i. 80.]

The feast of All-Hallows or All-Saints, November 1st. In Shakespeare's time it was November 11th., as the Julian Calendar had not then been displaced by the Gregorian Calendar.

Henry Percy, surnamed Hotspur. II. ii. 53; II. iii. p.21, 21, 45; III. i. p.1; III. iii. p.20, 20; IV. i. p.1; V. iii. p.1; V. vi. p.19.

Son to the Earl of Northumberland. He meets his father—who is with Bolingbroke—on the way to Berkeley Castle. Northumberland inquires if he has any news of his brother, the Earl of Worcester, to which Percy replies:

> No, my good lord; he hath forsook the court,
> Broken his staff of office and dispersed
> The household of the king. [II. iii. 26–28.]

and being asked the reason why, says:

> Because your lordship was proclaimed traitor.
> But he, my lord, is gone to Ravensburgh,
> To offer service to the Duke of Hereford,
> And sent me over by Berkeley, to discover
> What power the Duke of York had levied there;
> Then with directions to repair to Ravensburgh.
> [II. iii. 30–35.]

Northumberland then asks the distance to Berkeley, and Percy points out the castle to him in the distance :

> There stands the castle, by yon tuft of trees,
> Mann'd with three hundred men, as I have heard ;
> [II. iii. 53–54.]

He next appears before Flint Castle, entering with the news that Richard with his followers is in charge of the castle :

> It doth contain a king ; King Richard lies
> Within the limits of yon lime and stone :
> And with him are the Lord Aumerle, Lord Salisbury,
> Sir Stephen Scroop, beside a clergyman
> Of holy reverence ; who, I cannot learn.
> [III. iii. 25–29.]

Percy's last appearance is in the final scene of the play when he enters and reports that the Abbot of Westminster has " yielded up his body to the grave," and that he (Percy) has brought with him the Bishop of Carlisle to receive sentence at the hands of Bolingbroke.

He is represented by Shakespeare as being a younger man than he really was, in order to give dramatic effect to his character in contradistinction to that of Prince Henry.

He is an important character in the *First Part of King Henry the Fourth.* (q.v.).

See also under Earl of Northumberland.

Henry, surnamed Bolingbroke, Duke of Hereford, son to John of Gaunt ; afterwards King Henry IV. I. i. 3, p.19, 28, 124, 162 ; I. ii. 46. 47, 53 ; I. iii. 1, 21, p.26, 35, 55, 100, 104, 113, 140, 201 ; I. iv. 2, 3 ; II. i. 144, 145, 165, 167, 190, 191, 192, 195, 201, 232, 280 ; II. ii. 49, 61, 63, 89, 144 ; II. iii. p.1, 32, 36, 69, 70, 113, 114, 124 ; III. i. p.1, 32 ; III. ii. 34, 47, 58, 74, 97, 110, 127, 151, 188, 200, 218 ; III. iii. p.1, 35, 45, 91, 104, 142, 173, 175 ; III. iv. 52, 54, 84, 87, 99 ; IV. i. p.1, 17, 107, 112, 134, 135, 180, 220, 261, 286 ; V. i. 4, 27, 51, 56 ; V. ii. 7, 11, 17, 39, 117 ; V. iii. p.1 ; V. v. 37, 59, 78, 84, 94, 102 ; V. vi. p.1.

Is a great contrast to King Richard, being a strong man of action and confident in all his enterprises, — his diplomacy being apparent throughout the whole of the play.

His quarrel with Norfolk in the first act is to weaken Richard's position, and when banished by the latter, he makes use of his time in winning the hearts of the people.

He remains in exile until Richard has departed for Ireland, and then landing on the coast of Yorkshire is joined by many of the great nobles. He wastes no time in marching through the country, his objective being Berkeley in Gloucestershire, where York's forces are mustered. On the way he is joined by Percy and other nobles, and subsequently meets York at the head of an armed force. The latter is persuaded somewhat against his will to " remain neuter " and invites Bolingbroke into Berkeley Castle, which offer is accepted, conditionally upon York accompanying him to Bristol Castle :

> *York.* Well, well, I see the issue of these arms :
> I cannot mend it, I must needs confess,
> Because my power is weak and all ill left :
> But if I could, by Him that gave me life,
> I would attach you all and make you stoop
> Unto the sovereign mercy of the king ;
> But since I cannot, be it known to you
> I do remain as neuter. So, fare you well ;
> Unless you please to enter in the castle
> And there repose you for this night.
> *Boling.* An offer, uncle, that we will accept :
> But we must win your grace to go with us
> To Bristol castle, [II. iii. 152–164.]

The masterly way in which he wins the services of York shows Bolingbroke's great will-power, which is again apparent in the way Richard surrenders his crown.

On the fall of Bristol Castle, Bolingbroke does not spare Richard's favourites, for, being brought before him orders their execution, telling them that they are responsible for Richard's misgovernment :

> You have misled a prince, a royal king,
> [III. i. 8.]

Bolingbroke loves his country, but unlike Richard shows it more in a practical than in a sentimental manner, as may be evidenced in the landing of Richard on the coast of Wales, and the landing of Bolingbroke at Ravenspurgh. It is only when he departs into exile that, on bidding his father farewell, he gives vent to his patriotic feelings :

> Then, England's ground, farewell ; sweet soil, adieu ;
> My mother, and my nurse, that bears me yet !
> Where'er I wander, boast of this I can,
> Though banish'd, yet a trueborn Englishman.
> [I. iii. 306–309.]

Although Bolingbroke is masterful he cannot be called cruel. He remains outwardly respectful to the king :

> *Boling.* Stand all apart,
> And show fair duty to his majesty. [*He kneels down.*
> [III. iii. 187–188.]

and restrains Northumberland, when the latter demands that Richard shall read over a list of his crimes :

> Urge it no more, my Lord Northumberland.
> [IV. i. 271.]

He is likewise courteous to the Queen, as in the third act he bids York convey to her a message of affection :

> Uncle, you say the queen is at your house ;
> For God's sake, fairly let her be entreated :
> Tell her I send to her my kind commends ;
> Take special care my greetings be deliver'd.
> [III. i. 36–39.]

Other touches of good-will are noticeable in his character when he spares Aumerle and Carlisle for their complicity in the treasonable plot against him.

Commenting on the character of Bolingbroke, Hudson remarks : " Bolingbroke is obviously the moving and controlling spirit of the drama. Every thing waits upon his firm-set and tranquil potency of will, and is made alive with his silent, inly-working efficacy of thought and purpose. He sets the action on foot, shapes its whole course, and ties up all its lines at the close ; himself riding, in calm and conscious triumph, the whirlwind he has had a hand in raising. Bold, crafty, humble, and aspiring, he is also brimful of energy, yet has all his forces thoroughly in hand, so that he uses them, and is never mastered by them. His vessel is so well-timbered, and so tight-built, that it never springs aleak ; either from nature or from purpose, perhaps from both, he takes the way of spreading himself by deeds, not by discourse ; plans industriously, but says nothing about it ; and as he prates not of his mental whereabout, so you never know what he is thinking of or driving at, till his thoughts have compassed their drift, and overtaken their ends : consequently he remains throughout the play an enigma both to the other persons and to us. At once ardent and self-restrained, far-sighted, firmly poised, always eying his mark steadily, and ever working towards it stealthily, he knows perfectly withal how to abide his time : he sees the opportunity clearly while it is coming, and seizes it promptly when it comes ; but does all this so quietly as to seem the mere servant of events, and not at all the worker of them. He is undoubtedly ambitious of the crown, expects to have it, means to get it, and frames his action to that end ; but he builds both the ambition and the expectation on his knowledge of Richard's character and his own political insight : reading the signs of the time with a statesman's eye, he knows that things are hastening towards a crisis in the State ; as he also knows that they will be apt to make an end the sooner, if left to their natural course : nor, after all, is it so correct to say that he forces the crown away from Richard, as that he lets Richard's fitful, jerking impotence shake it off into his hand ; though it must be owned that he takes, and knows he is taking, just the right way to stimulate Richard's convulsive zigzaggery into fatal action," and Gervinus says : " But in what does the poet exhibit that good use of the crown which we extol in Bolingbroke ? The whole of Henry IV., must give an answer to this question ; but even in Richard II., the reply is found. His whole path to the kingdom is a royal path, and scarcely has he reached it than he shows by the most striking contrast the difference between the king by nature and the king by mere inheritance. Before, when banished by Richard he had left the country, he left it like a king. After the death of his father, and the plunder of his house, he returns unhesitatingly from banishment, in defiance of his sentence, and lands poor and helpless on the forbidden shore. . . . Cold and considerate compared to his fanciful predecessor, a profound statesman compared to the romantic and poetic king, a quick horseman, spurring the heavy, overburdened Richard, bearing the misfortune of banishment with manly composure, and easing his nature by immediate search for redress, while Richard gives way at the mere approach of misfortune, this man appears throughout as too unequal an adversary to Richard for the good right on the one side to stand its ground against the superior gifts on the other. If, intoxicated by his first success, he had not so far lost himself as to tread the path of John and Richard III., and to hint at the murder of the king (though only remotely and indirectly to his subsequent sorrow and repentance), we should consider

Bolingbroke's path to the throne not only guiltless but justified. . . . The commencement scene, which essentially exhibits to us Richard's conduct as a sovereign, has its counterpart in the fourth act, where Shakespeare exemplifies Bolingbroke's dissimilar conduct in a similar position.

This personage, who is best known by the name of his father's castle, at Bolingbroke, co. Lincoln, where he was born in 1366, was of the same age as King Richard, and the cousins appear to have been rivals in childhood, as through life. Richard accused his cousin of having drawn sword upon him even in his queen's chamber, and Bolingbroke told the king that the people believed him to be the son of a priest, and not of the Black Prince. Mr. Hallam, speaking of the controversy between Bolingbroke and Mowbray, observes,—'of all the political mysteries which this reign affords, none is more inexplicable than the quarrel of these peers.' *Middle Ages.* Froissart states that it arose from Mowbray repeating to the king a conversation he had had with Bolingbroke, which the latter regarded as a breach of trust ;—'Fair Cousin, what thinketh the King our Cousin to do ; will he drive out of England all the Noble-men ? within a while there will be none left.' Holinshed relates that Hereford accused Norfolk of certain words sounding highly to the king's dishonour. One part of his plea against that noble was certainly true,—

'That he did plot the Duke of Gloucester's death.'

Shakespeare frequently calls Bolingbroke by his title of Hereford, which came to him through his having married, in 1380, the great co-heiress, Mary de Bohun, second daughter of Humphrey, the last Earl of Hereford, of the name, who died in 1372. Bolingbroke hitherto Earl of Derby, was created Duke of Hereford by King Richard, Sept. 29, 1397. The poet has followed the old chroniclers in describing the quarrel which resulted in the banishment of the antagonists. During Bolingbroke's exile, his first wife, Mary de Bohun, having died in 1394, he wished to marry Mary, daughter of the Duke of Berri, an alliance which was broken off by Richard's influence, as alluded to in the play. The unjust seizure of

'The royalties and rights of banish'd Hereford,'

added fresh cause of ill-will between the cousins, and Bolingbroke, who had served with distinction abroad, and was very popular at home, seized the opportunity of Richard's ill-advised departure for Ireland to avenge the death of his heir-presumptive, Roger Mortimer, and embarking for England with a small train was soon joined on his landing at Ravenspur by many powerful lords. The rest of his rapid progress towards the throne, with Richard's abdication, is well expressed by the poet, whose line, uttered by Bolingbroke,—

'In God's name I 'll ascend the regal throne,'

refers to the bold assertion made by him that he was entitled to the crown, 'by the right line of the blood, coming from the good lord King Henry the Third,' pretending that his maternal ancestor Edmund *Cruche-back*, was that monarch's *eldest* son, who had been set aside for a younger brother, afterwards king, as Edward the First, who was really six years older. The truth is that Bolingbroke could have no title to the throne, the rightful heir, as descended from Lionel of Clarence, being Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, who had been declared in Parliament heir to the crown after King Richard, but being only about seven years old at that king's deposition, 'his friends consulted his safety, by keeping silence with regard to his claim.' *Hume.*

[Bolingbroke—as King Henry the Fourth—is also a character in the *First Part of King Henry the Fourth.* (q.v.)]

Heralds. I. iii. p.7, p.26 ; IV. i. p.1.

Proclaim the names of their respective champions in the duel between Bolingbroke and Norfolk at Coventry, and state their charges.

Bolingbroke's Herald says :

> Harry of Hereford, Lancaster and Derby,
> Stands here for God, his sovereign and himself,
> On pain to be found false and recreant,
> To prove the Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Mowbray,
> A traitor to his God, his king and him ;
> And dares him to set forward to the fight.
> [I. iii. 104–109.]

and Norfolk's :

> Here standeth Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk,
> On pain to be found false and recreant,
> Both to defend himself and to approve
> Henry of Hereford, Lancaster and Derby,
> To God, his sovereign and to him disloyal ;
> Courageously and with a free desire
> Attending but the signal to begin. [I. iii. 110–116.]

A Herald also appears in the Parliament at Westminster Hall.

Holy Land. V. vi. 49.

= Palestine. Bolingbroke (afterwards Henry IV) had been on pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1392–93, and contemplated going on another crusade in the hope of atoning for his crime in having desired Richard's death. Bolingbroke died in the Jerusalem Chamber of Westminster Abbey.

Ireland. I. iv. 38, 52; II. i. 218; II. ii. 42.

> Now for the rebels which stand out in Ireland.
> [I. iv. 38.]

The decision of Richard to go to Ireland personally, was due to the Heir-presumptive, Roger Mortimer, Earl of March and Ulster, being slain by the Irish in battle at Kells in 1398.

Ireland. II. ii. 103, 123, 141.

Italy. II. i. 21.

> Report of fashions in proud Italy,
> Whose manners still our tardy apish nation
> Limps after in base imitation. [II. i. 21–23.]

Shakespeare applies the custom of his own age to that of the time of Richard II. The dominant influence in Richard's time was French, owing to his marriage with Isabella, daughter of Charles VI., King of France.

Italy. IV. i. 97.

Jack o' the clock. V. v. 60.

An antomatic metal figure of a little man which in old clocks struck the bell every quarter hour. There is one in Cheapside, London, and there are also such clocks in Strasburg, York Minster, and Wells.

Jewry. II. i. 55.

> As is the sepulchre in stubborn Jewry
> Of the world's ransom, blessed Mary's son.
> [II. i. 55–56.]

= Judæa, the country of the Jews. It is called stubborn because it rejected Christ.

John a Gaunt. I. iii. 76.

In Shakespeare's time it was not an unusual custom to use 'a' for 'of.'

John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, Uncle to the King. I. i. p.1, 1, 135; I. ii. p.1, 22, 29, 44, 54; I. iii. p.7; I. iv. 54; II. i. p.1, 71, 72, 74, 147, 150, 162, 166, 191, 192, 224; II. iii. 100, 118, 127; III. iii. 109.

Is represented by the dramatist as a high-minded and noble man, patriotic and even faithful to his king and country.

His loyalty to the king is evident and his one aim in life—although vain—seems to have been to curb Richard's recklessness.

Although fully conscious of Richard's complicity in the death of the Duke of Gloucester, Gaunt's loyalty will not allow him to act against the king, and when his sister the Duchess of Gloucester asks him "the best way to venge her Gloucester's death," Gaunt's answer is:

> God's is the quarrel; for God's substitute,
> His deputy anointed in His sight,
> Hath caused his death: the which if wrongfully,
> Let heaven revenge; for I may never lift
> And angry arm against His minister. [I. ii. 37–41.]

Gaunt's love for his son manifests itself in the third scene, when Bolingbroke is banished the realm, and his grief is even visible to the king, who, seeing his "grieved heart in the glasses of his eyes" reduces the term of banishment by four years, but so true is Gaunt to the king's person that even his son's banishment involves no reaction in his loyalty.

His loyalty to Richard remains to the end, for on his deathbed he asks for the king in order that he may "breathe his last in wholesome counsel to his unstaid youth," and it is only when Richard has treated him with discourtesy, that he ventures to reprove him for his misgovern-

ment of the realm, and of being responsible for the Duke of Gloucester's death.

All Gaunt's pent-up love for his country spontaneously breaks forth in that inspired speech in praise of his native land :

> This royal throne of kings, this scepter'd isle,
> This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
> This other Eden, demi-paradise ;
> This fortress built by Nature for herself
> Against infection and the hand of war ;
> This happy breed of men, this little world,
> This precious stone set in the silver sea,
> Which serves it in the office of a wall,
> Or as a moat defensive to a house,
> Against the envy of less happier lands ;
> This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England,
> This nurse, this teeming womb of royal kings,
> Fear'd by their breed and famous by their birth,
> Renowned for their deeds as far from home,
> For Christian service and true chivalry,
> As is the sepulchre in stubborn Jewry
> Of the world's ransom, blessed Mary's Son ;
> This land of such dear souls, this dear dear land,
> Dear for her reputation through the world,
> Is now leased out, I die pronouncing it,
> Like to a tenement or pelting farm :
> England, bound in with the triumphant sea,
> Whose rocky shore beats back the envious siege
> Of watery Neptune, is now bound in with shame,
> With inky blots and rotten parchment bonds :
> That England, that was wont to conquer others,
> Hath made a shameful conquest of itself.
> Ah, would the scandal vanish with my life,
> How happy then were my ensuing death !
>
> [II. i. 40–68.]

We may at least regard Gaunt as the one character in the play who did not seek to attain his own ends, but devoted his energies to upholding the honour of his country, even at the cost of self-sacrifice.

" It is usual to place the Duke of York first in order, but as John of *Gaunt* was the elder brother he is entitled to precedence. By his first marriage, already given, he had besides Henry Bolingbroke two other sons, John and Edward, who died young, and two daughters, Philippa, who married John I., King of Portugal, and Elizabeth, who became the wife of John Holland, (son of Joan, ' Fair Maid of Kent,' by her first husband), Earl of Huntingdon, and Duke of Exeter, under which titles he is alluded to in this play. John of *Gaunt's* second wife, 1372, was Constance, (who died 1394), eldest daughter of Peter the *Cruel*, King of Castile and Leon, a style which John of *Gaunt* assumed for a time ; by this union he had an only child Katherine, married to the Prince of the Asturias, who afterwards became king of Castile and Leon as Henri III., and from this marriage descended the Imperial House of Austria.

John of *Gaunt* married thirdly, in 1396, Catherine Swynford, widow of Sir Otes Swynford, and eldest daughter and co-heir of Sir Payn Roet, Knight, Guienne King at Arms ; by this lady, who had been governess to his two eldest daughters, he had three sons and one daughter, all born before their mother's marriage, but made legitimate by Act of Parliament in 1397. These children had the surname of Beaufort from their father's castle in Anjou, where they were born. Their connection with royalty exercised great influence in subsequent reigns, and they will be noticed hereafter.

John of *Gaunt* died Feb. 2, 1399, at Ely House, as noticed in the play, his noble palace, the Savoy, having been sacked and set on fire by by the rebels under Wat Tyler and Jack Straw. He had also a splendid palace at Lincoln, which he is said to have built for Catherine Swynford, of which some interesting portions remain to attest its former beauty. It is greatly to the credit of ' Time-honour'd Lancaster,' that he was the personal protector, at much hazard to himself, of Wicliffe ; and the steady friend of Geoffrey Chaucer, who married Isabella Roet, a younger sister of the duke's third wife. *French.*

Judas. III. ii. 132.

Judas Iscariot, the disciple who betrayed Christ.

Judas. IV. i. 170.

> So Judas to Christ. [IV. i. 170.]

An allusion to the words of Judas as he betrayed Christ. See *St. Matthew* xxvi. 49.

Julius Cæsar's ill-erected tower. V. i. 2.

According to tradition the Tower of London was built by Julius Cæsar. Cf. *Richard III.*, III. i. 68 :

> I do not like the Tower, of any place.
> Did Julius Cæsar build that place, my lord ?

ill-erected = erected for evil purposes.

Keeper. V. v. p. 95.

The Keeper of Pomfret Castle, who attends on Richard, and one of whose duties it is to first taste the food he brings. Acting on instructions, he omits to carry out the usual custom, and on Richard enquiring the cause, he is told :

> My lord, I dare not : Sir Pierce of Exton,
> Who lately came from the king, commands the contrary.
> [V. v. 100–101.]

This enrages Richard, who falls upon him with his fists and the keeper calling " help, help, help ! " Exton with armed servants rush into the cell.

Kent. V. vi. 8.

Thomas Holland, Duke of Surrey. Was Marshal at the lists at Coventry. He joined in the conspiracy against Henry IV and being captured at Cirencester, was beheaded. See *Extract* 11 from Holinshed.

King Richard the Second. I. i. p.1 ; I. iii. p.7, 32, 40, 86 ; I. iv. p.1 ; II. i. 15, p.69, 184 ; II. ii. 9 ; II. iii. 123 ; II. iv. 17, 18 ; III. ii. p.1, 60, 218 ; III. iii. 6, 8, 25, 36, 47, 54, 61, p.62, 62, 174, p.187 ; III. iv. 77, 83, 89 ; IV. i. 108, 119, 122, 155, p.162, 218, 219, 220 ; V. i. p.7, 12, 13, 26 ; V. ii. 6, 22, 28, 42 ; V. v. p.1, 65 ; V. vi. 33.

Is depicted as a weak, unstable monarch and totally unfitted to govern the country, having been pampered in his youth and consequently developed a character which was selfish, unscrupulous, and addicted to self-indulgence.

To this last characteristic may be ascribed the reason for Richard's misgovernment of the realm, for he used his position as monarch to gratify his own inclinations rather than to promote the welfare of his subjects.

He himself confesses that the court has spent too much money in needless extravagancies, but speaks of it lightly, and, to overcome the difficulties thus caused, does not hesitate to issue blank charters, and lease out the land to the nobles :

> We will ourself in person to this war :
> And, for our coffers, with too great a court
> And liberal largess, are grown somewhat light,
> We are inforced to farm our royal realm ;
> The revenue whereof shall furnish us
> For our affairs in hand : if that come short,
> Our substitutes at home shall have blank charters ;
> Whereto, when they shall know what men are rich,
> They shall subscribe them for large sums of gold
> And send them after to supply our wants ;
> [I. iv. 42–51.]

On account of this indiscriminate leasing, the people are oppressed and reduced to a state of serfdom, and so the king hastens his downfall, for the people rally round Bolingbroke as their deliverer.

Being the instigator of the death of the Duke of Gloucester, he tries to hush the matter up by purporting to do his best to appease Norfolk when the latter is accused of the crime by Bolingbroke.

His sentences on the two nobles are totally unfair, and undoubtedly given to save himself from being suspected of complicity in the plot.

By seizing Bolingbroke's rightful possessions on Gaunt's death, Richard makes other nobles fear for the safety of their own possessions, in consequence of which they desert him for Bolingbroke.

During the course of the play we see that Richard possesses a poetical imagination, and is full of fanciful sayings, for on his return from Ireland he greets his native land in sentimental language :

> Dear earth, I do salute thee with my hand,
> . . . . . .
> So, weeping, smiling, greet I thee, my earth,
> . . . . . .
> Feed not thy sovereign's foe, my gentle earth,
> . . . . . .
> Guard it, I pray thee, with a lurking adder,
> Whose double tongue may with a mortal touch
> Throw death upon thy sovereign's enemies.
> . . . . . .
> This earth shall have a feeling and these stones
> Prove armed soldiers, ere her native king
> Shall falter under foul rebellion's arms.
> [III. ii. 6–26.]

They are however, useless words, for through his dallying in returning, Richard's Welsh army forsakes him.

Seeing his power waning he indulges in more fanciful language which only tends to hastens

his downfall, for he persuades himself that all is lost, [*See* III. ii. 145 *et seq.*], and being incapable of further effort orders his troops to be discharged.

When Bolingbroke attends in the base court of Flint Castle to speak with Richard, the latter's imagination sees in it a further presage of his downfall :

> Down, down I come ; like glistering Phaeton,
> Wanting the manage of unruly jades.
> In the base court ? Base court, where kings grow base,
> To come at traitors' calls and do them grace.
> In the base court ? Come down ? Down, court ! down, king !
> For night-owls shriek where mounting larks should sing.
> [III. iii. 178–183.]

Being so strongly persuaded that he will lose his kingdom, Richard voluntarily abdicates, and when brought before Bolingbroke to resign his crown publicly he speaks in pathetic words of his failure, of his recent exalted rank, but now has to " flatter, bow, and bend his limbs."

Although he is responsible for his own downfall, Richard commands our sympathy, for his words are full of stately bearing, and when alone in his cell at Pomfret Castle, musing on life in general and comparing it with his life in prison we realise that his eloquence has risen in beauty and brilliance as his position in life has grown more hopeless.

One line of Richard's final soliloquy gives us the keynote to his character :

> I wasted time, and now doth time waste me ; [V. v. 49.]

and his career as enacted in the play is just the one we should expect to find in such a dissolute, unscrupulous character.

Commenting on the character of Richard, Gervinus remarks : " According to historical tradition, he was most beautiful ; and Shakespeare also, in contrasting him with Richard III., who is urged by his deformity to avenge himself on nature, has not unintentionally invested him with a beautiful form, which, according to Bacon, renders ' him generally light-minded whom it adorns, and whom it moves : ' he calls him in the lips of Percy ' a sweet lovely rose.' He gives him the outward features of his father, and allows us occasionally to perceive a mental likeness also ; the mild nature of the lamb and the violence of the lion, which the poet speaks of as combined in the Black Prince, are both exhibited in him. The first is scarcely to be mistaken ; it becomes visible even at the last moment in the many tokens of attachment which he receives at a time when it is dangerous to manifest it, and it is apparent after his death in the longing for him which is aroused in the adversaries who had conspired against him. The other quality is more hidden in single scattered traits. He appears throughout like a ' young hot colt,' easily provoked, like a violent flame consuming itself quickly ; he compares himself to the brilliant Phaeton, who, incapable and daring, tries to manage his refractory steeds ; in the moment of misfortune the defiance of an innate nobility is aroused in the midst of his sorrow, and in his death he appears as ' full of valour as of royal blood.' But this fine disposition is wholly obliterated ; in the early season of his life and reign he has lost his reputation ; he is surrounded by a troop of creatures and favourites, parasites and men who preyed on the kingdom, who stop his ear with flatteries, and poison it with wanton imaginations ; who make him tyrannical and imperious, incapable of hearing a word of blame and admonition even from the lips of his dying uncle ; men who made him shallow with Italian fashions, who surrounded him with every low vanity, and enticed him into ostentation and extravagance," and Hudson says : " All through the first three Acts, Richard appears pretty thoroughly despicable, insomuch that it seems hardly possible he should ever rally to his side any honest stirrings either of pity or respect. He is at once crafty and credulous, indolent and arrogant, effeminate and aggressive ; a hollow trifler while Fortune smiles, a wordy whimperer when she frowns. His utter falseness of heart in taking order for the combat, while secretly bent on preventing it ; his arbitrary freakishness in letting it proceed till the combatants are on the point of crossing their lances, and then peremptorily arresting it ; his petulant tyranny in passing the sentence of banishment on both the men, and his nervous, timid apprehensiveness in exacting from them an oath not to have any correspondence during their exile ; his mean, scoffing insolence to the broken-hearted Gaunt, his ostentatious scorn of the dying man's reproofs, his impious levity in wishing him a speedy death, and his imperious, headlong contempt of

justice, and even of his own plighted faith, in seizing the Lancaster estates to his own use before the 'time-honour'd Lancaster' is in the grave;—these things mark him out as a thorough-paced profligate, at once lawless and imbecile, who glories in spurning at whatever is held most sacred by all true men."

"The action of this play takes in the two last years of this unhappy monarch's reign, viz. 1398, when the combat was appointed between Bolingbroke and Mowbray; and 1399, when the deposition of Richard occurred. The chief events of this drama spring from the relationship between the cousins, Richard and Bolingbroke. Some mistakes have been made by commentators in fixing the identity of characters in this play, and there are several persons named in it, who though not taking part in its action deserve to be noticed, as they bore a share in the real events.

Richard was the fifth king of England after King John, from whom he was sixth in lineal descent, his father, the Black Prince, dying before Edward the Third. As much of the interest of this and succeeding plays arises from the contending claims of that great king's descendants, it will save repetition to give here an account of his offspring and their families.

Edward III., eldest son of Edward II., and Isabel of France, married in 1327, Philippa, third daughter of William, Count of Hainault, by whom he had seven sons,—

'Seven fair branches springing from one root,'

and five daughters; the latter were, 1. Isabel, who married Ingelram de Coucy, created Earl of Bedford; 2. Joan, died young; 3. Blanche, also died young; 4. Mary, who married John the *Valiant*, Duke of Britany; 5. Margaret, who became the wife of John Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, but died without issue. The sons of King Edward were, 1. Edward, Prince of Wales, called 'the Black Prince,' born 1330, who in 1361 married his cousin Joan, called, from her exceeding beauty, 'the Fair Maid of Kent;' she was the widow of the brave Sir Thomas Holland, one of the original Twenty-five Knights of the Garter, termed 'First Founders,' and only daughter and heir of Edmund of *Woodstock*, Earl of Kent, the youngest son of Edward I., by his second queen, Margaret of France; 2. William of *Hatfield*, born 1336, who died at the age of eight years; 3. Lionel of *Antwerp*, Duke of Clarence, and Earl of Ulster, born 1338 (died 1368), married in 1352 Elizabeth (who died in 1363), daughter and heir of William de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, and by her had an only child, Philippa Plantagenet, born 1355, who in 1368 married Edmund Mortimer, third Earl of March, and their eldest son, Roger Mortimer, was father of Edmund Mortimer, who was the rightful heir to the crown at the death of Richard the Second, and his sister, Anne Mortimer, becoming his heir, conveyed the right to the throne to the House of York, as will be shewn presently; 4. John of *Gaunt*, or *Ghent*, where he was born in 1340, Duke of Lancaster, who married first, in 1359, Blanche, youngest daughter and co-heir of Henry Plantagenet, Duke of Lancaster, the grandson of Edmund *Cruche-back*, next brother to Edward I., the only surviving son of this marriage was Henry Bolingbroke; 5. Edmund of *Langley*, Duke of York, and Earl of Cambridge, born 1341, who married first Isabel, youngest daughter of Peter the *Cruel*, King of Castile and Leon, by whom he had one daughter, Constance, married to Thomas le Despencer, Earl of Gloucester, who is the 'Spencer' mentioned in Act IV., Scene vi., beheaded for his adherence to King Richard; the two sons of Edmund of Langley's first marriage were, Edward, who is the 'Aumerle' of this play, and Richard of *Coningsburgh*, who is the 'Earl of Cambridge' in *King Henry V.*, and who married Anne Mortimer, of which hereafter; 6. William of *Windsor*, died young; and 7. Thomas of *Woodstock*, born 1355, who is the 'Duke of Gloucester' spoken of in this play.

Edward the *Black Prince*, who is nobly alluded to in this drama, and in *King Henry V.*, died in the prime of life, as to age, but worn out by a wasting consumption, July 8, 1376, having had by Joan 'Fair Maid of Kent,' two sons, Edward, born in 1365, a promising youth, who died in Bordeaux, before his father, and Richard of *Bordeaux*, born there January 6, 1366, who succeeded his illustrious grandfather, Edward the Third, June 21, 1377, and was crowned July 16 following. He was therefore in the twenty-second year of his reign when this play opens, and the only two surviving sons of Edward III., were the Dukes of Lancaster and York, the

murder of the Duke of Gloucester having taken place in 1397, a deed of crime which in a great measure led the way to the complications, and final catastrophe, recorded in the drama.

King Richard married first, January 14, 1382, Anne of Bohemia, daughter of Charles IV., Emperor of Germany; this queen to whom Richard was tenderly attached, died June 7, 1394; he married secondly Isabel of France, who is therefore the 'Queen to King Richard' in the play, but she was a mere child. Richard's death is generally considered to have occurred February 14, 1400, the old chroniclers being precise in stating that it was on St. Valentine's day." *French.*

Ladies attending on the Queen. III. iv. p.1; V. i. p.1.

According to French the chief lady attached to the young queen's household was the 'Lady of Couçy,' Mary, daughter of the Princess Isabel, daughter of Edward III., who married Ingelram de Couçy, created Earl of Bedford, K.G. After the Lady of Couçy was dismissed in disgrace, King Richard placed his young wife in the care of his niece, Eleanor Holland, widow of Roger Mortimer, fourth Earl of March, and she accompanied Queen Isabel on her return to France.

Lancaster. I. iii. 35, 100, 104, 113.

= Bolingbroke.

Landlord of England. II. i. 113.

Landlord of England art thou now, not King:
[II. i. 113.]

"By leasing out your country you have assumed towards it the relation of a landlord, not of a king, and have made yourself, like any other landlord, subject to the law which regulates such bargains." As King he would have been above the law.

This line, observes Courtenay, is an allusion to "a common bruit, that the king had set to farm the realm of England unto Sir William Scroop, Earl of Wiltshire, and then treasurer of England, Sir John Bushy, Speaker of the House of Commons, Sir John Bagot, and Sir Henry Green, knights."

Langley. The Duke of York's Garden.

The Scene of Act III., Scene iv. This scene does not add to the dramatic action. It gives the conversation between a gardener and two servants, which is overheard by the queen as she sits in the garden. It is however purely fictitious, as the queen was not at Langley.

Langley. The Duke of York's Palace.

The Scene of Act V., Scene ii. Consists of two parts. The first gives a description—related in a conversation between the Duke and Duchess of York—of the entry into London of Richard and Bolingbroke. [According to Holinshed, Richard did not appear in Bolingbrooke's triumphal entry into London, but entered the following day, and by a different route and was taken direct to the Tower]. The second part is the discovery of the conspiracy against Henry by the Duke of York, who hastens to Windsor to inform the king.

London. V. ii. 3.

My lord, you told me you would tell the rest,
When weeping made you break the story off
Of our two cousins coming into London. [V. ii. 1–3.]

An allusion to the entry into London of King Richard and Bolingbroke.

London. III. iii. 207; III. iv. 90, 97; V. iii. 5, 7, 13.

London. King Richard's Palace.

The Scene of Act I., Scene i. Introduces us to the two chief characters of the play,—King Richard and Bolingbroke. Bolingbroke charges Norfolk with treason, and Richard commands that they both appear before him. The king decrees that they shall settle their differences in the lists at Coventry on St. Lambert's Day. [Coleridge says: "The whole of this scene of the quarrel between Mowbray and Bolingbroke seems introduced for the purpose of showing by anticipation the characters of Richard and Bolingbroke," but Courtenay observes "that it was introduced because the dramatist found it in the *Chronicle*, and it does not illustrate the characters of king or peer."]

London. A Street leading to the Tower.

The Scene of Act V., Scene i. A touching scene showing the parting between Richard and the queen. [Historically inaccurate. "Richard's lamentations over his queen are transferred by the poet to an interview between them, which is quite imaginary, as Richard never saw her after he went to Ireland." *Courtenay.*]

Lord Berkley. II. iii. 33, 55, p.68, 68.

Of Berkeley Castle in Gloucestershire. He enters as the messenger from the Duke of York, and addresses Bolingbroke as "My Lord of Hereford," but Bolingbroke reminds him that his real title is now "Lancaster," for which Berkley apologises :

Berk. My lord of Hereford, my message is to you.
Boling. My lord my answer is—to Lancaster ;
And I am come to seek that name in England ;
And I must find that title in your tongue,
Before I make reply to aught you say.
Berk. Mistake me not, my lord ; 'tis not my meaning
To raze one title of your honour out :
[II. iii. 69–75.]

He then inquires of Bolingbroke :

what pricks you on
To take advantage of the absent time
And fright our native peace with self-born arms.
[II. iii. 78–80.]

but before Bolingbroke can reply York enters, and Bolingbroke remarks :

I shall not need transport my words by you ;
Here comes his grace in person. [II. iii. 81–82.]

It has been usual to style this character 'Earl Berkeley,' but that rank was not granted to the family until the reign of Charles the Second, when George, thirteenth Baron Berkeley, was advanced, in 1699, to be Earl Berkeley, Viscount Dursley. Shakespeare only calls this character a baron,—

'It is my lord of Berkeley as I guess.'

This person was Thomas Berkeley, fifth baron, descended from the feudal lords of Berkeley Castle, co. Gloucester, the mere tenure of which was, at one time, considered to confer a barony, as is truly the case of Arundel Castle. This baron, who died in 1416, married Margaret de L'Isle, only daughter and heir of Warine, last Lord de L'Isle, and their only child, Elizabeth Berkeley, married Richard Beauchamp, the 'Earl of Warwick' in the *Second Part of King Henry IV.*, and also in *King Henry V.*

The commission appointed by the Parliament to declare to Richard II., in the Tower, his sentence of deposition, consisted of 'a bishop,' St. Asaph ; 'an abbot,' Glastonbury ; 'an earl,' Thomas Despencer, Earl of Gloucester ; 'A baron,' the Lord Berkeley of this play ; and 'a knight,' Sir Thomas Erpingham. Grafton, who also adds Sir Thomas Grey, Knight, to the list.

In all modern editions the heading to Act III., Scene ii, is,

'*The Coast of Wales. A Castle in view.*'
K. Rich. Barkloughly Castle, call they this at hand.'

but Berkeley Castle, about a mile from the east bank of the Severn, would not be opposite to the Welch coast, but to a division of the same county of Gloucester. *French.*

Lord Fitzwater. IV. i. p.1, 43, 60 ; V. vi. p.13, 17.

Appears in Bolingbroke's Parliament assembled at Westminster Hall. He supports Bagot's accusation against Aumerle of being concerned in the death of the Duke of Gloucester. Takes no important part in the play.

This person was Walter Fitz-walter, fifth Baron Fitz-walter, who was summoned to Parliament from 1390 to 1404. He was descended from Robert Fitz-walter, the famous 'Banner-bearer of the City of London,' general of the barons confederated against King John, and styled by them 'Marshal of the Army of God and the Church.' The baron in this play, who died in 1407, married Joan, daughter of Sir John Devereux, K.G., Baron Devereux, sister and heir of John, second Baron Devereux, by which alliance the baronies of Fitz-walter and Devereux were united in their descendants. The Lord Fitz-walter in this play was the first to throw down his gage of defiance to Aumerle in Westminster Hall, according to Holinshed, and as shewn in Act IV., Scene i., where he says,—

'There is my gage, Aumerle, in gage to thine.'

Lord Marshal. I. i. 204 ; I. iii. p.1, 7, 26, 44, 46, 99.

= The Duke of Surrey (q.v.). Is ordered by Richard to make arrangements for the duel to be fought at Coventry between Bolingbroke and Norfolk.

He appears in the lists and calls upon the disputants in turn to disclose their identity, to state their quarrels, and hands to them their lances.

[Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, was the Lord Marshal of England, but having to answer Bolingbroke's charge at Coventry, the Deputy Lord Marshal acted in his stead. The Deputy Lord Marshal was Thomas Holland, Duke of Surrey. Holland was instrumental in executing Arundel, a fellow-conspirator of Gloucester, and from the confiscation of the estates of the conspirators, received Warwick Castle. Created Duke of Surrey 1397, appointed Marshal and Lieutenant of Ireland 1398. Conspired against Henry IV. and was executed at Cirencester 1400.]

Lord of Westminster. IV. i. 152.

William of Colchester, Abbot from 1386 to 1420. According to Holinshed the Bishop of Carlisle was committed to the custody of the Abbot of St. Albans. See *Extract* 11 from Holinshed, and under *Abbot of Westminster*.

Lord Ross. II. i. p.69; II. ii. 54; II. iii. 10, p.57, 57; III. i. p.1.

Appears with Richard beside the death-bed of John of Gaunt. He is one of the nobles who deserted the king to join Bolingbroke, and appears with him at Bristol. He takes no important part in the action of the play.

[William de Ros, who succeeded his brother as seventh Lord Ros of Hamlake. Summoned to Parliament from 1394 to 1413. Appointed Lord Treasurer of England, and a K.G., by Henry IV. He died at Belvoir in 1414.]

Lords. I. i. p.1; I. iii. p.7; IV. i. p.1; V. iii. p.1; V. vi. p.1.

Lord Willoughby. II. i. p.69; II. ii. 54; II. iii. 10, p.57, 57; III. i. p.1.

A noble, who accompanies Richard when the latter visits John of Gaunt who is lying sick at Ely House. He goes over to Bolingbroke on the latter's arrival in England, and appears with him at Bristol. Takes no important part in the action of the play.

[William de Willoughby, fifth Baron Willoughby de Eresby. Joined Bolingbroke on the latter's arrival in England. Summoned to Parliament from 1396 to 1409. Later married the widow of the Duke of York. Died 1409.]

Mars. II. i. 41.

> This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars, [II. i. 41.]

= "this land so worthy to be the home of the god of war, its inhabitants being of so valorous a nature." *Deighton.*

Mary's Son. II. i. 56.

Mary = Virgin Mary. *Son* = Jesus Christ.

May. V. i. 79.

> set forth in pomp,
> She came adorned hither like sweet may.
> [V. i. 78–79.]

= "Sent on her journey with all pomp and magnificence." *Deighton.*

Messenger.

Neptune. II. i. 63.

> Whose rocky shore beats back the envious siege
> Of watery Neptune, [II. i. 62–63.]

Cf. *Cymbeline*, III. i. 18–20: "The natural bravery of your isle, which stands As Neptune's park, ribbed and paled in With rocks unscaleable and roaring waters."

Neptune: = The God of the Sea.

Officers. IV. i. p.1, p.162.

Oxford. V. vi. 8.

No reference is to be found to a conspirator of the name of Oxford. The Folio reads 'Salisbury, Spencer, Blunt.' Spencer was one of the conspirators and being captured was beheaded. Holinshed says: "The lord Hugh Spenser, otherwise called earle of Glocester, as he would haue fled into Wales, was taken to Bristow, where (according to the earnest desires of the commons) he was beheaded." See also *Extract* 11 from Holinshed.

Oxford. V. ii. 52, 99; V. iii. 14, 141; V. vi. 13, 16.

It was at Oxford that the plot against Henry was hatched by the Abbot of Westminster, Aumerle, Salisbury and other friends of Richard. See *Extract* 11 from Holinshed.

Grafton remarks: "And the better to bring this matter about, he (John Holland, Duke of Exceter) deuised a Iustes to be kept betwene him and xx. on his part, & the Erle of Salsbury & xx. of his part, at Oxforde: To the which Iustes King Henry should be desyred to be present, and when he was most earnestly beholdyng the pastyme, he should sodainely haue beene slayne and destroyed, and by this meanes King Richard, which was then alyue should be restored to his libertie and to his crowne and kingdome."

Phaeton. III. iii. 178.

like glistering Phaeton,
Wanting the manage of unruly jades.
[III. iii. 178–179.]

= like Phaeton who was unable to manage his father's chariot. Phaeton was the son of the Sun, who allowed him to drive the chariot of the sun across the heavens, but the horses becoming unmanageable Jupiter struck Phaeton with a thunderbolt and hurled him into the river Po where he perished.

Pilate. Pilates. IV. i. 239.

Though some of you with Pilate wash your hands,
Showing an outward pity; yet you Pilates
[IV. i. 239–240.]

See *Matthew* xxvii. 24.

Plashy. I. ii. 66.

The official residence of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, the Lord High Constable of England. It was situated near Dunmow in Essex, and is described in the anonymous play of Richard II. as:

This house of Plashy, brother,
Stands in a sweet and pleasant air, in faith;
'Tis near the Thames, and circled round with trees,
That in the summer serve for pleasant fans
To cool ye, and in winter strongly break
The stormy winds, that else would nip ye too.

Plashy. II. ii. 90; 120.

Sirrah, get thee to Plashy, to my sister Gloucester;
[II. ii. 90.]

The Duchess of Gloucester, died, not at Plashy, but at Barking, on October 3, 1399.

Pomfret. V. i. 53; V. iv. 10.

Pontefract Castle in Yorkshire, the ruins of which may yet be seen. It was built in 1080 by Hildebert de Lacy, a follower of William the Conqueror. In 1399 Richard II. was imprisoned for life in this castle and died—probably murdered—some months later. See *Extract* 14 from Holinshed. In 1483 Rivers, Grey and Vaughan were executed there by the Duke of Gloucester, afterwards Richard III. Rivers says:

O Pomfret, Pomfret! O thou bloody place,
Fatal and ominous to noble peers!
[*Richard III.*, III. iii. 9–10.]

Pomfret Castle.

The Scene of Act V., Scene v. Consists of three parts, the monologue of Richard which shows his kingly bearing in adversity; his dialogue with the groom showing his lovable disposition; and his death at the hands of Sir Pierce of Exton which shows his personal courage to the last.

["Shakespeare, following Holinshed, supposes Richard to have been murdered by Sir Pierce of Exton, in consequence of a dark hint from Henry. This story is now generally disbelieved, and the prevalent opinion is that he died a natural death in prison (having been condemned to perpetual imprisonment by Parliament) in the year 1397, or early in 1400. Sir Harris Nicolus is of this opinion. On the other hand, it has been maintained by Mr. Tytler that he escaped, and lived several years in Scotland." *Courtenay*.

"Whether Richard was murdered at Pomfret, or starved himself to death, or escaped to live in Scotland, an idiot and a prisoner, he has already quitted the stage of history. We may believe that Henry spoke the truth when he declared that he had no hand in his death." *Stubbs*.]

Port Blanc. II. i. 277.

A harbour in western Brittany from which Bolingbroke sailed for England. See *Extract* 4 from Holinshed.

Prince of Wales. II. i. 172.

= Edward, the Black Prince.

Queen to King Richard. II. i. p.69 ; II. ii. p.1 ; III. iv. p.1 ; V. i. p.1.

Shakespeare's characterisation of the Queen is not true to history as she is depicted in the play as a grown-up woman and help-mate to Richard, whereas in reality she was only twelve years of age at the time.

Her character is—as Shakespeare has depicted most of his queens—a reflection of that of her husband, in her weakness and inability to contend with adversity.

The gentleness of her nature is shown when, in company with the king, she visits John of Gaunt and inquires :

> How fares our noble uncle, Lancaster ? [II. i. 71.]

while Richard merely asks :

> What comfort man ? how is it with aged Gaunt ?
> [II. i. 72.]

She is deeply concerned when Richard leaves for Ireland, and the news of Bolingbroke's landing reduces her to despair :

> I will despair, and be at enmity
> With cozening hope : he is a flatterer,
> A parasite, a keeper back of death,
> Who gently would dissolve the bands of life,
> Which false hope lingers in extremity. [II. ii. 68–72.]

Later, when at Langley the Queen overhears a conversation between a gardener and his servants concerning the state of the country and of Richard's downfall, instead of being overwhelmed with grief as we might expect, she chides the gardener, and hastens to " meet at London London's king in woe," to do her best to comfort her husband in his hour of distress.

She awaits Richard in a street leading to the tower, and on his approach shows her love and affection for him, addressing him as " Thou map of honour," but his demeanour—that of a crest-fallen man—causes her to upbraid him for having allowed Bolinbroke to crush him so completely :

> What, is my Richard both in shape and mind
> Transform'd and weaken'd ? hath Bolingbroke desposed
> Thine intellect ? [V. i. 26–28.]

and reminds him that :

> The lion dying thrusteth forth his paw,
> And wounds the earth, if nothing else, with rage
> To be o'erpower'd ; [V. i. 29–31.]

When the two are about to be parted, the queen shows her loyalty by begging to be sent into exile or confined in prison with Richard, but her entreaties are in vain, and she is sent back to her home in France.

" For the king of England sent shortly after the aforesayd Ladie Isabell (vnder the conduct of the Lorde Thomas Percey Erle of Worcester, beyng associate with many noble and honourable personages, as well women, as men, hauyng wyth her all the Iewelles, Ornamentes, and Plate, with a great surplusage geuen to her by the king, which she brought into Englãd) in solemne estate vnto Calice, and there shee was deliured to Waleran Erle of saint Paule Lieutenant for the French king in Picardie, and so conueied to her father, which gaue her in maryage to Charles, sonne to Lewes Duke of Orliaunce. The French men often tymes requyred king Henry to assigne vnto her a dower, but all was in vaine, for the Englishe men aunswered, that the matrimony was neuer consummate, by reason whereof, she was not dowable by the very treaty of the mariage concluded, and so this matter cessed and was no more moued." *Grafton.*

Anne of Bohemia, the first and long-mourned-for consort of Richard II., died in 1394, some years before the action of this play begins ; the present queen, therefore, is his child-wife, Isabel of France, who according to most historians was said to be only twelve years old at the date of his deposition. Richard had married her thus early, viz. on All Saints' Day, 1396, hoping that his grief would be assuaged by the time she grew up. Shakespeare makes her to speak and act like an adult, yet Froissart, who was present at her marriage, relates of her ; ' for all that she was but young, right pleasantly she bare the part of a queen.' It would appear that Isabel was older than is generally supposed, for in the treaty of her intended marriage, attested by her

four uncles, the Dukes of Berri, Burgundy, Orleans, and Bourbon, dated March 9, 1395, she is therein thus described,—' venue a l'age de douze ans acompliz ; ' which would make her to be more than sixteen at King Richard's surrender of the crown. Rymer's *Fœdera*. Isabel of Valois was the eldest daughter of Charles VI., and was crowned Queen of England, January 7, 1397. After the death of Richard, Henry IV., endeavoured to obtain her hand for his son, the Prince of Wales, but her family declined the alliance, and she became in 1408 the wife of her cousin, Charles D'Angoulême, afterwards Duke of Orleans ; she died September 13, 1410, soon after giving birth to a daughter, Joan, who married John II., Duke of Alençon, son of the prince who was slain at Agincourt, after his encounter with Henry the Fifth. *French*.

Rainold Lord Cobham. II. i. 280.

Rainold Lord Cobham
. . . . . .
That late broke from the Duke of Exeter,
[II. i. 279–281.]

Reginald, Lord Cobham, one of Bolingbroke's supporters, and who landed with him at Ravenspurgh. See *Extract* 4 from Holinshed.

The man who " broke " (escaped) from the Duke of Exeter was not Lord Cobham, but Thomas, son of Richard, Earl of Arundel, and nephew of Thomas Arundel, late Archbishop of Canterbury. " About the same time, the earle of Arundels sonne, named Thomas, which was kept in the duke of Exeters house, escaped out of the realme, by meanes of one William Scot, mercer ; and went to his vncle Thomas Arundell, late Archbishop of Canturburie, as then soiouring at Cullen [Cologne].

Ravenspurgh. II. i. 296 ; II. ii. 51 ; II. iii. 9, 31, 35.

Formerly a port at the mouth of the Humber, sheltered from the sea by Spurn Head, since swept away by the action of the waves. Bolingbroke (afterwards Henry IV) landed here in 1399 (see *Extract* 5 from Holinshed) after his exile, and it was also the place where Edward IV. landed in 1471 after his exile in Holland. In the town a few miles distant, there stands a cross which is believed to have been erected at Ravenspurgh in memory of the landing of Bolingbroke.

Rutland. V. ii. 43.

= Aumerle (q.v.). He was deprived of his dukedom and had to take his earlier title of Earl of Rutland. [By Parliament sitting on November 3, 1399,] " it was finallie enacted, that such as were appellants in the last parelment against the duke of Glocester and other, should in this wise following be ordred. The dukes of Armarle, Surrie, and Excester, there present, were iudged to loose their names of dukes, togither with the honors, titles, and dignities therevnto belonging. *Holinshed*.

Rutland. V. iii. 96.

= Aumerle. When addressing Bolingbroke, the Duchess of York—Aumerle's mother—is careful to use her son's lesser title.

Saint George. I. iii. 84.

Mine innocency and Saint George to thrive.
[I. iii. 84.]

The patron Saint of England. I rely upon my innocence and St. George to give me victory.

Saint Lambert's Day. I. i. 199.

Be ready, as your lives shall answer it,—
At Coventry, upon Saint Lambert's day :
[I. i. 198–199.]

September 17th, so-named after Lambert, Bishop of Maestricht, who was killed while returning from morning prayers. See *Extract* 1 from Holinshed.

According to Stowe it was St. Edith's day, the 16th September : " but after this time, hee (Richard) made a great and marueillous ſtrong Theatre at Couentry for the combate betwixt the Duke of Hereford and the Duke of Norffolke, & gaue them day for the fight, the 16. of September, to wit, the feaſt day of S. Edith, at which day and place, a great concourſe and aſſembly of people was there gathered out of all parts of England."

Servants. II. ii. p.86 ; III. iv. p.24 ; V. ii. p.75, p.85 ; V. iv. p.1 ; V. v. p.105.

Seymour. II. iii. 55.

Richard de St. Maur, the fifth Baron Seymour, 1355–1401. He was one of the few nobles who joined York when Bolingbroke landed at Ravenspurgh. See *Extract* 6 from Holinshed.

Sir Bennet Seely. V. vi. 14.

One of the conspirators against Henry IV. Being captured at Oxford, was drawn, hanged and beheaded at London. Holinshed says: "Manie other that were priuie to this conspiracie, were taken, and put to death, some at Oxford, as sir Thomas Blunt, sir Benet Cilie, knight, . . . but sir Leonard Brokas, and others . . . . were drawne, hanged, and beheaded at London."

Sir John Norbery. II. i. 284.

One of Bolingbroke's supporters who landed with him at Ravenspurgh. On the accession of Henry IV was appointed Governor of Guisnes, and Treasurer of the Exchequer. See *Extract* 4 from Holinshed.

Sir John Ramston. II. i. 283.

According to Holinshed *Sir Thomas* Ramston was one of Bolingbroke's supporters who landed with him at Ravenspurgh. Appointed Warden of the Tower of London when Richard was confined there; and afterwards became Constable of that fortress; a K.G. and Admiral of the Fleet; he was drowned in the Thames on his way to the Tower. See *Extract* 4 from Holinshed.

Sir Pierce of Exton. V. iv. p.1; V. v. 100, p.105, 109; V. vi. p.30, 34.

He first appears at Windsor Castle with a servant, and remarks:

> Didst thou not mark the king what words he spake,
> 'Have I no friend will rid me of this living fear?'
> Was it not so? [V. iv. 1–3.]

Being assured by the servant that these "were his very words," Exton concludes that Bolingbroke wishes to get rid of Richard, and with the words:

> Come, let 's go:
> I am the king's friend, and will rid his foe.
> [V. iv. 10–11.]

proceeds to Pomfret Castle with armed servants.

Arriving at the castle, he forbids the keeper to taste Richard's food, and on Richard inquiring the cause is told that:

> Sir Pierce of Exton,
> Who lately came from the king, commands the contrary.
> [V. v. 99–100.]

Richard attacks the keeper, whose cries bring in Exton and his servants, and after a desperate encounter Exton stabs Richard with a dagger. Overcome with remorse Exton repents the crime he has committed:

> As full of valour as of royal blood:
> Both have I spill'd; O would the deed were good!
> For now the devil that told me I did well,
> Says that this deed is chronicled in hell.
> [V. v. 113–116.]

and forthwith proceeds to convey the body to Bolingbroke:

> This dead king to the living king I 'll bear:
> Take hence the rest, and give them burial here.
> [V. v. 117–118.]

Later Exton appears before Bolingbroke with followers bearing a coffin, and addressing Bolingbroke, says:

> Great king, within this coffin I present
> Thy buried fear: herein all breathless lies
> The mightiest of thy greatest enemies,
> Richard of Bordeaux, [V. vi. 30–33.]

Bolingbroke answers:

> Exton, I thank thee not; for thou hast wrought
> A deed of slander, with thy fatal hand,
> Upon my head and all this famous land.
> [V. vi. 34–36.]

and bids him:

> With Cain go wander thorough shades of night,
> And never show thy head by day nor light.
> [V. vi. 43–44.]

Holinshed says,—"King Henry, sitting on a day at his table, sore sighing, said, 'Have I no faithful friend which will deliver me of him whose life will be my death, and whose death will be the preservation of my life?' Shakespeare therefore adopts the version of Richard's

death, that he was killed at Pontefract Castle by Sir Piers Exton and his guards. This opinion was held by Fabyan, Hall, Hayward, Le Laboureur, Cartier, and other writers. Some authors, as Hardyng, Fortescue, Polydore, Vergil, and Stow, think that Richard was starved to death by his keepers; Hume inclines to this belief, 'as more consistent with the story that his body was exposed in public, and that no marks of violence were found upon it.' In the cartel of defiance sent by the Percies to Henry IV., and repeated by Archbishop Scrope, one of the reasons of their being in arms against him is set forth, that 'he caused King Richard to remain in hunger and thirst, and cold, for fifteen days and nights.' Walsingham, Otterbourne, the continuator of the Croyland Chronicle, and Gower the poet, who knew King Richard, suggest that he died of grief and voluntary abstinence. This opinion is held by Mr. Amyot and the late Lord Dover (Agar Ellis). In later time Mr. P. Fraser Tytler revived the story of Fordun and Winton, that Richard had escaped from Pontefract to Scotland, and that he was honourably entertained by Robert III. (who died in 1406), and afterwards by the Regent Albany. Fordun, under the year 1419, says, 'In this year died Richard, King of England, on the Feast of St. Luke, in the castle of Stirling.' This rumour had been set afloat by Maud, Countess of Oxford, mother of Richard's great favourite, Robert de Vere, Duke of Ireland. Creton, the poet and historian, addressed, in 1405, an epistle in verse to his beloved master, who was therefore in his opinion still alive; it is headed, 'Ainsi come vraye amour requiert a tres noble prince et vraye Catholique Richart d'Engleterre, je, Creton, ton liege serviteur, te renvoye ceste epitre.' Henry IV., executed several persons who avowed their belief that Richard had escaped; among them was his cousin, Sir Roger de Clarendon, Knight, a natural son of the Black Prince, who would take a lively interest in the fate of his royal half-brother.

Sir Nicholas Exton, Sheriff of London with Sir John Frenche (afterwards mayor in 1395), when Sir Nicholas Brembre was mayor, 1385, was a violent opponent in Parliament to Richard II., whose favourite, Brembre, he succeeded as mayor in 1386–7. It is probable that Nicholas and Piers Exton were near relations. *French.*

Sir Robert Waterton. II. i. 283.

One of Bolingbroke's supporters who landed with him at Ravenspurgh. Was Master of the Horse to Henry IV., Sheriff, co. Lincoln, 12 Henry IV., and was second in command to the Earl of Westmoreland against the Percies. The Watertons stood high in the favour of Henry IV., and V., and members of the family frequently filled the office of sheriff in several counties. John Waterton served at Agincourt with '7 lances,' and was Master of the King's Horse. See *Extract* 4 from Holinshed.

Sir Stephen Scroop. III. ii. p.91, 192; III. iii. 28, p.62.

Bears news to Richard that Bolingbroke's forces are sweeping the land, and that Wiltshire, Bushy and Green have been executed at Bristol by Bolingbroke. He also informs the king that York has joined Bolingbroke and that all the northern castles have yielded:

> Your uncle York is join'd with Bolingbroke,
> And all your northern castles yielded up,
> And all your southern gentlemen in arms
> Upon his party. [III. ii. 200–203.]

This loyal person was not, as frequently supposed, the knight of the same name who was a brother of Archbishop Scroop, or Scrope, a character in the two next plays, but was the elder brother of King Richard's chief minister, William de Scrope, Earl of Wiltshire, who is often mentioned in this drama, though not brought upon the scene. They were the only sons of Henry le Scrope, first Baron Scrope of Masham, summoned 16 Edward III., 1342, who died in 1391, and was succeeded as second baron by his eldest son, the Sir Stephen Scrope in this play, who had been a distinguished soldier from his youth, serving in France and Flanders. He was strongly attached to King Richard's interests, and we have a valuable testimony to his loyalty in the words of Creton, the historian, who was present with Richard at Flint Castle;—'Moreover there was another good friend, whom I heard called Sir Stephen Scroope; I saw him frequently with the king at that time.' This knight was taken into favour by Henry IV., who appointed him for his martial experience Deputy Lieutenant of Ireland, under his young son,

Prince Thomas of Lancaster. Sir Stephen Scrope defeated the Irish on several occasions, and died Feburary 10, 1408, at Tristel-Dermot, where the Irish parliaments were sometimes held. By his wife Margaret . . . widow of John, son of Sir William le Huntingfield, he had four sons, of whom the eldest, Henry le Scrope, is the 'Lord Scroop' in *King Henry V.* Some authors state that Sir John Fastolfe married the widow of this Sir Stephen Scrope, mistaking her for the widow of Sir Stephen Scrope of the Bolton branch, whose wife was Milicent Tiptoft. *French.*

Sir Thomas Erpingham. II. i. 283.

A soldier in the service of John of Gaunt, whom he accompanied to Spain in 1386; went with Bolingbroke (afterwards Henry IV.) on his crusade in 1390 and was one of the few knights that accompanied him on his banishment. K.G. and Chamberlain of the King's household, 1400; he took an active part against King Richard, and was one of the deputation to the Tower to demand his resignation; took part in the Agincourt campaign where he commanded the English archers, 1415; and in the following year with the Bishop of Berwick was sent to Calais to treat with the King of France (1357–1428). See *Extract* 4 from Holinshed.

[Sir Thomas Erpingham is also a character in *King Henry the Fifth* (q.v.).]

Soldiers. II. iii. p.1; III. ii. p.1; III. iii. p.1.

Thomas. I. ii. 16.

= Duke of Gloucester (q.v.).

Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk. I. i. 6, p.19, 29, 35, 84, 88, 97, 110, 115, 122, 159, 161, 162, 164, 195; I. ii. 46, 48, 50; I. iii. 3, p.7, 16, 38, 48, 60, 62, 75, 103, 107, 110, 148, 193; IV. i. 80, 84, 87, 92, 101.

Appears only in the earlier part of the play when he is charged by Bolingbroke of treason, as well as being responsible for the murder of the Duke of Gloucester at Calais, being at the time Governor of that town. One cannot hold him personally guilty of the crime, as several allusions in the play lead us to believe that he was merely a tool in the hands of Richard.

There is a great contrast between the hot-tempered charge of Bolingbroke, and the cool denials of Mowbray, which suggest a conviction of innocence.

By his actions in the play, Mowbray may be regarded as a high-minded and sincere man. His loyalty to Richard is worthy of admiration, being a matter of personal honour, for when he is banished the realm he will not compromise the king by revealing the latter's share in Gloucester's murder, as may be exemplified in his own words:

> For Gloucester's death,
> I slew him not; but to my own disgrace
> Neglected my sworn duty in that case.
> [I. i. 132–134.]

When Aumerle is accused by Bagot at Westminster Hall of being an accessory to the death of the Duke of Gloucester, Bolingbroke declares his intention of recalling Norfolk from banishment as a witness:

> These differences shall all rest under gage
> Till Norfolk be repeal'd; repeal'd he shall be,
> And, though mine enemy, restored again
> To all his lands and signories: when he 's return'd,
> Against Aumerle we will enforce his trial.
> [IV. i. 86–90.]

but the Bishop of Carlisle interposes with:

> That honourable day shall ne'er be seen.
> Many a time hath banish'd Norfolk fought
> For Jesu Christ in glorious Christian field,
> Streaming the ensign of the Christian cross
> Against black pagans, Turks, and Saracens;
> And toil'd with works of war, retired himself
> To Italy; and there at Venice gave
> His body to that pleasant country's earth,
> And his pure soul unto his captain Christ,
> Under whose colours he had fought so long.
> [IV. i. 91–100.]

This peer was Thomas Mowbray, sixth Baron Mowbray, created Earl of Nottingham in 1383, and in 1397 Duke of Norfolk, in virtue of his descent from Edward the First's younger son, Thomas of *Brotherton*, Earl of Norfolk, Earl Marshal of England. The great family of Mowbray came in with the Conqueror, and Roger de Mowbray was one of the generals at the Battle of the Standard, fought at Northallerton in 1138. His grandson, William de Mowbray, was one of the twenty-five Barons of Magna Charta (as

was his brother Roger), and his descendant, John de Mowbray, married the lady Joan Plantagenet, daughter of Henry Earl of Lancaster, and their son, John, fourth Lord Mowbray of Axholme, married Elizabeth Segrave, only daughter and heir of John Lord Segrave by his wife Margaret Plantagenet, Duchess of Norfolk, eldest daughter and eventually sole heir of Thomas of *Brotherton*. This fourth baron had two sons, John the eldest, at whose death, without issue, his brother, Thomas, the character of this play, became sixth Lord Mowbray, and Earl Marshal; he was loaded with favours by King Richard, and made a K.G. As the result of his quarrel with Bolingbroke the king pronounced against him the 'heavy sentence' of perpetual exile; he died at Venice, A.D. 1400, of grief, or according to some writers from pestilence, as he was returning from Palestine. The Bishop of Carlisle, in Act IV., Scene i., alludes to Mowbray's death,

and that he
'retir'd himself
To Italy, and there at Venice gave
His body to that pleasant country's earth.'

The Duke of Norfolk had by his second wife, Elizabeth Fitz-alan, daughter of Richard, tenth Earl of Arundel, two sons, and two daughters; the eldest son, Thomas, on account of his father's attainder, simply bore the old ancestral title of 'Lord Mowbray,' under which name he is a character in the *Second Part of King Henry IV.*; the second son, John Mowbray, was restored to his father's dignity as Duke of Norfolk, and his grandson will be found under that title in the *Third Part of King Henry VI.* Of the banished duke's daughters, the eldest, Margaret Mowbray, by her marriage with Sir Robert Howard, eventually carried the honours of the Mowbrays into a new family; their son is the 'Jockey of Nortolk' in the play of *King Richard III.* The second daughter, Isabel Mowbray, married James, sixth Lord Berkeley. *French.*

Tower. IV. i. 316; V. i. 52.

Tower of London, which according to tradition was built by Julius Cæsar.

Troy. V. i. 11.

A city of Troas in Asia Minor. Troy symbolises splendour and ruined greatness.

Venice. IV. i. 97.

and there at Venice gave
His body to that pleasant country's earth.
[IV. i. 97–98.]

According to Holinshed Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk died at Venice in the year 1399. "This yeare [1399] Thomas Mowbraie, duke of Norffolke, died in exile at Venice; whose death might haue beene worthlie bewailed of all the realme, if he had not beene consenting to the death of the duke of Gloucester."

Wales. Before Flint Castle.

The Scene of Act III., Scene iii. The actual climax of the drama, showing as it does Richard's surrender to Bolingbroke. The conflict is one of character, not of arms. Bolingbroke pretends that he is merely seeking Richard's pardon, and recognition as the Duke of Lancaster.

According to Holinshed Richard surrendered to Northumberland at Conway. See *Extract* 9 from Holinshed.

Grafton says: "The Duke approchyng very nere to the Castell of Flint, whereof King Richard beyng advertised by Iohn Pallet, and Richard Seymer (his assured seruauntes) departed out of the Castell, and fled to Conway, and there he sent for the Duke of Exeter his brother, the Erle of Northumberland and Thomas Archebishop of Cauntorbury, and desyred them to come to the Castell vnto him, to whome he shewed his purpose, and that he was well content to geue vp the Crowne, and to be discharged of that great Burthen, and shortly after, he yelded himselfe vnto the Duke, who secretly sent him to the Tower of London."

Courtenay remarks: "The king's rebuke to Northumberland for not kneeling to him is unaccountable, seeing that it is mentioned by Holinshed that he and his colleagues did their due reverence to the king on their knees." . . . Holinshed is followed in describing Bolingbroke as still claiming, even now that the king was in his power, only that which of right belonged to him. Shakespeare choses this version of the story, rather than the more authentic narrative of Stowe; from which, as well as from his authority, we learn that the duke, though he did not at once claim the crown, gave the king to understand that he should take a share in the government.

Wales, A Camp in.

The Scene of Act II., Scene iv. The camp is considered to have been situated at Conway. Salisbury, sent over from Ireland, collects together a Welsh army of 40,000 men, but owing to the non-appearance of Richard the force is disbanded.

Wales, The Coast of. A Castle in view.

The Scene of Act III., Scene ii. The king arrives from Ireland and lands near ' Harlech ' in North Wales, where he learns of the great forces that Bolingbroke has collected together, and of the loss of all the strongholds as well as the dissatisfaction of the nobles. He also hears of the fall of Bristol Castle, of the execution of Wiltshire, Bushy and Green, and of the dispersal of his Welsh army.

Westminster Hall.

The Scene of Act IV., Scene i. This Act contains several episodes. (1) The arraignment of Aumerle for his share in the death of the Duke of Gloucester which leads to nothing. (2) York's entrance announcing Richard's resignation of the crown. (3) The futile protest of the Bishop of Carlisle for which he is arrested. (4) Richard's public deposition. (5) The conspiracy of the Abbot of Westminster. Episodes 1 and 3 are historical, but Richard was deposed by Parliament on September 30, and it was not until October 14, that Aumerle was accused of the murder of Gloucester and Carlisle arrested for treason.

Malone remarks: " The rebuilding of Westminster Hall, which Richard had begun in 1397, being finished in 1399, the first meeting of Parliament in the new edifice was for the purpose of deposing him." Cf. *Extract* 11 from Holinshed.

Windsor Castle.

The Scene of Act II., Scene ii. Act V., Scene iii. Act V., Scene iv. Act V., Scene vi.

Act II., Scene ii. Richard has left for Ireland and the queen is in a state of despondency. News arrives of the landing of Bolingbroke on the Yorkshire coast. York leaves for Berkeley Castle. Bushy and Green proceed to Bristol Castle to join the Earl of Wiltshire, and Bagot leaves for Ireland to warn the king of the conspiracy.

Act V., Scene iii. Aumerle arrives at Windsor Castle to ask pardon of the king for having conspired against him. York arrives and denounces his son as a traitor. He is followed by the duchess who pleads on her knees for Aumerle's forgiveness which is granted. [The introduction of the duchess is purely the dramatist's invention.] The conspiracy leads up to Richard's death.

Act V., Scene iv. Serves as a link between the conspiracy against Henry and the death of Richard in Pomfret Castle.

Act V., Scene vi. The suppression of the rebellion, the execution of the conspirators,—Salisbury, Oxford, Blunt, Kent, Brocas and Seely, (which is conformable to history)—and the confronting of Henry with the corpse of Richard makes the action of the drama complete, and shows Henry for the moment firmly seated on the throne.

Woodstock's blood. I. ii. 1.

> Alas, the part I had in Woodstock's blood
> Doth more solicit me than your exclaims,
> [I. ii. 1–2.]

John of Gaunt's relationship to Gloucester; they were brothers.

Worcester. II. iii. 22.

= Earl of Worcester (q.v.).

York. V. v. 73.

= City of York.

APPENDIX I.

Dr. Forman's account of the performance of *Richard the Second* at which he was present at the Globe Theatre, on the 30th of April, 1611.

[*Ashm. MS.* 208, *art. X, leaf* 200. *Bodleian Library.* (Not forged.)][1]

The Booke of Plaies and Notes thereof *per* formans for Common Pollicie.

In Richard the 2 At the glob 1611 the 30 of Aprill.

Remember therin howe Iack straw by his overmoch boldnes, not beinge pollitick nor suspecting Anye thinge, was Soddenly at Smithfeld Bars stabbed by Walworth the major of London, & soe he and his wholle Army was overthrowen. Therfore in such a case or the like, never admit any party, *with*-out a bar betwen, for A m*an* cannot be so wise, nor kepe him selfe to safe.

Also remember howe the duke of gloster, The Erell of Arundell, oxford and others, crossing the kinge in his humor, about the duke of Erland and Bushy, wer glad to fly and Raise an hoste of men, and beinge *in* his Castell, howe the d. of Erland cam by nighte to betray him *with* 300 men, but hauinge pry*u*ie warninge ther-of kept his gates faste, And wold not suffer the Enimie to Enter / w*h*ich went back Again w*ith* a flie in his eare, and after was slainte by the Errell of Arundell in the battell.

Remember also, when the duke and Arundell cam to London w*ith* their Army, king Richard came forth to them and met them and gaue them fair word*es*, and promised them pardon and that all should be well yf they wold discharge their Army, vpon whose promises and faier Speaches they did yt, and Affter the king byd them all to a banket and soe betraid them and Cut of their head*es*, &c, because they had not his pardon vnder his hand & sealle before but his worde.

Remember therein Also howe the ducke of Lankaster pryuily contryued all villany, to set them all together by the ears, and to make the nobilyty to Envy the kinge and mislyke of him and his gouernmente, by which mean*es* he made his own sonn king, which was henry Bullinbrocke.

Remember also howe the duke of Lankaster asked A wise man, wher him self should ever be kinge, And he told him no, but his sonn should be a kinge. And when he had told him / he hanged him vp for his labor, because he should not brute yt abrod or speke ther-of to others. This was a pollicie in the co*m*mon-wealthes opinion.[2] But I sai yt was a villain*es* p*ar*te, and a Iudas kisse to hange the man for telling him the truth. Beware by this Example of noble men / and of their fair word*es*, & sai lyttell to them, lest they doe the like by thee for thy good will. /

1. *New Shakspere Society's Transactions*, 1875–6. 2. MS. opiniron.

APPENDIX II.

Extracts from Holinshed[1] that illustrate *King Richard the Second.*

1. [On January 30, 1398, in a Parliament assembled at Shrewbury], Henrie, duke of Hereford, accused Thomas Mowbraie, duke of Norfolke, of certeine words which he should vtter in talke had betwixt them, as they rode togither latelie before betwixt London and Brainford; sounding highlie to the kings dishonor. And for further proofe thereof, he presented a supplication to the king, wherein he appealed[9] the duke of Norfolke in field of battell, for a traitor, false and disloiall to the king, and enimie vnto the realme. This supplication was red[3] before both the dukes, in presence of the king; which doone, the duke of Norfolke tooke vpon him to answer it, declaring that whatsoeuer the duke of Hereford had said against him other than well, he lied falselie like an vntrue knight as he was. And, when the king asked of the duke of Hereford what he said to it, he, taking his hood off his head, said: "My souereigne lord, euen as the supplication "which I tooke[4] you importeth, right so I saie for truth, that Thomas Mowbraie, duke of Norfolke, "is a traitour, false and disloiall to your roiall maiestie, your crowne, and to all the states of your "realme."

Then the duke of Norfolke being asked what he said to this, he answered: "Right deere lord, with your fauour that I make answer vnto your coosine here, I saie (your reuerence saued) that "Henrie of Lancaster, duke of Hereford, like a false and disloiall traitor as he is, dooth lie, in that "he hath or shall say of me otherwise than well." "No more," said the king, "we haue heard "inough;" and herewith commanded the duke of Surrie, for that turne marshall of England, to arrest in his name the two dukes: the duke of Lancaster, father to the duke of Hereford, the duke of Yorke, the duke of Aumarle, constable of England, and the duke of Surrie, marshall of the realme, vndertooke as pledges bodie for bodie for the duke of Hereford; but the duke of Northfolke was not suffered to put in pledges, and so vnder arrest was led vnto Windsor castell, and there garded with keepers that were appointed to see him safelie kept.

Now after the dissoluing of the parlement at Shrewsburie, there was a daie appointed about six weeks after, for the king to come vnto Windsor, to heare and to take some order[5] betwixt the two dukes, which had thus appealed ech other. There was a great scaffold erected within the castell of Windsor[6] for the king to sit with the lords and prelats of his realme; and so, at the daie appointed, he with the said lords & prelats being come thither and set in their places, the duke of Hereford appellant,[7] and the duke of Norfolke defendant, were sent for to come & appeare before the king, sitting there in his seat of iustice. And then began sir Iohn Bushie to speake for the king; declaring to the lords how they should vnderstand, that where[8] the duke of Hereford had presented a supplication to the king, who was there set to minister iustice to all men that would demand the same, as apperteined to his roiall maiestie, he therefore would now heare what the parties could say one against an other: and withall the king commanded the dukes of Aumarle and Surrie, (the one being constable and the other marshall,) to go vnto the two dukes, appellant and defendant, requiring them, on his behalfe, to grow[9] to some agreement; and, for his part, he would be readie to pardon all that had been said or doone amisse betwixt them, touching anie harm or dishonor to him or his realme; but they answered both assuredlie, that it was not possible to haue anie peace or agreement made betwixt them.

When he heard what they had answered, he commanded that they should be brought foorthwith before his presence, to heare what they would say. Herewith an herald in the kings name with lowd voice commanded the dukes to come before the king, either of them to shew his reason, or else to make peace togither without more delaie. When they were come before the king and

1. Shakespeare's Holinshed, by W. G. Boswell-Stone. 2. impeached. 3. read. 4. brought to. 5. settle the dispute.

6. According to *Trais.*—the original authority for this account of the proceedings at Windsor—"le Roy Richart retourna du parlement de Scrembory en lan mil ccc iiijxx et xviij ou moys de Januier et xl jours apres fut la journee a Windesore pour ouir les deux seigneurs lesquelz auoyent appelle lun lautre de traison." *Hol.* seems to have followed the computation of *Trais.*, regarding the "daie appointed" for Richard's presence at Windsor. The disagreement of this date with the date (April 29) given by *Rot. Parl.* for the Windsor assembly, may perhaps be explained by supposing that the writer of *Trais.* counted forty days from March 19, 1398, when Bolingbroke and Mowbray appeared before Richard at Bristol, and it was decided that their cause should be tried conformably to the "Ley de Chivalrie."—*Rot. Parl.*, iii. 383/1. On February 23, 1398, they appeared before Richard at Oswestry, and were then ordered to present themselves before him at Windsor on April 28, 1398. On the next day (April 29) time and place of battle were fixed.—*Ibid.*

7. challenger. 8. whereas. 9. come.

lords, the king spake himselfe to them, willing[1] them to agree, and make peace togither: "for it is" (saith he) "the best waie ye can take." The duke of Norfolke with due reuerence herevnto answered, it could not be so brought to passe, his honor saued. Then the king asked of the duke of Hereford, what it was that he demanded of the duke of Norfolke, "and what is the matter that "ye can not make peace togither, and become friends?"

Then stood foorth a knight, who, asking and obteining licence to speake for the duke of Hereford, said: "Right deare and souereigne lord, here is Henrie of Lancaster, duke of Hereford and "earle of Derbie, who saith, and I for him likewise say, that Thomas Mowbraie, duke of Norfolke, "is a false and disloiall traitor to you and your roiall maiestie, and to your whole realme: and "likewise the duke of Hereford saith, and I for him, that Thomas Mowbraie, duke of Norfolke, "hath receiued eight thousand nobles[2] to pay the souldiers that keepe your towne of Calis; "which he hath not doone as he ought: and furthermore the said duke of Norfolke hath beene "the occasion of all the treason that hath beene contriued in your realme for the space of these "eighteene yeares, &, by his false suggestions[3] and malicious counsell, he hath caused to die and "to be murdered your right deere vncle, the duke of Glocester, sonne to king Edward. Moreouer, "the duke of Hereford saith, and I for him, that he will proue this with this bodie against the "bodie of the said duke of Norfolke within lists." The king herewith waxed angrie, and asked the duke of Hereford, if these were his woords; who answered: "Right deere lord, they are my "woords; and hereof I require right, and the battell against him."

There was a knight also that asked licence to speake for the duke of Norfolke, and, obteining it, began to answer thus: "Right deere souereigne lord, here is Thomas Mowbraie, duke of "Norfolke, who answereth and saith, and I for him, that all which Henrie of Lancaster hath said "and declared (sauing the reuerence due to the king and his councell) is a lie; and the said "Henrie of Lancaster hath falselie and wickedlie lied as a false and disloiall knight, and both "hath beene, and is, a traitor against you, your crowne, roiall maiestie, & realme. This will I "proue and defend as becommeth a loiall knight to doo with my bodie against his: right deere "lord, I beseech you therefore, and your councell, that it maie please you, in your roiall dis-"cretion, to consider and marke, what Henrie of Lancaster, duke of Hereford, such a one as he "is, hath said."

The king then demanded of the duke of Norfolke, if these were his woords, and whether he had anie more to saie. The duke of Norfolke then answered for himselfe: "Right deere sir, true it "is, that I haue receiued so much gold to paie your people of the towne of Calis; which I haue "doone, and I doo auouch[4] that your towne of Calis is as well kept at your commandement as "euer it was at anie time before, and that there neuer hath beene by anie of Calis anie complaint "made vnto you of me. Right deere and my souereigne lord, for the voiage that I made into "France, about your marriage, I neuer receiued either gold or siluer of you, nor yet for the voiage "that the duke of Aumarle & I made into Almane,[5] where we spent great treasure. Marie, true "it is, that once I laid an ambush to haue slaine the duke of Lancaster, that there sitteth; but "neuerthelesse he hath pardoned me thereof, and there was good peace made betwixt vs, for the "which I yeeld him hartie thankes. This is that which I haue to answer, and I am readie to "defend my selfe against mine aduersarie; I beseech you therefore of right, and to haue the "battell against him in vpright iudgement."

After this, when the king had communed with his councell a little, he commanded the two dukes to stand foorth, that their answers might be heard. The K. then caused them once againe to be asked, if they would agree and make peace togither, but they both flatlie answered that they would not: and withall the duke of Hereford cast downe his gage,[6] and the duke of Norfolke tooke it vp. The king, perceiuing this demeanor betwixt them, sware by saint Iohn Baptist, that he would neuer seeke to make peace betwixt them againe. And therefore sir Iohn Bushie in name of the king & his councell declared, that the king and his councell had commanded and ordeined, that they should haue a daie of battell appointed them at Couentrie. Here writers disagree about the daie that was appointed: for some saie, it was vpon a mondaie in August; other vpon saint Lamberts daie, being the seuenteenth of September; other on the eleuenth of September: but true it is, that the king assigned them not onelie the daie, but also appointed them listes and place for the combat, and therevpon great preparation was made, as to such a matter apperteined.

2. At the time appointed the king came to Couentrie, where the two dukes were readie, according to the order prescribed therein; comming thither in great arraie, accompanied with the lords and gentlemen of their linages. The king caused a sumptuous scaffold or theater, and roiall listes there to be erected and prepared. The sundaie before they should fight, after dinner, the duke of Hereford came to the king (being lodged about a quarter of a mile without the towne in a tower that belonged to sir William Bagot) to take his leaue of him. The morow after, being

1. requesting. 2. a coin worth 6/8 3. incitements. 4. avow. 5. Germany. 6. gauntlet.

the day appointed for the combat, about the spring of the daie,[1] came the duke of Norfolke to the court to take leaue likewise of the king. The duke of Hereford armed him in his tent, that was set vp neere to the lists; and the duke of Norfolke put on his armor, betwixt the gate & the barrier of the towne, in a beautifull house, hauing a faire perclois[2] of wood towards the gate, that none might see what was doone within the house.

The duke of Aumarle that daie, being high constable of England, and the duke of Surrie, marshall, placed themselues betwixt them, well armed and appointed; and, when they saw their time, they first entered into the listes with a great companie of men apparelled in silke sendall,[3] imbroidered with siluer, both richlie and curiouslie, euerie man hauing a tipped staffe to keepe the field in order. About the houre of prime,[4] came to the barriers of the listes the duke of Hereford, mounted on a white courser, barbed[5] with greene & blew veluet imbrodered sumptuouslie with swans and antelops of goldsmiths woorke; armed at all points. The constable and marshall came to the barriers, demanding of him what he was. He answered: "I am Henrie of Lancaster, "duke of Hereford, which am come hither to doo mine indeuor[6] against Thomas Mowbraie, duke "of Norfolke, as a traitor vntrue to God, the king, his realme, and me." Then incontinentlie[7] he sware vpon the holie euangelists, that his quarrell was true and iust, and vpon that point he required to enter the lists. Then he put vp his sword, which before he held naked in his hand, and, putting downe his visor, made a crosse on his horsse; and, with speare in hand, entered into the lists, and descended from his horsse, and set him downe in a chaire of greene veluet, at the one end of the lists, and there reposed himselfe, abiding the comming of his aduersarie.

Soone after him, entred into the field with great triumph[8] king Richard, accompanied with all the peeres of the realme, . . . The king had there aboue ten thousand men in armour, least some fraie or tumult might rise amongst his nobles, by quarelling or partaking.[9] When the king was set in his seat, (which was richlie hanged and adorned,) a king at armes made open proclamation, prohibiting all men in the name of the king, and of the high constable and marshall, to enterprise[10] or attempt to approch or touch any part of the lists vpon paine of death, except such as were appointed to order or marshall the field. The proclamation ended, an other herald cried: "Behold here Henrie of Lancaster, duke of Hereford, appellant, which is entred into the "lists roiall to doo his deuoir[11] against Thomas Mowbraie, duke of Norfolke, defendant; vpon "paine to be found false and recreant!"

The duke of Norfolke houered on horssebacke at the entrie of the lists, his horsse being barded with crimosen veluet, imbrodered richlie with lions of siluer and mulberie trees; and, when he had made his oth before the constable and marshall that his quarrell[12] was iust and true, he entred the field manfullie, saieng alowd: "God aid him that hath the right!" and then he departed from his horsse, & sate him downe in his chaire, which was of crimosen veluet, courtined about with white and red damaske. The lord marshall viewed their speares, to see that they were of equall length, and deliuered the one speare himselfe to the duke of Hereford, and sent the other vnto the duke of Norfolke by a knight. Then the herald proclamed that the trauerses[13] & chaires of the champions should be remooued; commanding them on the kings behalfe to mount on horssebacke, & addresse[14] themselues to the battell and combat.

The duke of Hereford was quicklie horssed, and closed his bauier,[15] and cast his speare into the rest, and when the trumpet sounded set forward couragiouslie towards his enimie six or seuen pases. The duke of Norfolke was not fullie set forward, when the king cast downe his warder,[16] and the heralds cried, "Ho, ho!" Then the king caused their speares to be taken from them, and commanded them to repaire againe to their chaires, where they remained two long houres, while the king and his councell deliberatlie consulted what order was best to be had in so weightie a cause. Finallie, after they had deuised, and fullie determined what should be doone therein, the heralds cried silence; and sir Iohn Bushie, the kings secretarie, read the sentence and determination of the king and his councell, in a long roll, the effect wherof was, that Henrie duke of Hereford should within fifteene daies depart out of the realme, and not to returne before the terme of ten yeares were expired, except by the king he should be repealed[17] againe, and this vpon paine of death; and that Thomas Mowbraie, duke of Norfolke, bicause he had sowen sedition in the relme by his words, should likewise auoid[18] the realme, and neuer to returne againe into England, nor approch the borders or confines thereof vpon paine of death; and that the king would staie the profits of his lands, till he had leuied thereof such summes of monie as the duke had taken vp of[19] the kings treasuror for the wages of the garrison of Calis, which were still vnpaid.

When these iudgements were once read, the king called before him both the parties, and made them to sweare that the one should neuer come in place where the other was, willinglie; nor keepe any company to gither in any forren region; which oth they both receiued humblie, and so went their waies. The duke of Norfolke departed sorowfullie out of the relme into Almanie,

1. dawn. 2. fence. 3. thin silk. 4. dawn. 5. A covering for the breast and flanks. 6. best. 7. immediately. 8. ceremony. 9. taking sides. 10. try. 11. duty. 12. cause. 13. screens. 14. prepare. 15. vizor. 16. truncheon. 17. recalled. 18. leave. 19. received.

and at the last came to Venice, where he for thought and melancholie deceassed : for he was in hope (as writers record) that he should haue been borne out[1] in the matter by the king, which when it fell out otherwise, it greeued him not a little. The duke of Hereford tooke his leaue of the king at Eltham, who there released foure yeares of his banishment : so he tooke his iornie ouer into Calis, and from thence went into France, where he remained.

3. In this meane time the king being aduertised[2] that the wild Irish dailie wasted and destroied the townes and villages within the English pale,[3] and had slaine manie of the souldiers which laie there in garison for defense of that countrie, determined to make eftsoones[4] a voiage thither, & prepared all things necessarie for his passage now against[5] the spring.

4. In this meane time (Feb. 3, 1399,] the duke of Lancaster departed out of this life at the bishop of Elies place in Holborne.

The death of this duke gaue occasion of increasing more hatred in the people of this realme toward the king, for he seized into his hands all the goods that belonged to him, and also receiued all the rents and reuenues of his lands which ought to haue descended vnto the duke of Hereford by lawfull inheritance ; in reuoking his letters patents, which he had granted to him before, by vertue wherof he might make his attorneis generall to sue liuerie[6] for him, of any maner of inheritances or possessions that might from thencefoorth fall vnto him ; and that his homage might be respited, with making reasonable fine : whereby it was evident, that the king meant his vtter vndooing.

This hard dealing was much misliked of all the nobilitie, and cried out against of the meaner sort ; but namelie[7] the duke of Yorke was therewith sore mooued ; who, before this time, had borne things with so patient a mind as he could, though the same touched him verie neere, as the death of his brother the duke of Glocester, the banishment of his nephue the said duke of Hereford, and other mo iniuries in great number ; which, for the slipperie youth of the king, he passed ouer for the time, and did forget aswell as he might. But now perceiuing that neither law, iustice, nor equitie could take place, where the kings wilfull will was bent vpon any wrongfull purpose, . . . he thought it the part of a wise man to get him in time to a resting place, . . .

Herevpon he with the duke of Aumarle his sonne went to his house at Langlie.

When these iusts[8] were finished, the king departed toward Bristow, from thence to passe into Ireland ; leauing the queene with hir traine still at Windesor : he appointed for his lieutenant generall in his absence his vncle the duke of Yorke : and so in the moneth of Aprill, as diuerse authors write, he set forward from Windesor, and finallie tooke shipping at Milford, and from thence, with two hundred ships, and a puissant power of men of armes and archers, he sailed into Ireland.

. . . diuerse of the nobilitie, aswell prelats as other, and likewise manie of the magistrats and rulers of the cities, townes, and communaltie, here in England, perceiuing dailie how the realme drew to vtter ruine, not like to be recouered to the former state of wealth whilest king Richard lived and reigned, (as they tooke it,) deuised with great deliberation, and considerate aduise, to send and signifie by letters vnto duke Henrie, whome they now called (as he was in deed) duke of Lancaster and Hereford, requiring him with all conuenient speed to conueie himselfe into England ; promising him all their aid, power, and assistance, if he, expelling K. Richard, as a man not meet for the office he bare, would take vpon him the scepter, rule, and diademe of his natiue land and region.

He, therefore, being thus called vpon by messengers and letters from his freends, and cheeflie through the earnest persuasion of Thomas Arundell,[9] late archbishop of Canturburie, who . . . had beene remooued from his see, and banished the realme by king Richards means, got him downe to Britaine,[10] togither with the said archbishop ; where he was ioifullie receiued of the duke and duchesse, and found such freendship at the dukes hands, that there were certeine ships rigged, and made readie for him, at a place in base Britaine[11] called Le port blanc, as we find in the chronicles of Britaine ; and, when all his prouision was made readie, he tooke the sea, togither with the said archbishop of Canturburie, and his nephue Thomas Arundeli, sonne and heire to the late earle of Arundell. . . . There were also with him, Reginald lord Cobham, sir Thomas Erpingham, and sir Thomas Ramston, knights, Iohn Norburie, Robert Waterton, & Francis Coint, esquires : few else were there, for (as some write) he had not past fifteene lances, as they tearmed them in those daies, that is to saie, men of armes, furnished and appointed as the vse then was. Yet other write, that the duke of Britaine deliuered vnto him three thousand men of warre, to attend him, and that he had eight ships well furnished for the warre, where *Froissard* yet speaketh but of three. Moreouer, where[12] *Froissard* and also the chronicles of Britaine auouch,

1. supported. 2. informed. 3. a district in Ireland under English rule. 4. soon after. 5. in readiness for. 6. to claim possession. 7. especially. 8. tournaments.
9. Thomas Arundell (or Fitz-Alan), was exiled on September 24, 1397. 10. Brittany. 11. lower Brittany. 12. whereas.

that he should[1] land at Plimmouth, by our English writers it seemeth otherwise : for it appeareth by their assured report, that he, approching to the shore, did not streight take land, but lay houering aloofe, and shewed himselfe now in this place, and now in that, to see what countenance[2] was made by the people, whether they meant enuiouslie to resist him, or freendlie to receiue him.

5. The duke of Lancaster, after that he had coasted alongst the shore a certeine time, & had got some intelligence how the peoples minds were affected towards him, landed about the beginning of Iulie[3] in Yorkshire, at a place sometime called Rauenspur, betwixt Hull and Bridlington ; and with him not past threescore persons, as some write : but he was so ioifullie receiued of the lords, knights, and gentlemen of those parts, that he found means (by their helpe) forthwith to assemble a great number of people, that were willing to take his part. The first that came to him were the lords of Lincolneshire, and other countries adioining ; as the lords Willoughbie, Ros, Darcie, and Beaumont.

6. At his [Bolingbroke's] comming vnto Doncaster, the earle of Northumberland, and his sonne, sir Henrie Persie, wardens of the marches against Scotland, with the earle of Westmerland, came vnto him ; where he sware vnto those lords, that he would demand no more but the lands that were to him descended by inheritance from his father and in right of his wife Moreouer, he vndertooke to cause the paiment of taxes and tallages[4] to be laid[5] downe, & to bring the king to good gouernment, & to remooue from him the Cheshire men, which were enuied of manie ; for that the king esteemed of them more than of anie other ; happilie, bicause they were more faithfull to him than other, readie in all respects to obeie his commandements and pleasure. From Doncaster, hauing now got a mightie armie about him, he marched foorth with all speed through the countries, comming by Euesham vnto Berkelie : within the space of three daies, all the kings castels in those parts were surrendred vnto him.

The duke of Yorke, whome king Richard had left as gouernour of the realme in his absence, hearing that his nephue the duke of Lancaster was thus arriued, and had gathered an armie, he also assembled a puissant power of men of armes and archers ; (as before yee haue heard ;) but all was in vaine, for there was not a man that willinglie would thrust out one arrow against the duke of Lancaster, or his partakers,[6] or in anie wise offend him or his freends. The duke of Yorke, therefore, passing foorth towards Wales to meet the king, at his comming foorth of Ireland, was receiued into the castell of Berkelie, and there remained, till the comming thither of the duke of Lancaster, [to] whom (when he perceiued that he was not able to resist, on the sundaie, after the feast of saint Iames, which, as that yeare came about, fell vpon the fridaie) he came foorth into the church that stood without the castell, and there communed with the duke of Lancaster. With the duke of Yorke were the bishop of Norwich, the lord Berkelie, the lord Seimour, and other ; with the duke of Lancaster were these : Thomas Arundell, archbishop of Canturburie, (that had beene banished,) the abbat of Leicester, the earles of Northumberland and Westmerland, Thomas Arundell, sonne to Richard, late earle of Arundell, the baron of Greistoke, the lords Willoughbie and Ros, with diuerse other lords, knights, and other people, which dailie came to him from euerie part of the realme : those that came not were spoiled of all they had, so as they were neuer able to recouer themselues againe, for their goods, being then taken awaie, were neuer restored. And thus, what for loue, and what for feare of losse, they came flocking vnto him from euerie part.

7. In the meane time, he sent the earle of Salisburie ouer into England, to gather a power togither, by helpe of the kings freends in Wales, and Cheshire, with all speed possible ; that they might be readie to assist him against the duke, vpon his arriuall, for he meant himselfe to follow the earle, within six daies after. The earle, passing ouer into Wales, landed at Conwaie, and sent foorth letters to the kings freends, both in Wales and Cheshire, to leauie their people, & to come with all speed to assist the K, whose request, with great desire, & very willing minds, they fulfilled, hoping to haue found the king himself at Conwaie ; insomuch that, within foure daies space, there were to the number of fortie thousand men assembled, readie to march with the king against his enimies, if he had beene there himselfe in person.

But, when they missed the king, there was a brute[7] spred amongst them, that the king was suerlie dead ; which wrought such an impression, and euill disposition, in the minds of the Welshmen and others, that, for anie persuasion which the earle of Salisburie might vse, they would not go foorth with him, till they saw the king : onelie they were contented to staie foureteene daies to see if he should come or not ; but, when he came not within that tearme, they would no longer abide, but scaled[8] & departed awaie ; wheras if the king had come before their breaking vp, no

1. did. 2. reception. 3. On June 28 accord ng to *Usk*, 24 ; 134. 4. imposts. 5. put. 6. supporters, 7. report. 8. scattered.

doubt, but they would haue put the duke of Hereford in aduenture of a field : so that the kings lingering of time, before his comming ouer, gaue opportunitie to the duke to bring things to passe as he could haue wished, and tooke from the king all occasion[1] to recouer afterwards anie forces sufficient to resist him.

In this yeare in a manner throughout all the realme of England, old baie trees withered, and, afterwards, contrarie to all mens thinking, grew greene againe ; a strange sight, and supposed to import some vnknowne euent.

8. The forsaid dukes, with their power, went towards Bristow, where (at their comming) they shewed themselues before the towne & castell ; being an huge multitude of people. There were inclosed within the castell, the lord William Scroope, earle of Wiltshire and treasuror of England, sir Henrie Greene, and sir Iohn Bushie, knights, who prepared to make resistance ; but, when it would not preuaile, they were taken and brought foorth bound as prisoners into the campe, before the duke of Lancaster. On the morow next insuing, they were arraigned before the constable and marshall, and found giltie of treason, for misgouerning the king and realme ; and foorthwith had their heads smit off.

9. At length, about eighteene daies after that the king had sent from him the earle of Salisburie, he tooke the sea, togither with the dukes of Aumarle, Excester, Surrie, and diuerse others of the nobilitie, with the bishops of London, Lincolne and Carleill. They landed neere the castell of Barclowlie[2] in Wales, about the feast of saint Iames the apostle, and staied a while in the same castell, being aduertised of the great forces which the duke of Lancaster had got togither against him ; wherewith he was maruellouslie amazed, knowing certeinelie that those, which were thus in armes with the duke of Lancaster against him, would rather die then giue place, as well for the hatred as feare which they had conceiued at him. Neuerthelesse he, departing from Barclowlie, hasted with all speed towards Conwaie, where he vnderstoode the earle of Salisburie to be still remaining.

He therefore taking with him such Cheshire men as he had with him at that present (in whom all his trust was reposed) he doubted not to reuenge himselfe of his aduersaries, & so at the first he passed[3] with a good courage ; but when he vnderstood, as he went thus forward, that all the castels, euen from the borders of Scotland vnto Bristow, were deliuered vnto the duke of Lancaster ; and that likewise the nobles and commons, as well of the south parts, as the north, were fullie bent to take part with the same duke against him ; and further, hearing how his trustie councellors had lost their heads at Bristow, he became so greatlie discomforted, that sorowfullie lamenting his miserable state, he vtterlie despaired of his owne safetie, and calling his armie togither, which was not small, licensed euerie man to depart to his home.

The souldiers, being well bent to fight in his defense, besought him to be of good cheere, promising with an oth to stand with him against the duke, and all his partakers vnto death ; but this could not incourage him at all, so that, in the night next insuing, he stole from his armie, and, with the dukes of Excester and Surrie, the bishop of Carleill, and sir Stephan Scroope, and about halfe a score others, he got him to the castell of Conwaie,[4] where he found the earle of Salisburie ; determining there to hold himselfe, till he might see the world at some better staie ; for what counsell to take to remedie the mischeefe thus pressing vpon him he wist not.

10. King Richard being thus come vnto the castell of Flint, on the mondaie, the eighteenth of August, and the duke of Hereford being still aduertised from houre to houre by posts, how the earle of Northumberland sped, the morow following being tuesdaie, and the nineteenth of August, he came thither, & mustered his armie before the kings presence ; which vndoubtedlie made a passing faire shew, being verie well ordered by the lord Henrie Persie, that was appointed generall, or rather (as we maie call him) master of the campe, vnder the duke, of the whole armie. . . .

1. opportunity. 2. considered to be Harlech Castle. 3. marched.

4. In a sidenote against this passage Richard is said to have withdrawn to " the castell of Flint," after deserting his army and at the close of sc. ii. Act III., he exclaims :

> Go to Flint Castle, there Ile pine away ; . . .
> That power I haue, discharge, . . .

We learn from Creton (*Archæol.* xx. 129–149 ; 349–366), whom *Hol.* subsequently follows, that Northumberland decoyed Richard from Conway Castle to a part of the road between Conway and Flint, where an ambush was laid. On reaching this spot the King was obliged to proceed to Flint, which was in the possession of Northumberland's troops. *Trais.* (47–52 ; 196–201) has the same story, with less detail. These authorities place the meeting of Richard and Bolingbroke at Flint Castle. *Usk* (27; 138 139) *Ott.* (207 208), and *Wals.* (ii. 233, 234), agree that Richard left Conway and met Bolingbroke at Flint Castle. But, according to *Eves.*, Richard, forsaking his army, betook himself to Flint Castle (150) whence, after some negotiation, he departed to Conway Castle, where Bolingbroke met him (154, 155).

The king . . . was walking aloft on the braies[1] of the wals, to behold the comming of the duke a farre off.

[Northumberland] came before the towne, and then sending an herald to the king, requested a safe conduct from the king, that he might come and talke with him; which the king granted, and so the earle of Northumberland, passing the water, entred the castell, and comming to the king, declared to him, that, if it might please his grace to vndertake, that there should be a parlement assembled, in the which iustice might be had against such as were enimies to the commonwealth, and had procured the destruction of the duke of Glocester, and other noblemen, and herewith pardon the duke of Hereford of all things wherein he had offended him, the duke would be readie to come to him *on his knees*, to craue of him forgiuenesse, and, as an humble subiect, to obeie him in all dutifull seruices.

[Bolingbroke approached the castle, and] compassed it round about, euen downe to the sea, with his people ranged in good and seemelie order at the foot of the mounteins: and then the earle of Northumberland, passing foorth of the castell to the duke, talked with him a while in sight of the king, being againe got vp to the walles, to take better view of the armie, being now aduanced within two bowe shootes of the castell, to the small reioising (ye may be sure) of the sorowfull king. The earle of Northumberland, returning to the castell, appointed the king to be set to dinner (for he was fasting till then) and, after he had dined, the duke came downe to the castell himselfe, and entred the same all armed, his bassenet[2] onelie excepted; and being within the first gate, he staid there, till the king came foorth of the inner part of the castell vnto him.

The king, accompanied with the bishop of Carleill, the earle of Salisburie, and Sir Stephan Scroope, knight, (who bare the sword before him,) and a few other, came foorth into the vtter[3] ward, and sate downe in a place prepared for him. Foorthwith, as the duke got sight of the king, he shewed a reuerend dutie as became him, in bowing his knee, and, comming forward, did so likewise the second and third time, till the king tooke him by the hand, and lift him vp, saieng: "Deere cousine, ye are welcome." The duke, humblie thanking him, said: "My souereign lord "and king, the cause of my comming at this present, is (your honor saued) to haue againe resti- "tution of my person, my lands and heritage, through your fauourable licence." The king hervnto answered: "Deere cousine, I am readie to accomplish your will, so that ye may injoy "all that is yours, without exception."

Meeting thus togither, they came foorth of the castell, and the king there called for wine, and, after they had dronke, they mounted on horssebacke, and rode [—halting at eleven places on the way—] to London: . . .

II. . . . there was no man in the realme to whom king Richard was so much beholden, as to the duke of Aumarle: for he was the man that, to fulfill his mind,[4] had set him in hand with all that was doone against the said duke, and the other lords. . . . There was also conteined in the said bill, that Bagot had heard the duke of Aumarle say, that he had rather than twentie thousand pounds that the duke of Hereford were dead; not for anie feare he had of him, but for the trouble and mischeefe that he was like to procure[5] within the realme.

After that the bill had beene read and heard, the duke of Aumarle rose vp and said, that as touching the points conteined in the bill concerning him, they were vtterlie false and vntrue; which he would proue with his bodie, in what manner soeuer it should be thought requisit. . . .

On the saturdaie next insuing [Oct. 18,] sir William Bagot and the said John Hall[6] were brought both to the barre, and Bagot was examined of certeine points, and sent againe to prison. The lord Fitzwater herewith rose vp, and said to the king, that where[7] the duke of Aumarle excuseth himselfe of the duke of Glocester's death, "I say" (quoth he) "that he was the verie "cause of his death;" and so he appealed him of treason, offering by throwing downe his hood as a gage to proue it with his bodie. There were twentie other lords also that threw downe their hoods, as pledges to proue the like matter against the duke of Aumarle. The duke of Aumarle threw downe his hood to trie it against the lord Fitzwater, as against him[8] that lied falselie, in that he had charged him with, by that his appeale. These gages were deliuered to the constable and marshall of England, and the parties put vnder arrest.

The duke of Surrie stood vp also against the lord Fitzwater, auouching that where he had said that the appellants were causers of the duke of Glocesters death, it was false, for they were constrained to sue the same appeale, in like manner as the said lord Fitzwater was compelled to giue iudgment against the duke of Glocester, and the earle of Arundell; so that the suing of the appeale was doone by constraint, and if he said contrarie he lied: and therewith he threw downe

1. parapet. 2. steel headpiece. 3. outer. 4. to give satisfaction. 5. cause.

6. A former valet of Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk. Hall was, by his own confession, present at the murder of Gloucester.

7. whereas. 8. one,

his hood. The lord Fitzwater answered herevnto, that he was not present in the parlement house, when iudgment was giuen against them, and all the lords bare witnesse thereof. Moreouer, where it was alledged that the duke of Aumarle should send two of his seruants to Calis, to murther the duke of Glocester, the said duke of Aumarle said, that if the duke of Norfolke affirme it, he lied falselie, and that he would proue with his bodie ; throwing downe an other hood which he had borowed. The same was likewise deliuered to the constable and marshall of England,[1] and the king licenced the duke of Norfolke to returne, that he might arraigne his appeale.

[Richard was conveyed to the Tower, where] diuerse of the kings seruants, which by licence had accesse to his person, comforted him (being with sorrow almost consumed, and in manner halfe dead) in the best wise they could, exhorting him to regard his health, and saue his life.

And first, they aduised him willinglie to suffer himselfe to be deposed, and to resigne his right of his owne accord, so that the duke of Lancaster might without murther or battell obteine the scepter and diademe, after which (they well perceiued) he gaped :[2] by meane whereof they though he might be in perfect assurance of his life long to continue. Whether this their persuasion proceeded by the suborning[3] of the duke of Lancaster and his fauourers, or of a sincere affection which they bare to the king, as supposing it most sure in such an extremitie, it is vncerteine ; but yet the effect followed not, howsoeuer their meaning was : notwithstanding, the king, being now in the hands of his enimies, and utterlie despairing of all confort, was easilie persuaded to renounce his crowne and princelie preheminence, so that, in hope of life onelie, he agreed to all things that were of him demanded. And so (as it should seeme by the copie of an instrument hereafter following) he renounced and voluntarilie was deposed from his roiall crowne and kinglie dignitie ; the mondaie being the nine and twentith daie of September, and feast of S. Michaell the archangell, in the yeare of our Lord 1399, and in the three and twentith yeare of his reigne.

Immediatlie as the sentence was in this wise passed, and that by reason thereof the realme stood void without head or gouernour for the time, the duke of Lancaster, rising from the place where before he sate, and standing where all those in the house might behold him, in reuerend manner made a signe of the crosse on his forhead, and likewise on his brest, and, after silence by an officer commanded, said vnto the people, there being present, these words following.

The duke of Lancaster laieth challenge *or claime to the crowne.*

" In the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, & of the Holie-ghost. I Henrie of Lancaster " claime the realme of England and the crowne, with all the appurtenances, as I that am descended " by right line of the blood comming from that good lord king Henrie the third ; and through the " right that God of his grace hath sent me, with the helpe of my kin, and of my freends, to recouer " the same, which was in point[4] to be vndoone for default of good gouernance and due iustice."

After these words thus by him vttered, he returned and sate him downe in the place where before he had sitten. Then the lords hauing heard and well perceiued this claime thus made by this noble man, ech of them asked of other what they thought therein. At length, after a little pausing or staie made, the archbishop of Canturburie, hauing notice of the minds of the lords, stood vp & asked the commons if they would assent to the lords, which in their minds thought the claime of the duke made, to be rightfull and necessarie for the wealth of the realme and them all : whereto the commons with one voice cried, " Yea, yea, yea ! "

On wednesdaie [Oct. 22, 1399] following, request was made by the commons, that sith[5] king Richard had resigned, and was lawfullie deposed from his roiall dignitie, he might haue iudgement decreed against him, so as the realme were[6] not troubled by him, and that the causes of his deposing might be published through the realme for satisfieng of the people : which demand was granted. Wherevpon the bishop of Carleill, a man both learned, wise, and stout of stomach, boldlie shewed foorth his opinion concerning that demand ; affirming that there was none amongst them woorthie or meet to giue iudgement vpon so noble a prince as king Richard was, whom they had taken for their souereigne and liege lord, by the space of two & twentie yeares and more : " And I assure you " (said he) " there is not so ranke a traitor, nor so errant[7] a theef, nor yet so " cruell a murtherer apprehended or deteined in prison for his offense, but he shall be brought " before the iustice to heare his iudgement ; and will ye proceed to the iudgement of an anointed " king, hearing neither his answer nor excuse ? I say, that the duke of Lancaster, *whom* ye *call* " *king*, hath more trespassed to K. Richard & his realme, than king Richard hath doone either " to him, or vs : " . . . As soone as the bishop had ended this tale, he was attached[8] by the earle marshall, and committed to ward in the abbeie of saint Albons.

1. Northumberland was Constable.—*Dugdale*, i. 278/1. The Marshal was Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland.—*Dugdale*, i.298/1.

2. desired. 3. to incite secretly. 4. about. 5. since. 6. might not be. 7. arrant. 8. arrested.

[Bolingbroke, . . . and other witnesses, met " in the cheefe chamber of the kings lodging," at the Tower, before whom Richard,] with glad countenance . . . said openlie that he was readie to renounce and resigne all his kinglie maiestie in maner and forme as he before had promised. And although he had and might sufficientlie haue declared his renouncement by the reading of an other meane[1] person ; yet, for the more suertie of the matter, and for that[2] the said resignation should haue his full force and strength, himselfe therefore read the scroll of resignation.

Upon the morrow after, being tuesdaie, and the last daie of September, all the lords spirituall and temporall, with the commons of the said parlement, assembled at Westminster, where, in the presence of them, the archbishop of Yorke, and the bishop of Hereford, according to the kings request, shewed vnto them the voluntarie renouncing of the king, with the fauour also which he bare to his cousine of Lancaster to haue him his successour. And moreouer shewed them the schedule or bill of renouncement, signed with king Richards owne hand ; which they caused to be read first in Latine, as it was written, and after in English. This doone, the question was first asked of the lords, if they would admit and allow that renouncement : the which when it was of them granted and confirmed, the like question was asked of the commons, and of them in like manner confirmed. After this, it was then declared, that, notwithstanding the foresaid renouncing, so by the lords and commons admitted and confirmed, it were necessarie, in auoiding of all suspicious and surmises of euill disposed persons, to haue in writing and registred the manifold crimes and defaults before doone by king Richard, to the end that they might first be openlie declared to the people, and after to remaine of[3] record amongst other of the kings records for euer.

All this was done accordinglie, for the articles, which before yee haue heard, were drawne and ingrossed vp, and there shewed readie to be read ; but, for other causes more needfull as then to be preferred, the reading of those articles at that season was deferred.

But now to speak of the conspiracie, which was contriued by the abbat of Westminster as cheefe instrument thereof. Ye shall[4] vnderstand, that this abbat (as it is reported) vpon a time heard king Henrie saie, when he was but earle of Derbie, and yoong of yeares, that princes had too little, and religious men too much. He therfore doubting now, least if the king continued long in the estate, he would remooue the great beame[5] that then greeued his eies, and pricked his conscience, became an instrument to search out the minds of the nobilitie, and to bring them to an assemblie and councell, where they might consult and commen[6] togither, how to bring that to effect, which they earnestlie wished and desired ; that was, the destruction of king Henrie, and the restoring of king Richard. For there were diuerse lords that shewed themselues outwardlie to fauor king Henrie, where[7] they secretlie wished & sought his confusion. The abbat, after he had felt[8] the minds of sundrie of them, called to his house, on a day in the terme time,[9] all such lords & other persons which he either knew or thought to be as affectioned[10] to king Richard, so enuious to the prosperitie of king Henrie ; whose names were : Iohn Holland earle of Huntington, late duke of Excester ; Thomas Holland earle of Kent, late duke of Surrie ; Edward earle of Rutland, late duke of Aumarle, sonne to the duke of Yorke ; Iohn Montacute, earle of Salisburie ; Thomas lord Spenser, late earle of Glocester ; Thomas the bishop of Carleill ; sir Thomas Blunt ; and Maudelen, a priest, one of king Richards chappell, a man as like in stature and proportion in all lineaments of bodie, as vnlike in birth, dignitie, and conditions.[11]

The abbat highlie feasted these lords, his speciall freends, and, when they had well dined, they withdrew into a secret chamber, where they sat downe in councell, and, after much talke & conference had[12] about the bringing of their purpose to passe concerning the destruction of king Henrie, at length by the aduise of the earle of Huntington it was deuised, that they should take vpon them a solemne iusts[13] to be enterprised betweene him and 20 on his part, & the earle of Salisburie and 20 with him, at Oxford ; to the which triumph[14] K. Henrie should be desired, &, when he should be most busilie marking the martiall pastime, he suddenlie should be slaine and destroied, and so by that meanes king Richard, who as yet liued, might be restored to libertie, and haue his former estate & dignitie. It was further appointed, who should assemble the people ; the number and persons which should accomplish and put in execution their deuised enterprise. Hervpon was an indenture sextipartite[15] made, sealed with their seales, and signed with their hands, in the which each stood bound to other, to do their whole indeuour for the accomplishing of their purposed exploit. Moreouer, they sware on the holie euangelists to be true and secret each to other, euen to the houre and point of death.

When all things were thus appointed, the earle of Huntington came to the king vnto Windsore, earnestlie requiring him, that he would vouchsafe to be at Oxenford on the daie appointed

1. subordinate. 2. in order that. 3. on. 4. must. 5. the wealth of the church. 6. commune. 7. whereas. 8. sounded

9. The conspirators met at the Abbot of Westminster's chambers, on December 17, 1399.—*Trais.* 77, 229.

10. well-disposed. 11. qualities. 12. held. 13. tilting-match. 14. tournament. 15. a six-fold agreement.

of their iustes ; both to behold the same, and to be the discouerer and indifferent[1] iudge (if anie ambiguitie should rise) of their couragious acts and dooings. The king, being thus instantlie[2] required of his brother in law, and nothing lesse imagining[3] than that which was pretended,[4] gentlie[5] granted to fulfill his request. Which thing obteined, all the lords of the conspiracie departed home to their houses, as they noised it, to set armorers on worke about the trimming of their armour against the iusts, and to prepare all other furniture and things readie, as to such an high & solemne triumph apperteined. The earle of Huntington came to his house and raised men on euerie side, and prepared horsse and harnesse for his compassed[6] purpose ; and, when he had all things readie, he departed towards Oxenford.

12. Shortlie after his resignation, he [Richard] was conueied to the castell of Leeds in Kent, & from thence to Pomfret, where he departed out of this miserable like (as after you shall heare).

13. And, at his [Huntington] comming thither, he found all his mates and confederates there, well appointed for their purpose, except the earle of Rutland, by whose follie their practised[7] conspiracie was brought to light and disclosed to king Henrie. For this earle of Rutland, departing before from Westminster to see his father the duke of Yorke, as he sat at dinner, had his counterpane[8] of the indenture of the confederacie in his bosome.

The father, espieng it, would needs see what it was ; and, though the sonne humblie denied[9] to shew it, the father, being more earnest to see it, by force tooke it out of his bosome ; and perceiuing the contents therof, in a great rage caused his horsses to be sadled out of hand, and spitefulie reproouing his sonne of treason, for whome he was become suertie and mainpernour[10] for his good abearing[11] in open parlement, he incontinentlie mounted on horssebacke to ride towards Windsore to the king, to declare vnto him the malicious intent of his complices. The earle of Rutland, seeing in what danger he stood, tooke his horsse,[12] and rode another waie to Windsore in post, so that he got thither before his father, and, when he was alighted at the castell gate, he caused the gates to be shut, saieng that he must needs deliuer the keies to the king. When he came before the kings presence, he kneeled downe on his knees, beseeching him of mercie and forgiuenesse, and, declaring the whole matter vnto him in order as euerie thing had passed, obteined pardon. Therewith came his father, and, being let in, deliuered the indenture, which he had taken from his sonne, vnto the king, who thereby perceiving his sonnes words to be true, changed his purpose for his going to Oxenford.

14. One writer,[13] which seemeth to haue great knowledge of king Richards dooings, saith, that king Henrie, sitting on a daie at his table, sore sighing, said : " Haue I no faithfull freend " which will deliuer me of him, whose life will be my death, and whose death will be the preseruation of my life ? " This saieng was much noted of them which were present, and especiallie of one called sir Piers of Exton. This knight incontinentlie departed from the court, with eight strong persons in his companie, and came to Pomfret, commanding the esquier, that was accustomed to sew[14] and take the assaie[15] before king Richard, to doo so no more, saieng : " Let him eat now, for he shall not long eat." King Richard sat downe to dinner, and was serued without courtesie or assaie ; wherevpon, much maruelling at the sudden change, he demanded of the esquier whie he did not his dutie : " Sir " (said he) " I am otherwise commanded by sir Piers of " Exton, which is newlie come from K. Henrie." When king Richard heard that word, he tooke the keruing knife in his hand, and strake the esquier on the head, saieng : " The diuell take " Henrie of Lancaster and thee togither ! " And with that word, sir Piers entred the chamber, well armed, with eight tall men likewise armed, euerie of them hauing a bill[16] in his hand.

King Richard, perceiuing this, put the table from him, & steping to the formost man, wrung the bill out of his hands, & so valiantlie defended himselfe, that he slue foure of those that thus came to assaile him. Sir Piers, being half dismaied herewith, lept into the chaire where king Richard was woont to sit, while the other foure persons fought with him, and chased him about the chamber. And in conclusion, as king Richard trauersed his ground, from one side of the chamber to an other, & comming by the chaire, where sir Piers stood, he was felled with a stroke of a pollax[17] which sir Piers gaue him vpon the head, and therewith rid him out of life ; without giuing him respit once to call to God for mercie of his passed offenses. It is said, that sir Piers of Exton, after he had thus slaine him, wept right bitterlie, as one stricken with the pricke of a giltie conscience, for murthering him, whome he had so long time obeied as king.

1. impartial. 2. urgently. 3. far from suspecting. 4. intended. 5. politely. 6. brought about. 7. plotted. 8. copy. 9. refused. 10. bail. 11. behaviour.

12. Shakspere has made Aumerle take York's horse ; for, according to all the texts of *Rich. II.*, v. II. III., the Duchess exclaims : " After, Aumerle ! mount the vpon *his* horse."

13. *Trais.* 14. serve and remove the dishes. 15. to taste the food. 16. pike. 17. an axe fixed on a pole.

15. After he was thus dead, his bodie was imbalmed, and seered,[1] and couered with lead, all saue the face, to the intent that all men might see him, and perceiue that he was departed this life: for as the corps was conueied from Pomfret to London, in all the townes and places where those that had the conueiance of it did staie with it all night, they caused dirige[2] to be soong in the euening, and masse of *Requiem* in the morning; and as well after the one seruice as the other, his face discouered,[3] was shewed to all that coueted to behold it.

Thus was the corps first brought to the Tower, and after through the citie, to the cathedrall church of saint Paule, bare faced; where it laie three daies togither, that all men might behold it. There was a solemne obsequie doone for him, both at Paules, and after at Westminster, at which time, both at dirige ouernight, and in the morning at the masse of *Requiem*, the king and the citizens of London were present. When the same was ended, the corps was commanded to be had[4] vnto Langlie, there to be buried in the church of the friers preachers.

1. wrapped in a sheet. 2. A service for the dead, in the Roman Catholic Church. 3. uncovered. 4. taken.

GB17
p1-10

The First Part of King Henry the Fourth

Written. 1596–1597.

Published 1598. Mention is made of the Play by Meres in his *Palladis Tamia, Wit's Treasury*. It was registered in the Stationers' Register under date of February 25th, 1598, and bore the following title: "Andrew Wisse: a booke intituled the Historye of Henry iiiith., with his battaile at Shrewsburye against Henry Hottspurre of the Northe, with the conceipted Mirthe of Sir John Ffalstoff." It was reprinted in 1599, 1604, 1608, 1613, 1622, 1632, and 1639.

Source of the Plot. The Play consists of a Comedy and a History fused together. For the historical scenes the poet's authority is Holinshed, whose *Chronicles*[1] at that time formed the book for English History, but some of the material for the comic scenes is thought to have been obtained from an old Play—*The Famous Victories of Henry V., containing the honourable battle of Agincourt*[2]—very popular at the time this play was written, though the greater portion of the humorous part is considered to be original.

In the original draft Sir John Falstaff was called Sir John Oldcastle, but exception being taken by Henry Brooke, Lord Cobham to the character of Oldcastle being travestied after his death by the anti-Lollard party, the name was changed. Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham was the famous Lollard leader, who was condemned as a heretic and burned to death in 1417.

Outline of the Play. The play, which continues the story of Bolingbroke opened in *The Tragedy of King Richard the Second*, and which covers a period of about ten months from the battle of Holmedon Hill on September 14th, 1402, to the battle of Shrewsbury, on July 21st, 1403, opens in King Henry's Palace in London.

The king, addressing the nobles present, rejoices that as the civil strife is now at an end—although before the scene closes, the seeds of discord, which give birth to another civil war are apparent—he can undertake a pilgrimage to the Holy Land—a pilgrimage he had projected some twelve months previously, when the news of Richard's murder was brought to him:

> Therefore, friends,
> As far as to the sepulchre of Christ,
> Whose soldier now, under whose blessed cross
> We are impressed and engaged to fight,
> Forthwith a power of English shall we levy;
> Whose arms were moulded in their mothers' womb
> To chase these pagans in those holy fields
> Over whose acres walk'd those blessed feet,
> Which fourteen hundred years ago were nail'd
> For our advantage on the bitter cross.

The king then inquires of Lord Westmoreland what preparations have been made by the Council "in forwarding this dear expedience" and Westmoreland replies that the question was discussed but no action was taken, consequent upon news being

1. *See* Appendix I. 2. *See* Appendix II.

received that Owen Glendower a Welshman, had raised the standard of rebellion in Wales, and that the English forces under the command of Edmund Mortimer had been defeated with great slaughter, Mortimer himself being taken prisoner :

> My liege, this haste was hot in question,
> And many limits of the charge set down
> But yesternight : when all athwart there came
> A post from Wales loaden with heavy news ;
> Whose worst was, that the noble Mortimer,
> Leading the men of Herefordshire to fight
> Against the irregular and wild Glendower,
> Was by the rude hands of that Welshman taken,
> A thousand of his people butchered ;

" It seems then that the tidings of this broil Brake off our business for the Holy Land," rejoins Henry, and this decision is solidified by Westmoreland further announcing that a large Scottish army under the command of Archibald Earl of Douglas has crossed the border and been routed at Holmedon hill by Harry Hotspur, many of the Scottish knights being taken prisoner :

> Here is a dear, a true industrious friend,
> Sir Walter Blunt, new lighted from his horse,
> Stain'd with the variation of each soil
> Betwixt that Holmedon and this seat of ours ;
> And he hath brought us smooth and welcome news.
> The Earl of Douglas is discomfited :
> Ten thousand bold Scots, two and twenty knights,
> Balk'd in their own blood did Sir Walter see
> On Holmedon's plains. Of prisoners, Hotspur took
> Mordake the Earl of Fife, and eldest son
> To beaten Douglas ; and the Earl of Athol,
> Of Murray, Angus, and Menteith :
> And is not this an honourable spoil ?
> A gallant prize ? ha, cousin, is it not ?

" In faith, It is a conquest for a prince to boast of," replies Westmoreland. The news, however, is not altogether pleasing to Henry, his fear being that it will enhance the prestige of the house of Percy, and at the same time he is envious of Hotspur, as his only son Prince Hal—the future Henry V.—is causing him much anxiety by his wanton living and his frequenting of taverns in dissolute company, and the king wishes that some fairy had changed them when they lay in their cradles :

> Yea, there thou makest me sad and makest me sin
> In envy that my Lord Northumberland
> Should be the father to so blest a son,
> . . . . . .
> Whilst I, by looking on the praise of him,
> See riot and dishonour stain the brow
> Of my young Harry. O that it could be proved
> That some night-tripping fairy had exchanged
> In cradle-clothes our children where they lay,
> And call'd mine Percy, his Plantagenet !
> Then would I have his Harry, and he mine.

The king then announces that Hotspur refuses to surrender any of the prisoners he has taken except Mordake Earl of Fife :

> What think you, coz,
> Of this young Percy's pride ? the prisoners,
> Which he in this adventure hath surprised,
> To his own use he keeps ; and sends me word,
> I shall have none but Mordake Earl of Fife.

"This is his uncle's teaching: this is Worcester," interposes Westmoreland; but, continues Henry, I have summoned Hotspur to appear before a Council at Windsor to answer for this refusal, and in consequence the expedition to the Holy Land must be postponed:

> But I have sent for him to answer this;
> And for this cause a while we must neglect
> Our holy purpose to Jerusalem.
> Cousin, on Wednesday next our council we
> Will hold at Windsor; so inform the lords:
> But come yourself with speed to us again;
> For more is to be said and to be done
> Than out of anger can be uttered.

Cf. *Extract* 1 from Holinshed.

An apartment of the Prince of Wales in London supplies the next scene, where Sir John Falstaff seated at ease asks "what time of day is it, lad," to which his royal host retorts, "What a devil hast thou to do with the time of the day?" and reproaches him in unflattering terms, saying he is so "fat-witted," with drinking that he has "forgotten to demand that truly which thou wouldst truly know," for "Unless hours were cups of sack, and minutes capons, and clocks the tongues of bawds, and dials the signs of leaping-houses, and the blessed sun himself a fair hot wench in flame-coloured taffeta, I see no reason why thou shouldst be so superfluous to demand the time of the day." But Falstaff's self-complacence is not to be disturbed, and in a half-sleepy manner he tells the Prince that when he is king he must not treat "squires of the night's body" as "thieves of the day's beauty": but as "Diana's foresters, gentlemen of the shade, minions of the moon," so that men can say that "we be men of good government," but the prince who has accompanied Falstaff and other merry thieves on many nocturnal escapades retorts by reminding him how lavishly he spends the money which he has obtained by highway robbery: "for proof, now: a purse of gold most resolutely snatched on Monday night and most dissolutely spent on Tuesday morning"; and Falstaff very conveniently diverts the conversation by referring to the mistress of the tavern they frequent: "By the Lord, thou sayest true, lad. And is not my hostess of the tavern, a most sweet wench?" The two engage in a series of coarse jokes, and Falstaff, reverting to the previous conversation, asks the Prince whom he addresses as 'sweet wag,'—"whether there will be gallows standing in England when he becomes king" and implores him never to "hang a thief" when he ascends the throne, to which the Prince replies that he will appoint him hangman, and Falstaff begins to brag that he will be a "brave judge" but the Prince reminds him that he has already "judged falsely" as he shall have the "hanging of the thieves" and not be created a judge. Being under the influence of wine he then declares he will reform and lead a virtuous life, claiming that he was totally ignorant of wrong-doing, before becoming acquainted with the prince, whom he describes as a "most comparative, rascalliest, sweet young prince," who uses "similes of a most unsavoury kind," for "Thou hast done much harm upon me, Hal; God forgive thee for it! Before I knew thee, Hal, I knew nothing; and now am I, if a man should speak truly, little better than one of the wicked. I must give over this life, and I will give it over: by the Lord, an I do not, I am a villain"; but the prince turns the conversation by asking Falstaff: "Where shall we take a purse to-morrow, Jack?" and Falstaff is so eager to participate in any expedition of a thieving or rascally nature that he forgets his promise to reform, and when the

prince remarks: I see a good amendment of life in thee; from praying to purse-taking, Falstaff observes: "Why, Hal, 'tis my vocation, Hal; 'tis no sin for a man to labour in his vocation." Poins now enters and is greeted by both the prince and Falstaff, the former remarking: "Good morrow, Ned," to which Poins replies: "Good morrow, sweet Hal," and then turning to Falstaff mirthfully asks: "What says Monsieur Remorse? what says Sir John Sack and Sugar? Jack! how agrees the devil and thee about thy soul, that thou soldest him on Good Friday last for a cup of Madeira and a cold capon's leg?" Poins then informs them that a number of pilgrims and traders will pass through Gadshill on the morrow on their way to Canterbury, and suggests that they waylay and rob them: "But, my lads, my lads, to-morrow morning, by four o'clock, early at Gadshill! there are pilgrims going to Canterbury with rich offerings, and traders riding to London with fat purses: I have vizards for you all; you have horses for yourselves: Gadshill lies to-night in Rochester: I have bespoke supper to-morrow night in Eastcheap: we may do it as secure as sleep. If you will go, I will stuff your purses full of crowns; if you will not, tarry at home and be hanged." Falstaff is delighted at the prospect of waylaying the travellers: "Hear ye, Yedward; if I tarry at home and go not, I 'll hang you for going," but expresses disappointment when the prince refuses to accompany them: "*Fal.* Hal, wilt thou make one? *Prince.* Who, I rob? I a thief? not I, by my faith," and Falstaff remarks "There's neither honesty, manhood, nor good fellowship in thee, nor thou camest not of the blood royal, if thou darest not stand for ten shillings," and threatens to be a traitor when the prince becomes king. Poins, however, declares that if left alone with the prince, he might be able to persuade him to accompany them, and so Falstaff leaves forthwith, the prince remarking as he does so: "Farewell, the latter spring! farewell, All-hallown summer!" When he has gone, Poins suggests playing a trick on Falstaff and the other highwaymen, proposing that after the thieves have robbed the travellers, the prince and himself under disguise shall surprise and rob them. Knowing that valour is not a strong characteristic in Falstaff and his friends, he anticipates no trouble in this respect, for they are "true-bred cowards" but the "virtue of the jest will be, the incomprehensible lies that this same fat rogue will tell us when we meet at supper: how thirty, at least, he fought with; what wards, what blows, what extremities he endured; and in the reproof of this lives the jest." The prince promises to join Poins in this adventure, remarking: "Well, I 'll go with thee": and Poins departs. When he has gone the prince soliloquises on how he will "imitate the sun" which shines at the right moment in all its glory, although the "contagious clouds" sometimes "smother up his beauty," and contrasts his present "loose behaviour" which he will throw off, with the regal dignity he will assume, when he ascends the throne, for:

> I'll so offend, to make offence a skill;
> Redeeming time when men think least I will.

We return to the King's Palace in London, where a Council is being held as indicated at the end of the first scene. Henry declares that he has hitherto been too patient at the indignity shown him:

> My blood hath been too cold and temperate,
> Unapt to stir at these indignities,
> And you have found me; for accordingly
> You tread upon my patience;

but in future he will be master of his own house :

> but be sure
> I will from henceforth rather be myself,
> Mighty and to be fear'd, than my condition ;
> Which hath been smooth as oil, soft as young down,
> And therefore lost that title of respect
> Which the proud soul ne'er pays but to the proud.

Worcester flatly tells Henry that his House does not deserve such censure, and reminds the king that he owes his exalted position to the assistance he has received from the Percys :

> Our house, my sovereign liege, little deserves
> The scourge of greatness to be used on it ;
> And that same greatness too which our own hands
> Have holp to make so portly.

and the king peremptorily dismisses him from court : " Worcester, get thee gone ; for I do see Danger and disobedience in thine eye " : for your " presence is too bold and peremptory," adding " when we need Your use and counsel, we shall send for you." Turning to Northumberland, Henry asks for an explanation of his son's refusal to surrender the prisoners captured by him at Holmedon, to which Northumberland replies that the prisoners were not refused with that " strength " it had been reported to him, which statement is confirmed by Hotspur : " I did deny no prisoners," adding, that after the fight was over he was leaning on his sword " breathless and faint," when a " certain lord, neat and trimly dress'd, Fresh as a bridegroom ; and his chin new reap'd Show'd like a stubble-land at harvest-home ; . . . perfumed like a milliner, And 'twixt his finger and his thumb he held A pouncet-box, which ever and anon He gave his nose and took 't away again " ; approached him. Smiling and chattering, this fellow " as the soldiers bore dead bodies by," " called them untaught knaves, unmannerly, To bring a slovenly unhandsome corse Betwixt the wind and his nobility." In this affected manner, continues Hotspur, he questioned me and demanded " My prisoners in your majesty's behalf," but " smarting with my wounds being cold," and so angry at being " pestered with a popinjay, I answer'd neglectingly I know not what," . . . for he made me mad, " talking like a waiting-gentlewoman of guns and drums and wounds,"—Therefore my liege " I beseech you," not to let his report be considered as " an accusation Betwixt my love and your high majesty." But, pleads Sir Walter Blunt under such circumstances, and at " such a time and place " hasty words " may reasonably die " and be overlooked if only Hotspur is ready to recall his words :

> Whate'er Lord Harry Percy then had said
> To such a person and in such a place,
> At such a time, with all the rest re-told,
> May reasonably die and never rise
> To do him wrong, or any way impeach
> What then he said, so he unsay it now.

but Henry, in angry tones, replies that Hotspur refuses to surrender the prisoners, except on condition that Mortimer—Hotspur's brother-in-law—now a prisoner in Glendower's hands, be ransomed :

> Why, yet he doth deny his prisoners,
> But with proviso and exception,
> That we at our own charge shall ransom straight
> His brother-in-law, the foolish Mortimer ;

Henry denounces Mortimer as a traitor, only fit to starve on the mountains :

> Shall our coffers, then,
> Be emptied to redeem a traitor home ?
> Shall we buy treason ?
> . . . . . .
> No, on the barren mountains let him starve ;

declaring, that any one who asks for one penny to ransom home revolted Mortimer is no friend of his. Hearing Mortimer denounced as a traitor, Hotspur in anger exclaims : " Revolted Mortimer ! He never did fall off, my sovereign liege," and goes on to describe how bravely Mortimer fought with Glendower on the " gentle Severn's sedgy band, In single opposition, hand to hand," but Henry replies that Mortimer never did fight with Glendower :

> Thou dost belie him, Percy, thou dost belie him ;
> He never did encounter with Glendower :

declaring that he had " wilfully betray'd the lives of those that he did lead to fight " if the news was true that he had married the daughter of Glendower, that " damn'd magician " : and addressing Hotspur as " sirrah " declares he will not hear him speak again of Mortimer, at the same time ordering him to send the Scottish prisoners to London speedily, or he shall hear of it, in " such a kind from me As will displease you " :

> Let me not hear you speak of Mortimer :
> Send me your prisoners with the speediest means,
> Or you shall hear in such a kind from me
> As will displease you.

Giving Northumberland and his son leave to depart, and with the words " Send us your prisoners, or you will hear of it," the king leaves the room. The king having gone, Hotspur in a rage vows he will not surrender the prisoners :

> An if the devil come and roar for them,
> I will not send them :

and declaring he will " ease his heart " at the risk of losing his head, would have followed the king and told him so to his face, but is restrained from so-doing by his father, who exclaims : " What, drunk with choler ? stay and pause a while " : just as Worcester—Hotspur's uncle—enters. " Speak of Mortimer ! " repeats Hotspur in angry tones, " 'Zounds, I will speak of him," asserting that he will shed every drop of his blood to raise " down-trod Mortimer As high in the air as this unthankful king, As this ingrate and canker'd Bolingbroke." Turning to Worcester, Northumberland remarks : " Brother, the king hath made your nephew mad," but on learning that the king refuses to ransom Mortimer, Worcester replies that he cannot blame him, for was not Mortimer true heir to the crown, being next of blood to Richard : " for was not Mortimer proclaimed by Richard before setting forth on his Irish expedition." " Did King Richard then Proclaim my brother Edmund Mortimer Heir to the crown ? " asks Hotspur, and Northumberland replies : " He did ; myself did hear it," to which Hotspur observes : " Nay, then I cannot blame his cousin king, That wish'd him on the barren mountains starve," and turning to Northumberland and Worcester indignantly asks whether they will allow themselves to be treated with contempt by the man whom they have placed on the throne. But Worcester tells him to be quiet, and under secrecy reveals to him a scheme " full of peril and adventurous spirit," as walking over a " current roaring loud On the unsteadfast footing of a spear." " If he fall in, good night ! " observes Hotspur, who longs for

" perilous adventure," but Worcester turns the conversation by asking: " Those same noble Scots That are your prisoners,"—and Hotspur swears " By God," he will not surrender one single Scot, not " if a Scot would save his soul," because the king " would not ransom Mortimer," forbad him even to speak of Mortimer, and continues: " I'll have a starling shall be taught to speak Nothing but ' Mortimer ' and give it him, To keep his anger still in motion." Hotspur becomes so excited that Worcester attempts to leave the room, saying:

> Farewell, kinsman: I'll talk to you
> When you are better temper'd to attend.

to which Northumberland adds:

> Why, what a wasp-stung and impatient fool
> Art thou to break into this woman's mood,
> Trying thine ear to no tongue but thine own!

This calms Hotspur a little, who replies that he is " whipp'd and scourged with rods, Nettled, and stung with pismires, when I hear Of this vile politician, Bolingbroke," but breaks out again when he remembers the homage he first paid to " this king of smiles, this Bolingbroke " before Berkeley castle. Reverting again to the Scottish prisoners, Worcester unfolds his plot, that they shall set free without ransom all the prisoners, and form an alliance with the Douglas against Henry:

> Thence once more to your Scottish prisoners.
> Deliver them up without their ransom straight,
> And make the Douglas' son your only mean
> For powers in Scotland;

and that Northumberland shall solicit the aid of the powerful Archbishop of York —Richard Scroop—who " bears hard his brother's death, the Earl of Wiltshire, whom Bolingbroke caused to be put to death at Bristol:

> You, my lord,
> Your son in Scotland being thus employ'd
> Shall secretly into the bosom creep
> Of that same noble prelate, well beloved,
> The archbishop.

Hotspur then suggests that when the scheme has matured, the two forces shall unite with Glendower and Mortimer, a plan which Worcester himself undertakes to arrange when the time is ripe:

> When time is ripe, which will be suddenly,
> I'll steal to Glendower and Lord Mortimer;
> Where you and Douglas and our powers at once,
> As I will fashion it, shall happily meet,
> To bear our fortunes in our own strong arms,
> Which now we hold at much uncertainty.

to which Hotspur excitedly, exclaims:

> O, let the hours be short
> Till fields and blows and groans applaud our sport!

Cf. *Extract 2* from Holinshed.

The second Act opens in an Inn Yard at Rochester. It is early morn, and the carriers with lanterns enter to make preparations to set out for London :

First Car. Heigh-ho ! an it be not four by the day, I'll be hanged : Charles' wain is over the new chimney, and yet our horse not packed. What, ostler !
Ost. [Within.] Anon, anon.
First Car. I prithee, Tom, beat Cut's saddle, put a few flocks in the point ; poor jade, is wrung in the withers out of all cess.

A second carrier enters, who complains that the horses' food is so wet that it is likely to give the " poor jades the bots," and describes the Inn as the " most villainous house in all London road for fleas," for " I am stung like a tench," to which the first carrier adds that there never was a Christian king who was more severely bitten than he had been since the " first cock."

Gadshill—one of the highwaymen—enters, and endeavours to borrow a lantern :

Gads. I prithee, lend me thy lantern, to see my gelding in the stable.
First Car. Nay, by God, soft ; I know a trick worth two of that, i' faith.
Gads. I pray thee, lend me thine.
Sec. Car. Ay, when ? can't tell ? Lend me thy lantern, quoth he ! marry, I'll see thee hanged first.

His request being unsuccessful, Gadshill next enquires the time they intend setting out for London, only to receive the answer : " Time enough to go to bed with a candle, I warrant thee. Come, neighbour Mugs, we 'll call up the gentlemen : they will along with company, for they have great charge," and the carriers forthwith hasten away to rouse the merchants and pilgrims who wish to travel by the coach. A chamberlain of the inn now enters, who confides to Gadshill the amount of money in the possession of one of the travellers : " there 's a franklin in the wild of Kent hath brought three hundred marks with him in gold : I heard him tell it to one of his company last night at supper ; a kind of auditor ; one that hath abundance of charge too, God knows what. They are up already, and call for eggs and butter : they will away presently," to which Gadshill observes that he will be surprised if they do not meet with " Saint Nicholas' clerks." The chamberlain warns Gadshill to beware of the hangman, and Gadshill facetiously tells him that " if I hang, I 'll make a fat pair of gallows ; for if I hang, old Sir John hangs with me, and thou knowest he is no starveling," and reminds the chamberlain that his company is not composed of " foot land-rakers," " long-staff sixpenny strikers," and " mad mustachio purple-hued malt-worms " ; but of " nobility and tranquility, burgomasters and great oneyers," who will " strike sooner than speak, and speak sooner than drink, and drink sooner than pray," adding, " We steal as in a castle, cock-sure ; we have the receipt of fern-seed, we walk invisible," a statement which the chamberlain questions : " I think you are more beholding to the night than to fern-seed for your walking invisible." Promising the chamberlain a " share of the spoils " Gadshill bids the ostler bring his horse, and bidding his informer : " Farewell, you muddy knave," forthwith departs.

A Highway near Gadshill supplies the next scene. The Prince and Poins arrive at the spot, and taking advantage of the darkness, Poins untethers Falstaff's horse, and fastens it a little farther down the road : " I have removed Falstaff's horse, and he frets like a gummed velvet." Falstaff enters, and enquiring for Poins is told by the Prince that he has " walked up to the top of the hill " ; adding, " I 'll go seek him."

The Prince having departed, Falstaff resents the removal of his horse: "the rascal hath removed my horse, and tied him I know not where," declaring that although he has vowed many times to rid himself of Poins, he is still "bewitched with his company:" "I have forsworn his company hourly any time this two and twenty years, and yet I am bewitched with the rogue's company," for "Eight yards of uneven ground is threescore and ten miles afoot with me; and the stony-hearted villains know it well enough: a plague upon it when thieves cannot be true one to another!" At this point the Prince and Poins whistle from their hiding-place behind the hedge, and Falstaff remarks: "Whew! A plague upon you all! Give me my horse, you rogues; give me my horse, and be hanged!" asserting that "when a jest is so forward, and afoot too! I hate it." "Lie down," commands the Prince, and lay thine ear close to the ground and listen if thou canst hear the travellers approaching, and Falstaff asks him if he has got a lever to lift him up again, adding: "Good Prince Hal, help me to my horse, good king's son." "Out, ye rogue! shall I be your ostler?" sternly replies the Prince, and Falstaff retorts by telling him to go and hang himself in his "own heir-apparent garters."

Gadshill, Bardolph, and Peto now enter: "On with your vizards," exclaims Bardolph, "there's money of the king's coming down the hill; 'tis going to the king's exchequer," to which Falstaff rejoins: "You lie, you rogue; 'tis going to the king's tavern"; and after they have disguised themselves each proceed to their positions as arranged. Gadshill, Bardolph, Peto and Falstaff are to waylay the travellers in the narrow lane, and the Prince and Poins are to hide a little farther down the road and pounce upon any who may escape. [This is contrary to Poins' scheme as outlined in I. ii. 159–165.] The travellers appear, and on the suggestion of one of them, dismount, while the horses are led down the steep hill: "Come, neighbour: the boy shall lead our horses down the hill; we 'll walk afoot awhile, and ease our legs." Immediately, the highwaymen spring from behind the thicket, and call upon the travellers to stand and deliver: "Strike; down with them; cut the villains' throats: ah! whoreson caterpillars! bacon-fed knaves! they hate us youth: down with them; fleece them," exclaims Falstaff. Their victims cry: "we are undone," and as they are quickly bound and robbed, Falstaff in his usual vivacious manner cries out: "Hang ye, gorbellied knaves, are ye undone? No, ye fat chuffs; I would your store were here! On, bacons, on! What, ye knaves: young men must live. You are grandjurors, are ye? we 'll jure ye, 'faith." Having robbed and bound the travellers, the thieves disappear in the darkness, and the Prince and Poins, disguised, re-enter, the former remarking: "The thieves have bound the true men. Now could thou and I rob the thieves and go merrily to London, it would be argument for a week, laughter for a month and a good jest for ever"; but "Stand close"; observes Poins, "I hear them coming," and the four thieves return and seat themselves by the roadside to divide the spoil: "Come, my masters, let us share and then to horse before day," and at the same time Falstaff calls the Prince and Poins cowards: "An the Prince and Poins be not two arrant cowards, there 's no equity stirring: there 's no more valour in that Poins than in a wild-duck." They are in the act of sharing the spoil when the Prince and Poins rush out from the thicket. "Your money," shouts the Prince, to which Poins adds: "Villains!" Being taken by surprise, Falstaff and his companions scramble to their feet and scuttle away, leaving the booty scattered on the ground: "The thieves are all scatter'd and possess'd with fear So strongly that they dare not meet each other"; as "Each takes his fellow for an officer" exclaims the Prince, adding that "Falstaff sweats to death, And lards the earth as he walks along"; to which Poins adds: "How the rogue roar'd!"

The next scene is Warkworth Castle. It opens with Hotspur reading a letter—in dramatic fashion—which warns him that considering the opposition he is likely to encounter, the course he is pursuing is dangerous and the friends he is counting upon for support are very uncertain: "The purpose you undertake is dangerous; the friends you have named uncertain; the time itself unsorted; and your whole plot too light for the counterpoise of so great an opposition." Hotspur, who considers his plot "is a good plot as ever was laid," and his "friends true and constant," as they include Mortimer, the Archbishop of York, Glendower and the Douglas, breaks out into a passion, and describes the writer of the letter as a "frosty-spirited rogue," and threatens if he had "hold of the rascal" to dash out his brains with his "lady's fan." Lady Percy enters, and he informs her that he will be leaving her in two hours' time. To this his wife remarks that for some time past he has had the semblance of being troubled in mind, and in his sleep has cried: "Courage! to the field!" and talked of "sallies and retires, of trenches, tents, Of palisadoes, frontiers, parapets, Of basilisks, of cannon, culverin, Of prisoners' ransom, and of soldiers slain, And all the currents of a heady fight." She asks what is the meaning of it all: "O, what portents are these? Some heavy business hath my lord in hand, And I must know it, else he loves me not." "What, ho!" exclaims Hotspur, just as a servant enters, whom he asks if his groom has "brought those horses from the sheriff?"

Hot. Hath Butler brought those horses from the sheriff?
Serv. One horse, my lord, he brought even now,
Hot. What horse? a roan, a crop-ear, is it not?

and uttering his famous battle-cry "O esperance!" the motto of the House of Percy, declares that "That roan shall be his throne." The servant gone, his wife asks for what purpose he must go, saying that she will know his business, and at the same time hinting that she is aware of the matter he has in hand:

In faith,
I'll know your business, Harry, that I will.
I fear my brother Mortimer doth stir
About his title, and hath sent for you
To line his enterprise:

holding him by his little finger which she threatens to break, if he will not "tell her all things true." Hotspur, however, refuses to take his wife into his confidence, and tells her he does not love her: "Away, you trifler! Love! I love thee not, I care not for thee, Kate: this is no world To play with mammets and to tilt with lips": "Do you not love me? do you not, indeed? Well, do not then; for since you love me not, I will not love myself. Do you not love me? Nay, tell me if you speak in jest or no," asks Lady Percy, and Hotspur replies that when he is on horseback he will swear to love her infinitely, at the same time she must not question him as to the enterprise he has in hand, assuring her "she will not utter that which she does not know"; adding that she is to follow him on the morrow:

But hark you, Kate:
Whither I go, thither shall you go too;
To-day will I set forth, to-morrow you.
Will this content you, Kate?

to which she replies "It must of force." Cf. *Extracts* 3 and 4 from Holinshed.

The fourth scene is enacted at the Boar's-Head Tavern in Eastcheap, whither the Prince and Poins have proceeded directly after putting Falstaff and his companions to flight. It opens with the Prince telling Poins that he has been in the

cellar of the tavern amongst "three or fourscore hogsheads" drinking with "three or four loggerheads" where he has "sounded the very base-string of humility," and so intimate has he become with three of the waiters, that he can now "call them all by their christen names, as Tom, Dick, and Francis." The waiters, he explains "take it already upon their salvation," and call him the "king of courtesy," and tell him "flatly that he is no proud Jack, like Falstaff, but a Corinthian, a lad of mettle, a good boy, ... They call drinking deep, dyeing scarlet; and when you breathe in your watering, they cry 'hem!' and bid you play it off. To conclude, I am so good a proficient in one quarter of an hour, that I can drink with any tinker in his own language during my life." Telling Poins that he has "lost much honour" in not being with him "in this action," he hands him a "pennyworth of sugar," which was "clapped into his hand by an under-skinker," adding "Score a pint of bastard in the Half-moon, or so." The Prince then suggests that they pass away the time by amusing themselves at the expense of one of the waiters,—Francis: "But, Ned, to drive away the time till Falstaff come, I prithee, do thou stand in some by-room, while I question my puny drawer to what end he gave me the sugar; and do thou never leave calling 'Francis,' that his tale to me may be nothing but 'Anon.'" The result is that a comical scene ensues, for while the Prince holds the waiter in conversation, Poins plays the rôle of an impatient customer, and keeps shouting from the next room "Francis, Francis," to which Francis answers "Anon, anon, sir." The vintner enters, and orders the waiter to attend to the customers: "What, standest thou still, and hearest such a calling? Look to the guests within," and turning to the Prince, says: "My lord, old Sir John, with half-a-dozen more, are at the door: shall I let them in?" "Let them alone awhile, and then open the door," replies the Prince, and flinging himself into a chair he and Poins resume their conversation, the Prince entertaining the latter with a description of Hotspur, the hard-working soldier: "I am not yet of Percy's mind, the Hotspur of the north; he that kills me some six or seven dozen of Scots at a breakfast, washes his hands, and says to his wife 'Fie upon this quiet life! I want work,'" but "I prithee, call in Falstaff," and the fat knight, accompanied by Gadshill, Bardolph and Peto enter, followed by Francis carrying wine. "Welcome, Jack": says Poins, "where hast thou been?" "A plague of all cowards, I say, and a vengeance too! marry, and amen! Give me a cup of sack, boy." . . . "You rogue, here's lime in this sack, too: there is nothing but roguery to be found in villanous man": replies Falstaff, adding in a sentimental manner that "there lives not three good men unhanged in England; and one of them is fat, and grows old": Falstaff cannot overlook his supposed desertion by the Prince and Poins, and threatens to drive the Prince "out of his kingdom with a dagger of lath, and drive all his subjects afore him like a flock of wild-geese," and goes on to say that "four of us here have ta'en a thousand pound this day morning," and being asked where it is, replies that it was taken from them by a hundred men. "What, a hundred, man?" cries the Prince in astonishment, and Falstaff goes on to describe in a boastful manner how valiantly he fought with a dozen rogues for two hours: "I am a rogue, if I were not at half-sword with a dozen of them two hours together. I have 'scaped by miracle. I am eight times thrust through the doublet, four through the hose; my buckler cut through and through; my sword hacked like a hand-saw—ecce signum! I never dealt better since I was a man: all would not do. A plague of all cowards." The Prince appeals to the others to relate their story and all proceed to tell a boastful concocted tale. "We four set upon some dozen—" says Gadshill, "Sixteen at least, my lord," ejaculates Falstaff. "And bound them," adds Gadshill. "No, no, they were not bound," replies Peto, to which Falstaff adds "You rogue, they were bound,

every man of them; or I am a Jew else, an Ebrew Jew." "As we were sharing," continues Gadshill, "some six or seven fresh men set upon us—" to which Falstaff adds "And unbound the rest, and then come in the other." "What, fought you with them all?" exclaims the Prince in astonishment, and Falstaff improving upon his story says that if he did not fight with fifty he is a bunch of radish, and in the next breath says that if there were "not fifty-two or three then he is no two-legged creature," adding "I have peppered two of them; two I am sure I have paid, two rogues in buckram suits. I tell thee what, Hal, if I tell thee a lie, spit in my face, call me horse. Thou knowest my old ward; here I lay, and thus I bore my point. Four rogues in buckram let drive at me—" "What, four? thou saidst but two even now," enjoins the Prince. "Four, Hal; I told thee four. These four came all afront, and mainly thrust at me. I made me no more ado but took all their seven points in my target, thus," "Seven? why, there were but four even now," ejaculates the Prince, to which Falstaff replies "Seven, by these hilts, or I am a villain else." "Prithee, Let him alone; we shall have more anon," and Falstaff goes on to enlarge the number to nine and eventually to eleven, who were followed by three knaves dressed in Kendal green who let drive at him for owing to the darkness he was unable to see his own hand. "These lies are like their father that begets them; gross as a mountain, open, palpable," replies the Prince for "how couldst thou know these men in Kendal green, when it was so dark thou couldst not see thy hand?" and asks for an explanation. No explanation is forthcoming, and the Prince demands that his story be heard, and proceeds to give an account of what really happened, that only himself and Poins had taken part in it, to which Falstaff replies that he knew it was the Prince, and only ran away because he did not want to kill the heir-apparent and so became "a coward by instinct." At this point the Hostess enters and announces "there is a nobleman of the court at door would speak with you: he says he comes from your father," and the Prince, who does not wish to be disturbed, tells the hostess to "give him a 'tip' and send him back again to his mother." Falstaff volunteers to deliver the message, and leaves the room with the words "I'll send him packing." During Falstaff's absence, Bardolph acknowledges that he ran away when he saw the others run, and Peto relates how Falstaff had hacked his own sword with his dagger, and "persuaded them to do the like," to which Bardolph adds: "Yea, and to tickle their noses with spear-grass to make them bleed," and to "beslubber their garments with the blood," to make believe it was done in the fight. They are chuckling over the story, when Falstaff re-enters, and is greeted by the Prince with: "Here comes lean Jack, here comes bare-bone. How now, my sweet creature of bombast! How long is 't ago, Jack, since thou sawest thine own knee?" in ridicule of Falstaff's stoutness, to which Falstaff replies: "when I was about thy years, Hal, I was not an eagle's talon in the waist; I could have crept into any alderman's thumb-ring: a plague of sighing and grief! it blows a man up like a bladder." But, adds Falstaff, "There's villanous news abroad": the "messenger was Sir John Bracy, sent by your father; you must to the court in the morning," for that "mad fellow of the North, Percy, and Glendower of Wales, that gave Amamon the bastinado, and made Lucifer cuckold, and swore the devil his true liegeman upon the cross of a Welsh hook—, his son-in-law Mortimer, old Northumberland, and the Douglas, that runs o' horseback up a hill perpendicular," and "who afoot will not budge a foot—" "Yes, Jack, upon instinct," ejaculates the Prince. "I grant ye, upon instinct," replies Falstaff, and "he is there too, and one Mordake, and a thousand blue-caps more; Worcester is stolen away to-night; thy father's beard is turned white with the news: you may buy land now as cheap as stinking mackerel," adding: "art thou not horribly afraid?" to which the Prince retorts: "Not a whit, i' faith;

I lack some of thy instinct." Falstaff warns the Prince that his father intends giving him a severe reprimand, and implores him to prepare his answers, volunteering to represent the king: "Well, thou wilt be horribly chid to-morrow when thou comest to thy father: if thou love me, practice an answer." Although the news brought by the king's messenger of the rising in the North is very serious, the Prince cannot resist the temptation of setting Falstaff in a chair as monarch, and a burlesque scene is enacted, in which Falstaff, after drinking a cup of sack, chastises the Prince for leading such a dissipated life, finally warning him against all his inordinate companions, except one, "a virtuous man, . . . but I know not his name, . . . A goodly portly man, i' faith, and a corpulent; of cheerful look, a pleasing eye, and a most noble carriage; and, as I think, his age some fifty, or, by 'r lady, including to three score; and now I remember me, his name is Falstaff." They then change places and the Prince gives Falstaff a sound rating, calling him "That villanous abominable misleader of youth, Falstaff, that old white-bearded Satan," and Falstaff advises the Prince to "banish Peto, banish Bardolph, banish Poins," but "banish not old Jack Falstaff from thy Harry's company: banish plump Jack, and banish all the world." As the fun is at its height, a knock is heard at the door, and the Hostess, in an agitated manner enters, exclaiming: "O Jesu, my lord, my lord!—"Heigh, heigh! the devil rides upon a fiddlestick: what 's the matter?" asks the Prince, to which she replies: "The sheriff and all the watch are at the door: they are come to search the house." Falstaff is thrust behind the arras to evade the sheriff, who enters accompanied by the robbed carrier: "Now, master sheriff, what is your will with me?" asks the Prince, to which the sheriff replies: "A hue and cry Hath follow'd certain men unto this house. One of them is well known, my gracious lord, A gross fat man," to which the carrier adds: "As fat as butter." The Prince, knowing to whom the sheriff refers, answers that the man they seek is not there, adding that he himself will be responsible for his appearance on the morrow, and when the sheriff remarks: "There are two gentlemen Have in this robbery lost three hundred marks," the Prince again assures him that he will hold himself responsible, and bidding the Prince "Good night, my noble lord," the sheriff leaves the room. The sheriff gone, the Prince remarks: "This oily rascal is known as well as Paul's. Go, call him forth," and the arras being pulled aside, Falstaff is discovered asleep and snoring loudly: "Falstaff!—Fast asleep beside the arras, and snorting like a horse." "Search his pockets," whispers the Prince, and on doing so, no money, only papers are found, among which is a tavern-bill for a large quantity of drink, and only for one half-penny worth of bread:

Item, A capon,	2	2
Item, Sauce,	0	4
Item, Sack, two gallons,	5	8
Item, Anchovies and sack after supper,	2	6
Item, Bread,		ob.

Describing the thing as "monstrous" the Prince declares he will to the wars, and procure "this fat rogue a charge of foot," and adding that the money which was stolen shall be paid back with interest, bids Peto "good morrow" and departs.

The third Act opens at the Archdeacon's house at Bangor, where we find Hotspur, Worcester, Mortimer and Glendower—who have formed an alliance against the king—in secret conclave, the primary object of the meeting being the division of the kingdom

into three parts after they have met and defeated the king. So far everything has been a success :

Mort. These promises are fair, the parties sure,
And our induction full of prosperous hope.

Addressing Mortimer, Glendower and Worcester, Hotspur bids them to be seated, adding : " a plague upon it ! I have forgot the map." " No, here it is," observes Glendower, " Sit, cousin Percy ; sit, good cousin Hotspur, For by that name as oft as Lancaster Doth speak of you, his cheek looks pale, and with A rising sigh he wisheth you in heaven." " And you in hell, as oft as he hears Owen Glendower spoke of," replies Hotspur. " I cannot blame him," retorts Glendower, for " at my nativity The front of heaven was full of fiery shapes, Of burning cressets ; and at my birth The frame and huge foundation of the earth Shaked like a coward," but Hotspur contemptuously declares it would have been the same " if his mother's cat had but kittened, though himself had never been born." " I say," repeats Glendower excitedly, " the earth did shake when I was born." " Then the earth was not of my mind if it shook for fear of you," responds Hotspur. " The heavens were all on fire, the earth did tremble," puts in Glendower, to which Hotspur retorts that the " earth shook to see the heavens on fire and not in fear of his nativity," adding that " diseased nature oftentimes breaks forth in strange eruptions." Glendower remarks that he does not allow many men to address him in that fashion : " Cousin, of many men I do not bear these crossings," and again repeats the miraculous happenings at his birth, for " all the courses of his life did show that he was not in the roll of common men," claiming further that he can call up spirits from the mystic deep. " So can I, or so can any man ; But will they come when you do call for them ? " jeers Hotspur. Telling Hotspur that he can teach him how to " command the devil," to which Hotspur replies that he can " teach Glendower how to shame the devil by speaking the truth," the argument, which threatens to develop into a quarrel is cut short by Mortimer remarking :

Come, come, no more of this unprofitable chat.

Glendower reminds Hotspur that Bolingbroke has thrice advanced a power against him, and thrice he has sent him " Bootless home and weather-beaten back." " Home without boots, and in foul weather too ! " retorts Hotspur, how, in the " devil's name, does he 'scape the ague ? " and Glendower, seeing Hotspur's obstinacy picks up a map of England, and invites the latter to " divide our right According to our threefold order ta'en." But Mortimer reminds them that the Archdeacon of Bangor has already divided the realm into " three limits very equally." To the Mortimers, as successors to the crown, the whole of England south of the river Trent, and east of the river Severn :

England, from Trent and Severn hitherto,
By south and east is to my part assign'd :

Glendower is to have his native Wales :

All westward, Wales beyond the Severn shore,
And all the fertile land within that bound,
To Owen Glendower :

and to the Percys is assigned all the territory north of the river Trent to the Scottish border :

and, dear coz, to you
The remnant northward, lying off from Trent.

adding, that the " indentures tripartite are drawn " and that on the morrow all their

forces—with the exception of Glendower's, who is not yet ready, and whose help they will not need for at least a fortnight—will proceed towards Shrewsbury and unite with Northumberland and the Scottish power. As they are about to part, Hotspur, who is in a disagreeable mood, asserts that he has been allotted the smallest of the three divisions of the kingdom :

> Methinks my moiety, north of Burton here,
> In quantity equals not one of yours :

for the river, owing to its winding, cuts off a large slice of the more fertile land :

> See how this river comes me cranking in,
> And cuts me from the best of all my land
> A huge half-moon, a monstrous cantle out,

and declares that he will have the river diverted so as to run straight : " I 'll have the current in this place damn'd up : And here the smug and silver Trent shall run In a new channel, fair and evenly ; It shall not wind with such a deep indent, To rob me of so rich a bottom here." " Not wind ? " replies Glendower, " it shall, it must ; you see it doth." Mortimer shows another bend of the river which equalises what the first bend takes from Hotspur, while Worcester on the other hand remarks that but a little cost will cut the channel straight and meet Hotspur's claim. Glendower will not however hear of the river being diverted. " Who shall say me nay ? " demands Hotspur. " Why, that will I," retorts Glendower. " Let me not understand you, then ; speak it in Welsh, replies Hotspur in an excited manner, and Glendower tells Hotspur he can speak English as well as he can, having been " train'd up in the English court ; Where, being but young, he framed to the harp Many an English ditty lovely well, And gave the tongue a helpful ornament, A virtue that was never seen in him." " Marry, I am glad of it with all my heart," retorts Hotspur, adding that he would " rather be a kitten and cry mew Than one of these same metre ballad-mongers," for there was nothing in the world as set his teeth on edge as mincing poetry. Seeing Hotspur intractable, Glendower, in the interests of peace, yields to Hotspur's demands : " Come, you shall have Trent turn'd," to which Hotspur replies that he does not care, for he is willing to give thrice as much land to any well-deserving friend, but in the way of bargaining he is prepared to dispute to the " ninth part of a hair," adding : " Are the indentures drawn ? shall we be gone ? " and Glendower replies : " The moon shines fair ; you may away by night " : and promising to hurry up the scrivener who is drawing up the indentures, and to inform their wives that they are departing, forthwith leaves the room. Glendower having gone, Mortimer remonstrates with Hotspur for " crossing his father " but the latter replies he cannot help it, for " he is tedious As a tired horse, a railing wife : Worse than a smoky house : I had rather live With cheese and garlic in a windmill, far, Than feed on cates and have him talk to me In any summer-house in Christendom." " But," replies Mortimer," he is a worthy gentleman, Exceedingly well read, and profited In strange concealments ; valiant as a lion, And wondrous affable, and as bountiful As mines of India," and one who " holds your temper in a high respect," and here the discussion is cut short by the entrance of their wives escorted by Glendower. Strangely enough Mortimer cannot speak Welsh, and his wife—Glendower's daughter—cannot speak English :

> This is a deadly spite that angers me ;
> My wife can speak no English, I no Welsh,

so Glendower is called upon to act as interpreter. After a little amorous dallying

between Mortimer and his wife, she invites her husband to lie down on the grass and put his head upon her lap while she sings him to sleep :

Glen. She bids you on the wanton rushes lay you down
And rest your gentle head upon her lap,
And she will sing the song that pleaseth you,
And on your eyelids crown the god of sleep,

to which Mortimer replies : " With all my heart I 'll sit and hear her sing." Their attitude proves highly amusing to Hotspur, who invites his wife to do likewise :

Come, Kate, thou art perfect in laying down : come,
quick, quick, that I may lay my head in thy lap,

to which Lady Percy replies : " Go, ye giddy goose."

The music plays, and after listening to the lady sing a Welsh song, Hotspur invites his wife to sing also, but Lady Percy refuses. " 'Tis the next way to turn tailor, or be red-breast teacher," rejoins Hotspur, adding that as the " indentures are drawn," he will away within two hours' time, and forthwith takes his departure. Turning to Mortimer, Glendower tells him that he is as slow as " hot Lord Percy is on fire to go," and bidding him " to horse immediately," Mortimer too takes his leave. Cf. *Extract* 5 from Holinshed.

The King's Palace in London supplies the next scene. The King dismisses the lords as he wishes to have a private audience with his son :

Lords, give us leave ; the Prince of Wales and I
Must have some private conference : but be near at hand,
For we shall presently have need of you.

When they are alone, the king, remembering his usurpation of the crown, is inclined to look upon the Prince's remissness as the " hot vengeance and the rod of heaven " to punish him for his past misdeeds :

I know whether God will have it so,
For some displeasing service I have done,
That, in his secret doom, out of my blood
He'll breed revengement and a scourge for me ;
But thou dost in thy passages of life
Make me believe that thou art only mark'd
For the hot vengeance and the rod of heaven,
To punish my mistreadings.

Gravely reproving his son for his " inordinate and low desires " and the " rude society " he frequents, which brings in its train such " mean attempts and barren pleasures " he reminds him of his princely position, and the responsibilities it carries with it :

Tell me else,
Could such inordinate and low desires,
Such poor, such bare, such lewd, such mean attempts,
Such barren pleasures, rude society,
As thou art match'd withal and grafted to,
Accompany the greatness of thy blood,
And hold their level with thy princely heart ?

The Prince, although he refutes many of the charges brought to the king by

"smiling pick-thanks and base newsmongers" humbly accepts his father's reproof, and craves pardon for his remissness :

> So please your majesty, I would I could
> Quit all offences with as clear excuse
> As well as I am doubtless I can purge
> Myself of many I am charged withal :
> . . . . . .
> I may, for some things true, wherein my youth
> Hath faulty wander'd and irregular,
> Find pardon on my true submission.

"God pardon thee!" replies his father, and then tells him his younger brother—Clarence—has taken his place on the Council :

> Thy place in council thou hast rudely lost,
> Which by thy younger brother is supplied,

and begs of him to try to win the good-will of the people, in like manner as he—Henry—did, when he was acclaimed with loud shouts and salutations by the people of London even in the presence of Richard. The Prince promises amends : "I shall hereafter, my thrice gracious lord, Be more myself," and the King then draws his attention to the fact that the positions he (the prince) and Hotspur occupy are similar to those once held by Richard and himself :

> For all the world
> As thou art to this hour was Richard then
> When I from France set foot at Ravenspurgh,
> And even as I was then is Percy now.

The King, greatly moved, proceeds to remind his son that his crown may be disputed by Hotspur who had already gathered around him powerful forces :

> And what say you to this? Percy, Northumberland,
> The Archbishop's grace of York, Douglas, Mortimer,
> Capitulate against us and are up,

adding :

> Thou that art like enough, through vassal fear,
> Base inclination and the start of spleen,
> To fight against me under Percy's pay,
> To dog his heels and curtsy at his frowns,
> To show how much thou art degenerate.

"Do not think so ; you shall not find it so" ; is the Prince's passionate rejoinder, and "God forgive them that so much have sway'd Your majesty's good thoughts away from me!" and being much roused at his father's earnest admonition again promises to redeem his past : "for the time will come, That I shall make this northern youth exchange His glorious deeds for my indignities," and begging his father to overlook his misdeeds, in the "name of God" promises reformation, promising to die a hundred thousand deaths before he will break his vow. Clasping his son's hand the King remarks : "A hundred thousand rebels die in this : Thou shalt have charge and sovereign trust herein." This private audience having concluded satisfactorily, Sir William Blunt enters with the news that Douglas and Percy will be at Shrewsbury on the "eleventh of this month." On receiving these tidings—already five days old—the King gives orders for the Earl of Westmoreland and Lord John of Lancaster to

proceed forthwith to Bridgenorth, promising to meet them with his son—Harry—at that place " some twelve days hence," and the scene closes with the words :

> Our hands are full of business : let's away ;
> Advantage feeds him fat, while men delay.

Cf. *Extract* 6 from Holinshed.

In the concluding scene of this Act we are again at the Boar's-head Tavern in Eastcheap. It opens with Falstaff telling Bardolph that he has grown so thin his skin hangs about him like an old lady's loose gown. Bardolph considers that Falstaff is " so fretful he cannot live long," and Falstaff asks him to make him merry by singing a " bawdy song," to which Bardolph replies that he is so fat he is out of all due proportion. This is not pleasing to Falstaff, who makes uncomplimentary comments on Bardolph's red nose : " Do thou amend thy face, and I 'll amend my life : thou art our admiral, thou bearest the lantern in the poop, but 'tis in the nose of thee ; thou art the Knight of the Burning Lamp." A lively passage of words ensues, which is cut short by the entrance of the hostess, " How now, Dame Partlet the hen ! have you enquired yet who picked my pocket ? " asks Falstaff, but on the hostess telling him she does not keep thieves in her house, Falstaff swears his pocket was picked and tells her to go. " Who, I ? no ; I defy thee : God's light, I was never called so in mine own house before." " Go to, I know you well enough," exclaims Falstaff, to which the hostess replies : " You do not know me, Sir John, I know you," and claims the money he owes her for the garments he wears : " I bought you a dozen of shirts to your back," as well as the money he owes for his board and drink, and the money she has lent him : " You owe money here besides, Sir John, for your diet and by-drinkings, and money lent you, four and twenty pound." Falstaff in reply asks her if she wants to make a " younker " of him, and whether he cannot take his ease in her house without having his pocket picked ? " I have lost a seal-ring of my grandfather's worth forty mark," but the hostess informs him that the Prince declared it was only copper, and of no value. Falstaff then describes the Prince as a " Jack, a sneak-cup," and threatens to " cudgel him like a dog " if he were present, when Prince Hal enters accompanied by Peto, and Falstaff advances towards them playing on his truncheon like a fife. On Falstaff complaining that he was robbed when asleep behind the arras the other night, the Prince insists that he shall give a detailed account of his lost valuables, after which the Prince confesses it was he himself who rifled Falstaff's pockets. Hearing this, Falstaff forgives the hostess : " Hostess, I forgive thee : go, make ready breakfast ; love thy husband, look to thy servants, cherish thy guests : thou shalt find me tractable to any honest reason : thou seest I am pacified still. Nay, prithee, be gone." The Hostess having departed, Falstaff inquiries how the Gadshill robbery has been settled, to which the Prince replies that the money taken from the travellers has been paid back, to which Falstaff observes : " I do not like that paying back ; 'tis a double labour." The Prince then informs Falstaff that he and his father are now reconciled, and that he has obtained for Falstaff " a charge of foot," to which the latter remarks he wishes it had been one " of horse." Handing two latters to Bardolph which he bids him to deliver : " Go bear this letter to Lord John of Lancaster, to my brother John ; this to my Lord of Westmoreland," the Prince calls for his horse : " Go, Peto, to horse, to horse ; for thou and I have thirty miles to ride yet ere dinner time," and after giving Falstaff orders to meet him in the Temple hall on the morrow, where " thou shalt know thy charge," for " The land is burning ; Percy stands on high ;

And either we or they must lower lie," the Prince departs. " Rare words ! brave world ! Hostess, my breakfast, come ! O, I could wish this tavern were my drum ! " is Falstaff's comment, and he too leaves the scene.

The fourth Act opens in the Rebel Camp near Shrewsbury. All is not well. Hotspur, Worcester and Douglas are in conversation when a messenger enters with a letter from Northumberland, intimating that he is sick and cannot join his son :

> What letters hast thou there ?—I can but thank you.
> *Mess.* These letters come from your father.
> *Hot.* Letters from him ! why comes he not himself ?
> *Mess.* He cannot come, my lord ; he is grievous sick.

This news is very depressing, Hotspur enquiring " how has he the leisure to be sick In such a justling time ? " Worcester describes it as a " main to them," while Hotspur considers it " A perilous gash, a very limb lopp'd off." This news is followed by the entry of Sir Richard Vernon with tidings that the Earl of Westmoreland and Prince John are actually approaching with an armed force, to be followed by more troops under the command of the King :

> *Ver.* Pray God my news be worth a welcome, lord.
> The Earl of Westmoreland, seven thousand strong,
> Is marching hitherwards ; with him Prince John.
> *Hot.* No harm : what more ?
> *Ver.* And further, I have learn'd,
> The king himself in person is set forth,
> Or hitherwards intended speedily,
> With strong and mighty preparation.

Hotspur next inquires where the Prince of Wales is : " Where is his son, The nimble-footed madcap Prince of Wales, And his comrades, that daff'd the world aside, And bid it pass ? " only to be told by Vernon—who had passed the royal army on his way to Shrewsbury—that the Prince was marching forward clad in all the trappings of war :

> I saw young Harry, with his beaver on,
> His cuisses on his thighs, gallantly arm'd,
> Rise from the ground like feather'd Mercury,
> And vaulted with such ease into his seat,
> As if an angel dropp'd down from the clouds,
> To turn and wind a fiery Pergasus,
> And witch the world with noble horsemanship.

" No more, no more " : interposes Hotspur who considers Vernon's praises of the Prince are " worse than the sun in March," which gives one the " ague," but " Let them come " ; he excitedly exclaims, for I will sacrifice all to the god of war, mentioning the Prince in particular, with whom he is anxious to fight : " They come like sacrifices in their trim, And to the fire-eyed maid of smoky war All hot and bleeding will we offer them : The mailed Mars shall on his altar sit Up to the ears in blood. I am on fire To hear this rich reprisal is so nigh And yet not ours. Come, let me taste my horse, Who is to bear me like a thunderbolt Against the bosom of the Prince of Wales : Harry to Harry shall, hot horse to horse, Meet and ne'er part till one drop down a corse." These fiery words are ended by the remark : " O that Glendower were come ! " but Vernon tells him that the Welshmen cannot join them for at least a fortnight. Douglas declares these are the worst tidings they have yet heard, to which Worcester adds " that it bears a frosty sound." Hotspur next inquires " What

may the king's whole battle reach unto ? " and being told " thirty thousand," Hotspur, who is mad for battle, replies :

> Forty let it be :
> My father and Glendower being both away,
> The powers of us may serve so great a day.
> Come, let us take a muster speedily :
> Doomsday is near ; die all, die merrily.

but Douglas tells him to " Talk not of dying " ; for he himself has lost all fear of death. Cf. *Extracts* 7 and 8 from Holinshed.

The next scene is a public road near Coventry. Falstaff orders Bardolph to press on before him and get him a bottle of sack : " Bardolph, get thee before to Coventry ; fill me a bottle of sack : " while he trudges forward with his men consisting of rogues and vagabonds, and " ne'er-do-wells " whom he has pressed into the king's service. He has sadly misused the king's licence having made huge sums of money by letting off those who could afford to pay in lieu of service : " I have misused the king's press damnably. I have got, in exchange of a hundred and fifty soldiers, three hundred and odd pounds," in consequence of which his army consists of " slaves as ragged as Lazarus in the painted cloth, where the glutton's dogs licked his sores ; . . . cankers of a calm world and a long peace, ten times more dishonourable ragged than an old-faced ancient : and such have I, to fill up the rooms of them that have bought out their services, that you would think I had a hundred and fifty tottered prodigals lately come from swine-keeping, from eating draff and husks," and so ashamed is he of them that he will not march them through the streets of Coventry : " I'll not march through Coventry with them, that's flat " : for " There's not a shirt and a half in all my company ; . . . but that's all one ; " they'll find linen enough on every hedge." He is overtaken by the Prince and Westmoreland, the former greeting him as " blown Jack." Both leaders are highly amused at Falstaff's ragged men, the Prince remarking : " Jack, whose fellows are these that come after ? I did never see such pitiful rascals." " Tut, tut " ; replies Falstaff, " good enough to toss ; food for powder, food for powder ; they'll fill a pit as well as better : tush, man, mortal men, mortal men."

The scene concludes with the Prince telling Falstaff to " make haste " as " Percy is already in the field," and Falstaff remarks that it is better for a dull fighter with a keen appetite to reach the battle-field when the fighting is nearly over, and the feast is about to begin :

> Well,
> To the latter end of the fray and the beginning of a
> feast
> Fits a dull fighter and a keen guest.

We return to the Rebel Camp near Shrewsbury in the next scene. It opens with Hotspur discussing with the other leaders the prospect of engaging the king's forces. There is a difference of opinion in this respect. Hotspur is in favour of fighting the same day : " We'll fight with him to-night," in which he is supported by Douglas. Worcester and Vernon, however, counsel delay until they are reinforced, and are charged by Douglas with being afraid. Vernon indignantly denies that he is afraid, and expresses astonishment that " men of such great leading as they are, That they foresee not what impediments Drag back our expedition " : and urges upon them not to fight until their forces have been augmented, as the troops under the king

greatly exceed their army in number. At this juncture a trumpet sounds a parley, and Sir Walter Blunt enters :

> I come with gracious offers from the king,
> If you vouchsafe me hearing and respect.

Hotspur bids him welcome. Blunt then announces that the king has sent him to inquire why they take up arms against the crown, and bids them to " name their griefs " which will be remedied, and " pardon absolute " if they will only return to their allegiance :

> The king hath sent to know
> The nature of your griefs, and whereupon
> You conjure from the breast of civil peace
> Such bold hostility, teaching his duteous land
> Audacious cruelty. If that the king
> Have any way your good deserts forgot,
> Which he confesseth to be manifold,
> He bids you name your griefs ; and with all speed
> You shall have your desires with interest,
> And pardon absolute for yourself and these
> Herein misled by your suggestion,

" The king is kind," observes Hotspur, " and well we know the king Knows at what time to promise, when to pay," and then informs Blunt that the king owes his crown to the house of Percy : " My father and my uncle and myself Did give him that same royalty he wears " ; and that when he landed " Upon the naked shore at Ravenspurgh " he came only to claim his rightful inheritance : " And when he heard him swear and vow to God He came but to be Duke of Lancaster, To sue his livery and beg his peace, With tears of innocency and terms of zeal, My father, in kind heart and pity moved, Swore him assistance and perform'd it too." " Tut," answers Blunt, " I came not to hear this." " Then to the point," excitedly exclaims Hotspur and goes on to say that Henry, after deposing Richard, deprived him of his life, and further, by refusing to ransom Mortimer had forced them to take up arms. But when Blunt asks " Shall I return this answer to the king ? " Hotspur promises to consider the king's offer and to send an answer by his uncle on the morrow :

> *Hot.* Not so, Sir Walter : we 'll withdraw a while.
> Go to the king ; and let there be impawn'd
> Some surety for a safe return again,
> And in the morning early shall mine uncle
> Bring him our purposes : and so farewell.
> *Blunt.* I would you would accept of grace and love.
> *Hot.* And may be so we shall.
> *Blunt.* Pray God you do.

Cf. *Extract* 9 from Holinshed.

The last scene of this Act shows us the Archbishop's palace at York. The archbishop is sceptical as to the success of the enterprise, and writes letters which are to be used to raise reinforcements to assist the conspirators. Handing them to his friend,—Sir Michael—he charges him to deliver them without delay :

> Hie, good Sir Michael ; bear this sealed brief
> With winged haste to the lord marshal ;
> This to my cousin Scroop, and all the rest
> To whom they are directed. If you knew
> How much they do import, you would make haste,

and when Sir Michael hints that he can " guess their tenour," the archbishop replies :

" Like enough you do," and orders him to hasten to Shrewsbury, for owing to Northumberland being ill, and Glendower having failed to redeem his promise, the forces at Hotspur's command are too weak to " wage an instant trial with the king." But Sir Michael tells the archbishop that he " need not fear ; There is Douglas and Lord Mortimer," " No, Mortimer is not there," interposes the archbishop. " But there is Mordake, Vernon, Lord Harry Percy, And there is my Lord of Worcester and a head Of gallant warriors, noble gentlemen," adds Sir Michael. " And so there is," rejoins the archbishop, but as the " king hath drawn The special head of all the land together," the royal forces greatly outnumber Hotspur's army. He therefore bids him proceed with haste because if Hotspur is defeated, the king, who has heard that they are implicated in the rebellion, will march with his army to York :

> And, to prevent the worst, Sir Michael, speed :
> For if Lord Percy thrive not, ere the king
> Dismiss his power, he means to visit us,
> For he hath heard of our confederacy,
> And 'tis but wisdom to make strong against him :
> Therefore make haste. I must go write again
> To other friends ; and so farewell, Sir Michael.

The King's Camp near Shrewsbury provides the opening scene of the fifth Act. It opens with the king remarking : " How bloodily the sun begins to peer Above yon busky hill ! the day looks pale At his distemperature," to which the Prince adds that the " southern wind Doth play the trumpet to his purposes, And by his hollow whistling in the leaves Foretells a tempest and a blustering day." A trumpet sounds, and Worcester and Vernon, bringing Hotspur's answer, ride into the royal camp. Henry greets them in a haughty manner, and reproaches Worcester for his unfaithfulness : " How now, my Lord of Worcester ! 'tis not well That you and I should meet upon such terms As now we meet. You have deceived our trust, And made us doff our easy robes of peace, To crush our old limbs in ungentle steel : This is not well, my lord, this is not well. What say you to it ? " Worcester replies that his opposition to the king is not of his own seeking. " You have not sought the day of this dislike ! how comes it, then ? " to which Falstaff enjoins : " Rebellion lay in his way, and he found it." " Peace, chewet, peace ! " demands the Prince, and Worcester goes on to remind Henry of the services the house of Percy have rendered him ; of the oath he swore at Doncaster that he had returned to England to claim nothing more than the title and inheritance of the Dukedom of Lancaster ; and of his promises unfulfilled, adding that since his accession he has by his " dangerous countenance " violated all " faith and troth " :

> It pleased your majesty to turn your looks
> Of favour from myself and all our house ;
> And yet I must remember you, my lord,
> We were the first and dearest of your friends.
> For you my staff of office did I break
> In Richard's time ; and posted day and night
> To meet you on the way, and kiss your hand,
> . . . . . .
> Forgot your oath to us at Doncaster ;
> And being fed by us you used us so
> As that ungentle gull, the cuckoo's bird,
> Useth the sparrow ;
> . . . . . .
> Whereby we stand opposed by such means
> As you yourself have forged against yourself,
> By unkind usage, dangerous countenance,
> And violation of all faith and troth
> Sworn to us in your younger enterprise.

To this Henry rejoins that the grievances which they have " set forth in the articles " and which they have " Proclaim'd at market crosses, read in churches," are only a cloak to cover their rebellion :

> These things indeed you have articulate,
> Proclaim'd at market crosses, read in churches,
> To face the garment of rebellion
> With some fine colour that may please the eye
> Of fickle changelings and poor discontents,
> Which gape and rub the elbow at the news
> Of hurlyburly innovation :
> And never yet did insurrection want
> Such water-colours to impaint his cause ;
> Nor moody beggars, starving for a time
> Of pellmell havoc and confusion.

The Prince, standing beside his father enjoins that in the king's, as well as in the rebels' armies, many a " soul will pay dearly for this encounter, If once they join in trial," and challenges Hotspur—whom he compliments on his chivalry—to meet him in a single combat and thus decide the quarrel, to avoid unnecessary bloodshed :

> Tell your nephew,
> The Prince of Wales doth join with all the world
> In praise of Henry Percy :
> . . . . . .
> Yet this before my father's majesty—
> I am content that he shall take the odds
> Of his great name and estimation,
> And will, to save the blood on either side,
> Try fortune with him in a single fight.

The king, having commented on the brave words of the Prince, reiterates his offer of unconditional pardon :

> Both he and they and you, yea, every man
> Shall be my friend again and I'll be his :
> So tell your cousin, and bring me word
> What he will do : but if he will not yield,
> Rebuke and dread correction wait on us
> And they shall do their office. So, be gone ;
> We will not now be troubled with reply :
> We offer fair ; take it advisedly.

and Worcester and Vernon depart. After they have gone, the Prince turning to his father, remarks that the offer will not be accepted, as Hotspur and Douglas are too confident of their success : " It will not be accepted, on my life : The Douglas and the Hotspur both together Are confident against the world in arms," and the king forthwith gives orders for " every leader to his charge," to be in readiness to attack the rebels if they do not submit. The king having gone, the Prince and Falstaff indulge in a few witticisms, and the Prince takes his departure, after reminding Falstaff that he " owes God a death." Left alone, Falstaff soliloquises on the word " honour," describing it as a " mere word," and a " trim reckoning," but as he is " loath to die before his time " : " 'Tis not due yet ; I would be loath to pay God before his day," he will have " none of it. Honour is a mere scutcheon : and so ends my catechism." Cf *Extract* 10 from Holinshed.

We return to the Rebel Camp in the second scene. Addressing Vernon, Worcester tells him that Hotspur must not be told of Henry's unconditional offer of pardon : " O, no, my nephew must not know, Sir Richard, The liberal and kind offer

of the king." Vernon considers it is better he did know, but Worcester retorts: "Then are we all undone," as the king is not to be trusted, adding that Hotspur may be forgiven on account of his youth and passionate temperament, while on the other hand they would always be under suspicion:

> My nephew's trespass may be well forgot;
> It hath the excuse of youth and heat of blood,
> . . . . . .
> All his offences live upon my head
> And on his father's; we did train him on,
> And, his corruption being ta'en from us,
> We, as the spring of all, shall pay for all.
> Therefore, good cousin, let not Harry know,
> In any case, the offer of the king.

Vernon falls in with this suggestion: "Deliver what you will; I'll say 'tis so." At this point Hotspur and Douglas enter and the former asking "Uncle, what news?" is told by Worcester that the king will "bid you battle presently." In a rage, Douglas, who is anxious to fight, leaves with the intention of dispatching a challenge, and Worcester then informs Hotspur that the king "called them rebels, traitors," and that he intended to "scourge With haughty arms this hateful name in us," which throws Hotspur into such a rage that he has no option but to fight. Douglas re-enters, and announces that he has dispatched his challenge, and calls them to arms: "Arm, gentlemen; to arms! for I have thrown A brave defiance in King Henry's teeth." Worcester next tells Hotspur of the Prince's challenge: "The Prince of Wales stepp'd forth before the king, And, nephew, challenged you to single fight," and Hotspur enquires whether the challenge was issued with contempt: "Tell me, tell me, How show'd his tasking? seem'd it in contempt?" but is assured by Vernon that the "challenge was urged" in a most "modest" fashion: "No, by my soul; I never in my life Did hear a challenge urged more modestly," adding that if the Prince lives he will be a man of whom England will be proud: "but let me tell the world, If he outlive the envy of this day, England did never owe so sweet a hope, So much misconstrued in his wantonness." This is not pleasing to Hotspur, who considers that Vernon is "enamoured with the Prince's follies," but before night he will "embrace him with a soldier's arm, That he shall shrink under my courtesy." A messenger enters with letters, but Hotspur declares he cannot read them now. Another messenger enters with the news that the king's troops are advancing: "My lord, prepare; the king comes on apace." Counselling all to do their best, and uttering his famous war-cry "Esperance! Percy!" Hotspur, amid the blowing of trumpets, leads his men forward to the attack:

> Sound all the lofty trumpets of war,
> And by that music let us all embrace;
> For, heaven to earth, some of us never shall
> A second time do such a courtesy.

Cf. *Extract* 11 from Holinshed.

The third scene, enacted on the Plain between the Camps, is descriptive of the first part of the Battle of Shrewsbury. In order to delude Douglas, who has sworn to fight with none but the king, several knights appear wearing the king's arms on

their surcoats. Two of these, Lord Stafford and Sir Walter Blunt, are attacked and slain by Douglas :

Blunt. What is thy name, that in the battle thus
Thou crossest me ? what honour dost thou seek
Upon my head ?
Doug. Know then, my name is Douglas ;
And I do haunt thee in the battle thus,
Because some tell me that thou art a king.
Blunt. They tell thee true.
Doug. The Lord of Stafford dear to-day hath bought
Thy likeness ; for instead of thee, King Harry,
This sword hath ended him : so shall it thee,
Unless thou yield thee as my prisoner.
Blunt. I was not born a yielder, thou proud Scot ;
And thou shalt find a king that will revenge
Lord Stafford's death. [*They fight. Douglas kills Blunt.*

At this moment Hotspur enters, and tells Douglas that if he had fought as bravely at Holmedon as he has done in this battle, he [Hotspur] would never have defeated him. Douglas replies that the day is won as the king is slain : " All's done, all's won ; here breathless lies the king," but Hotspur tells him it is none other than Sir Walter Blunt : " This Douglas ? no : I know this face full well : A gallant knight he was, his name was Blunt ; Semblably furnish'd like the king himself," and Douglas finding himself deceived, swears he will piece by piece, cut his way through the king's wardrobe and kill " all the kings on the battlefield." Falstaff enters and seeing the body of Blunt mutters to himself : " Though I could 'scape shot-free at London, I fear the shot here ; here's no scoring but upon the pate. Soft ! who are you ? Sir Walter Blunt ; there's honour for you ! here's no vanity ! I am as hot as molten lead, and as heavy too : God keep lead out of me ! I need no more weight than mine own bowels." Falstaff has lost the greater part of his force in the fight : " I have led my ragamuffins where they are peppered : there's not three of my hundred and fifty left alive." Being hot and tired he is leaning on his sword, when the Prince dashes up. The Prince has lost his sword in the fight, and asks Falstaff for the loan of his : " What, stand'st thou idle here ? lend me thy sword : Many a nobleman lies stark and stiff." Falstaff begins to boast of the brave deeds he has done, having killed Hotspur : " O Hal, I prithee, give me leave to breathe a while. Turk Gregory never did such deeds in arms as I have done this day. I have paid Percy, I have made him sure," but when the Prince tells him that Percy is still alive, Falstaff refuses to lend the Prince his sword but offers his pistol instead : " Nay, before God, Hal, if Percy be alive, thou get'st not my sword ; but take my pistol, if thou wilt." " Is it in the case ? " asks the prince, to which Falstaff replies : " Ay, Hal ; 'tis hot, 'tis hot ; there's that will sack a city," and putting his hand in Falstaff's pistol-case the prince draws out a bottle of sack, and remarking : " What, is it a time to jest and dally now ? " throws the bottle at Falstaff and hastens away, while Falstaff vows if he meets Percy he will kill him " if he do come in my way, so : if he do not, if I come in his willingly, let him make a carbonado of me," for I like not such " grinning honour " as Blunt hath, " give me life : which if I can save, so " ; but if I cannot save my life, I must inevitably accept the " honour which comes unlooked for," and that's an end to it all. Cf. *Extract* 12 from Holinshed.

The fourth scene, which shows the second part of the battle, is enacted on another part of the battlefield. The prince, who has been wounded in the fight and is bleeding

freely, is implored by the king to retire and have his wounds dressed, and bids Lord John of Lancaster to go with the prince, but Lancaster refuses unless he "bleeds too." The prince, however, not only refuses to retire but insists on returning to the fight, and warmly eulogises his younger brother—who leaves with Westmoreland—for his gallantry. As the prince leaves, Douglas enters, and seeing the king, who is clad in royal armour, calls him "counterfeit":

> Another king! they grow like Hydra's heads:
> I am the Douglas, fatal to all those
> That wear those colours on them: what art thou,
> That counterfeit'st the person of a king?

"The king himself; who, Douglas, grieves at heart So many of his shadows thou hast met And not the very king," replies Henry, and my "two boys Seek Percy and thyself about the field": adding, that even alone he is prepared to defend himself. "I fear thou art another counterfeit; And yet, in faith, thou bear'st thee like a king: But mine I am sure thou art, whoe'er thou be, And thus I win thee," declares Douglas, and sets on Henry who is in danger of being slain when the prince dashes up and engaging Douglas, puts him to flight:

> Hold up thy head, vile Scot, or thou art like
> Never to hold it up again! the spirits
> Of valiant Shirley, Stafford, Blunt, are in my arms:
> It is the Prince of Wales that threatens thee;
> Who never promiseth but he means to pay.
>
> [*They fight. Douglas flies.*

The Prince then informs the king that both Sir Nicholas Gawsey and Sir John Clifton call for assistance, and the king implores the prince to "Stay, and breathe a while": but he refuses to do so, and both forthwith hasten away. Hotspur rides in, and addressing the prince, says: "If I mistake not, thou art Harry Monmouth," "Thou speak'st as if I would deny my name," answers the prince, and adding "Two stars keep not their motion in one sphere; Nor can one England brook a double reign, Of Harry Percy and the Prince of Wales"; they fight, for in the words of Hotspur the "hour is come To end the one of us." During the encounter Falstaff appears who urges on the prince: "Well said, Hal! to it, Hal! Nay, you shall find no boy's play here, I can tell you," only to be in his turn challenged by Douglas, who dashes in at this moment. Being no match for the latter Falstaff falls to the ground feigning death, and Douglas dashes away again. Meanwhile, the Prince and Hotspur continue their fight, but fortune is against the latter and he falls to the ground mortally wounded:

> O, Harry, thou hast robb'd me of my youth!
> . . . . . .
> O, I could prophesy,
> But that the earthy and cold hand of death
> Lies on my tongue: no, Percy, thou art dust,
> And food for—
>
> [*Dies.*

"For worms, brave Percy: fare thee well, great heart! . . . this earth that bears thee dead Bears not alive so stout a gentleman . . . Adieu, and take thy praise with thee to heaven! Thy ignominy sleep with thee in the grave, But not remember'd in thy epitaph." A moment later his eye falls on Falstaff who is lying on the ground as one dead: "What, old acquaintance! could not all this flesh Keep in a little life? Poor Jack, farewell!" lie there by Percy until the battle is over and I

will see thee properly embowelled and interned. Immediately the prince has gone, Falstaff comes to life. " Embowell'd ! " he exclaims, " if thou embowel me to-day, I 'll give you leave to powder me and eat me too to-morrow," adding that " The better part of valour is discretion ; in the which better part I have saved my life." Rising to his feet he perceives the body of Hotspur and wishing to take the credit for having killed him, runs his sword through the thigh of the dead man. Hoisting the body on his shoulders he is on the point of bearing it away, when the Prince and his brother appear. " Did you not tell me this fat man was dead ? " asks Lancaster, " I did " ; replies the Prince, " I saw him dead." Throwing the body of Hotspur on the ground, Falstaff declares that he looks forward to some signal honour for killing such a gallant foe as Percy : " There is Percy : if your father will do me any honour, so ; if not, let him kill the next Percy himself. I look to be either earl or duke, I can assure you." " Why," exclaims the Prince, " Percy I killed myself, and saw thee dead." " Didst thou ? " replies Falstaff. " Lord, Lord, how this world is given to lying ! I grant you I was down and out of breath ; and so was he : but we rose both at an instant, and fought a long hour by Shrewsbury clock," where I gave him his death wound. " If I may be believed, so ; if not, let him that should reward valour bear the sin upon their own heads. I 'll take it upon my death, I gave him this wound in the thigh : if the man were alive, and would deny it, 'zounds, I would make him eat a piece of my sword." Lancaster declares " This is the strangest tale that ever he heard," and " This is the strangest fellow, brother John," replies the Prince, who, accustomed to Falstaff's disregard of the truth, declares that " if a lie may do him grace, he will gild it with the happiest terms he has." Immediately a retreat is sounded, and turning to his brother, the Prince remarks : " The trumpet sounds retreat ; the day is ours. Come, brother, let us to the highest of the field, To see what friends are living, who are dead," Falstaff declaring he will follow them to obtain his reward, for :

> He that rewards me, God reward him ! If I do grow great, I'll grow less ; for I'll purge, and leave sack, and live cleanly as a nobleman should do.

Cf. *Extract* 13 from Holinshed.

The final scene of the Play shows us another part of the battlefield. The king's troops have gained the victory, and Worcester and Vernon have been taken prisoners. Turning to Worcester, whom he describes as " ill-spirited " the king reminds him of the " pardon and terms of love " he had offered to all of them, and reproaches him for betraying the trust reposed in him by his kinsman—Hotspur—for had he " like a Christian truly borne Betwixt the two armies true intelligence," many a gallant soldier now dead would have " been alive this hour." Worcester replies he adopted what he considered the best course : " What I have done my safety urged me to ; And I embrace this fortune patiently, Since not to be avoided it falls on me." Henry orders him and Vernon to be beheaded : " Bear Worcester to the death, and Vernon too " : adding " Other offenders we will pause upon." The prince reports that Douglas, seeing the battle going against him had fled and falling down a precipice had been taken prisoner : " The noble Scot, Lord Douglas, when he saw The fortune of the day quite turn'd from him, The noble Percy slain, and all his men Upon the foot of fear, fled with the rest ; And falling down a hill, he was so bruised That the pursuers took him," and asks for permission to dispose of him as he thinks fit : " At my tent the Douglas is ; and I beseech your grace I may dispose of him." This being

granted, the prince pardons Douglas, and for his bravery in the field, bids his younger brother to set him free without ransom : " Then, brother John of Lancaster, to you This honourable bounty shall belong : Go to the Douglas, and deliver him Up to his pleasure, ransomless and free : His valour shown upon our crests to-day Hath taught us how to cherish such high deeds Even in the bosom of our adversaries." This is pleasing to Prince John, who considers it as an " high courtesy," and the play ends with the king announcing that Prince John and Westmoreland shall forthwith proceed northwards and attack Northumberland and the Archbishop of York for having taken part in the rebellion :

> You, son John, and my cousin Westmoreland
> Towards York shall bend you with your dearest speed,
> To meet Northumberland and the prelate Scroop,
> Who, as we hear, are busily in arms :

while he and the Prince of Wales will march westward against Glendower and the Earl of March, for

> Rebellion in this land shall lose his sway,
> Meeting the check of such another day :
> And since this business so fair is done,
> Let us not leave till all our own be won.

Cf *Extract* 14 from Holinshed.

Scene : England : Wales.

CHARACTERS, PLACE-NAMES, ETC.

Adam. III. iii. 166.

> Dost thou hear, Hal? thou knowest in the state of innocency Adam fell; and what should poor Jack Falstaff do in the days of villany? [III. iii. 165–167.]

All-hallown. I. ii. 157.

= Hallowmass, or All Saints' Day which is the first of November.

Amamon. II. iv. 336.

In demonology one of the four kings of hell. According to Scot in his *Discovery of Witchcraft* Amamon was a spirit who might be bound at certain hours of the day and night. He was a fit subject, therefore, for Glendower to exercise his magic upon.

Angus. I. i. 73.

George Douglas, the only son of William first Earl of Douglas. His mother, Margaret Stewart, was Countess of Angus in her own right. Taken prisoner at the battle of Holmedon.

Archibald, Earl of Douglas. I. i. 53, 67, 72; I. iii. 296; II. iii. 27; II. iv. 343, 368; III. ii. 107, 114, 119, 165; IV. i. p.1, 3; IV. iii. p.1, 8; IV. iv. 22; V. i. 116; V. ii. p.28, 33, p.42; V. iii. p.1, 3, 14, 19; V. iv. p.25, 27, 29, 54, 77; V. v. 17, 23, 27.

His character is somewhat on a par with that of Hotspur, for he possesses the same arrogant bearing, and is likewise a brave soldier. Reckless, and always eager for the fight he is in favour of encountering the king's forces as soon as they reach the camp near Shrewsbury.

He does not however possess the poetical qualities of Hotspur, his phraseology being of a commonplace nature.

That he is a great soldier is acknowledged by Henry when he is describing the rebel leaders to Prince Henry:

> whose high deeds,
> Whose hot incursions and great name in arms
> Holds from all soldiers chief majority
> And military title capital
> Through all the kingdoms that acknowledge Christ:
> [III. ii. 107–111.]

but one cannot help noticing that Douglas is fully conscious of "his great name in arms," which makes him arrogant and conceited. He boasts that "he will kill all the king's coats, and murder all his wardrobe piece by piece, Until he meets the king."

He is however no match against the prince when they meet in battle, and is forced to fly.

In the last scene of the play we find that he has been taken prisoner by the king's forces, and the prince is asking his father if he can dispose of him at will. The prince's request is granted, and he bids his brother John of Lancaster:

> Go to the Douglas, and deliver him
> Up to his pleasure, ransomless and free:
> His valour shown upon our crests to-day
> Hath taught us how to cherish such high deeds
> Even in the bosom of our adversaries. [V. v. 27–31.]

[Archibald, Earl of Douglas was the fourth earl of that name, and a nephew of the second earl who was slain at the battle of Otterburn. Defeated and taken prisoner at the battle of Holmedon Hill on September 24th, 1402. He was induced to join the Percy rebellion by a promise that Berwick and a part of Northumberland should be given to him. Taken prisoner at the battle of Shrewsbury, but was not, as Shakespeare says, set free but remained in captivity until 1408. Defeated and slain at Verneuil in 1424, and buried at Tours. He married the Princess Margaret Stewart, eldest daughter of Robert III King of Scots, by whom he had a son and two daughters: the former, Archibald, became fifth Earl of Douglas.]

Attendants.

Aunt Percy. III. i. 196.

= Lady Percy, and sister to Mortimer. Shakespeare confuses the two Mortimers, Lady Percy being aunt to Edmund Earl of March.

Bangor. The Archdeacon's House.

The Scene of Act III., Scene i. Marks the progress of the rebellion, an alliance having been formed between Hotspur, Mortimer and Glendower. They meet at Bangor where they divide the kingdom into three parts over which they are to rule after having defeated the king. With the exception of Glendower—whose forces are not ready—they decide to proceed to Shrewsbury.

Barbary. II. iv. 75.

Little Barbary was a cant name for Wapping. It is here used to mystify the drawer Francis.

Bardolph. I. ii. 161 ; II. ii. 21, p.48, 50 ; II. iv. p.113, 298, 474, p.481 ; III. iii. p.1, 1, 59, 141, 194 ; IV. ii. p.1, 1.

One of Falstaff's friends who takes part in robbing the travellers at Gadshill. His chief characteristic is his " red nose " of which Falstaff makes jest :

> Do thou amend thy face, and I'll amend my life : thou art our admiral, thou bearest the lantern in the poop, but 'tis in the nose of thee ; thou art the Knight of the Burning Lamp. [III. iii. 24–27.]

In Act III., Scene iii., he enters in haste and announces the arrival of the Sheriff :

> O, my lord, my lord ! the sheriff with a most monstrous watch is at the door. [II. iv. 481–482.]

and later is sent by the prince with letters to Prince John of Lancaster and the Earl of Westmoreland.

He acts as steward to Falstaff when the latter is marching with his ' ragged contingent ' on the way to Shrewsbury, and is sent by Falstaff into Coventry to procure a bottle of sack :

> Bardolph, get thee before to Coventry ; fill me a bottle of sack : [IV. ii. 1–2.]

French says : " The poet evidently does not imply that this person's name had any affinity with that of the noble house of Bardolf. It was probably suggested by that of a townsman of Shakespeare's native place, who is known to have been a contemporary. Falstaff says of Bardolph, ' I bought him in Paul's ' ; and in Ben Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour*, the famous swaggerer is called ' Captain Bobadill, a Paul's man,' which is explained in the editor's note ;—' the middle aisle of St. Paul's Cathedral was the common resort of cast captains, sharpers, gulls, and gossips of every description.' "

[Bardolph also appears in the *Second Part of King Henry the Fourth* (q.v.)]

Berkley-castle. I. iii. 249.

In Gloucestershire where the Duke of York (see *The Tragedy of King Richard the Second*) ordered his men to be mustered. Hotspur alludes to it as the place " where the madcap duke his uncle kept."

Boar's-Head Tavern in Eastcheap, The. The Scene of Act II., Scene iv. Act III., Scene iii.

Act II., Scene iv. After robbing Falstaff and his friends, the Prince and Poins proceed to the Boar's Head Tavern in Eastcheap, where they have a little jest with Francis, one of the drawers. Falstaff and his friends arrive later and pour out a highly-coloured and concocted tale of the robbery at Gadshill. A courtier arrives with the news of the Percy rebellion and another comic scene is enacted between the Prince and Falstaff. Here the comic scene links with the main plot. The sheriff with a carrier enters, and Falstaff is thrust behind the arras where he falls asleep, during which time the matter of the robbery is settled, and the scene concludes with a promise from the prince to procure for Falstaff the charge of a company of foot.

Act III., Scene iii. The last of the tavern scenes and the last scene of the underplot. A lively scene takes place between Falstaff and the hostess of the tavern, who charges him with not paying his debts. The Prince enters and informs Falstaff he has procured for him a charge of foot and tells him to meet him on the morrow

at Temple Hall to make the necessary arrangements. The underplot is concluded by the money that was robbed from the pilgrims and traders being repaid.

French says: "The 'Boar's Head Tavern' of Shakespeare's own time, which really did exist in Eastcheap was destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666, and rebuilt two years afterwards, but taken down in 1831; and the sign of the 'Boar's Head,' carved in stone, having the initials of the landlord, or mine host. I. T. and the date 1668, is preserved in the Museum of the Corporation of London, attached to the Library, at Guildhall," while Bell in *The Great Fire of London* in 1666, observes: "Some time in the night the Boar's Head tavern in Eastcheap was consumed—first of many taverns made famous by Elizabethan wits which were lost to London in the Great Fire. Shakespeare and Burbage and Ben Jonson are said to have frequented it on their way over London Bridge to the theatres in Southwark and Bankside, and when returning after the play. Shakespeare has immortalized the house as the scene of the drunken debaucheries of Sir John Falstaff and his noisy dependants, Bardolph and Pistol, when Dame Quickly kept the reckoning, and of Doll Tearsheet's frailties.

Bolingbroke. I. iii. 137.

But I will lift the down-trod Mortimer
As high in the air as this unthankful king,
As this ingrate and canker'd Bolingbroke.
[I. iii. 135–137.]

= Henry the Fourth, surnamed Bolingbroke from the place of his birth. *Canker'd* = corrupted, malignant.

Bolingbroke. I. iii. 176, 229.

To put down Richard, that sweet lovely rose,
And plant this thorn, this canker, Bolingbroke?
[I. iii. 175–176.]

= Henry the Fourth. *Canker:* the canker-rose is the dog-rose, the flower of the Cynosbaton.

Bolingbroke. I. iii. 229.

= Henry the Fourth.

Bolingbroke. I. iii. 241.

Of this vile politician, Bolingbroke. [I. iii. 241.]

= Henry the Fourth. *politician* = used contemptuously; in Elizabethan times the word "politician" was used in a derogatory sense.

Bolingbroke. I. iii. 246.

where I first bow'd my knee
Unto this king of smiles, this Bolingbroke.
[I. iii. 245–246.]

= Henry the Fourth. Cf. *King Richard the Second*, II. iii. 41–50.

Bolingbroke. III. ii. 49.

"Where, which is Bolingbroke?"
And then I stole all courtesy from heaven.
[III. ii. 49–50.]

= Henry the Fourth. "An allusion to the story of Prometheus's theft, who stole fire from thence; and as with this he made a man, so with that, Bolingbroke made a king. As the Gods were supposed jealous in appropriating reason to themselves, the getting fire from thence, which lifted it up in the mind, was called a theft; and as power in their prerogative, the getting courtesie from thence, by which power is best procured, is called a theft. The thought is exquisitely great and beautiful." *Warburton.*

Bridgenorth. III. ii. 175, 178.

A town in Shropshire on the river Severn, eighteen miles south-east of Shrewsbury. It was the rendezvous of the king's forces previous to the battle of Shrewsbury.

Bristow. I. iii. 271.

who bears hard
His brother's death at Bristow, the Lord Scroop.
[I. iii. 270–271.]

= Bristol. Sir William Scroop, created Earl of Wiltshire by Richard II., whose Lord High Treasurer he was, was executed at Bristol by Bolingbroke.

Burton. III. i. 96.

> Methinks my moiety, north from Burton here,
> In quantity equals not one of yours : [III. i. 96–97.]

= Burton-upon-Trent. The river from this point flows north-east and a " huge half-moon " is formed.

Henry IV. was at Burton-upon-Trent when the news was brought to him of Hotspur's advance to Shrewsbury, and on the 16th July the king issued a proclamation that is still preserved.

Butler. II. iii. 69, 74.

Groom to Hotspur.

Cambyses. II. iv. 386.

The reference here is supposed to be to Cambyses, the ranting hero in a tragedy by Thomas Preston, written in 1561, entitled *A Lamentable Tragedy, mixed full of Pleasant Mirth,* containing the life of Cambyses, King of Persia. In allusion to a passage in the play " Cambyses' vein " being cited by Shakespeare it has in consequence become proverbial for rant : " for I must speak in passion, and I will do it in King Cambyses' vein."

Canterbury. I. ii. 126.

> there are pilgrims
> going to Canterbury with rich offerings,
> [I. ii. 125–126.]

The pilgrims were probably making their way to Canterbury to offer gifts at the shrine of Thomas à Becket in the Cathedral there.

Carriers, Two. II. i. p.1, p.8 ; II. iv p.504.

In Act II., Scene i., the carriers enter and prepare to set out upon their journey.

In Act II., Scene iv., one of the carriers enters in company with the sheriff, when the latter proceeds to the Boar's-Head Tavern in Eastcheap in search of the thieves.

Chamberlain. II. i. p.53.

A friend of Gadshill's whom the latter meets in the Inn-yard at Rochester. He informs Gadshill that wealthy travellers are on the point of setting-out on their journey :

> there's a franklin in the wild of Kent hath brought three hundred marks with him in gold : I heard him tell it to one of his company last night at supper ; a kind of auditor ; one that hath abundance of charge too, God knows what. They are up already, and call for eggs and butter : they will away presently. [II. i. 54–60.]

and in return for the information is promised " a share in the purchase " :

> Give me thy hand : thou shalt have a share in our purchase, as I am a true man. [II. i. 92–93.]

At the same time the chamberlain bids Gadshill beware of the hangman.

Charing-cross. II. i. 25.

The junction of Whitehall and the Strand. It derived its name from the stone cross erected as a memorial to Eleanor, queen of Edward I.

" Charing was anciently a village detached from London ; and Charing Cross was erected on the last spot where the body of Eleanor, the queen of Edward I., rested, in the road to Westminster. The cross was pulled down by the populace in 1643, through that intolerant fury against what were called superstitious Edifices what has destroyed so many beautiful monuments of art in this country and in Scotland." *Knight.*

Charles' wain. II. i. 2.

The constellation of Ursa Major, a wagon without a wagoner, an old English name for the constellation of the Great Bear. The name appears to arise out of the verbal association of the star Arcturus with Arturus or Arthur and the legendary association of Arthur and Charlemagne. In Welsh the constellation Great Bear is called the chariot of Arthur.

Clifton. IV. iv. 46, 58.

Sir John Clifton. He was slain at the battle of Shrewsbury fighting for the king ; having been made a banneret on the field. One of his descendants, Sir Gervas Clifton, fought for Henry VI. at the battle of Tewkesbury ; and another, Sir Gervas Clifton, was slain at Bosworth following Richard III. in his last desperate charge.

Colossus. V. i. 123.

A reference to the famous Colossus at Rhodes, a gigantic statute of Apollo, which was 105 feet high, and took twelve years to build at a cost of about £120,000. It was one of the wonders of the ancient world.

Corinthian. II. iv. 12.

A gay fellow ; an allusion to the easy morality ascribed to the Corinthians.

Coventry. IV. ii. 1, 39.

A City of Warwickshire.

Cut's saddle. II. i. 5.

> I prithee, Tom, beat Cut's saddle. [II. i. 5.]

Cut was the name of a horse. *beat Cut's saddle* = to beat the horse's saddle to make it soft.

Dame Partlet the hen. III. iii. 52.

The name of the hen in the story of *Reynard the Fox*. In Chaucer's *Cock and the Fox* the favourite hen is called dame Pertelote.

Daventry. IV. ii. 48.

A town in Northamptonshire, on the way from London to Shrewsbury.

Diana's foresters. I. ii. 25.

= Diana's gamekeepers. One of Diana's attributes was that of being a great huntress.

Dick. II. iv. 8.

A drawer in the Boar's Head Tavern in Eastcheap. Dekker in his *Gull's Horn-Book*, 1609, says : " that to be familiar with drawers, and to know their names, was an accomplishment of gallants some ten or twelve years after Shakespeare wrote this play. " Your first compliment shall be to grow most inwardly acquainted with the drawers ; to learn their names, as Jack, and Will, and Tom."

Dives. III. iii. 32.

> I never see thy face but I think upon hell-fire, and Dives that lived in purple ; for there he is in his robes, burning, burning. [III. iii. 31–33.]

The name given to the rich man in the Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus. *See St. Luke*, XVI. Cf. Lazarus.

Doncaster. V. i. 42, 58.

> And you did swear that oath at Doncaster,
> That you did nothing purpose 'gainst the state ;
> [V. i. 42–43.]

At Doncaster, Bolingbroke swore that he had come to claim only his rightful possessions. Holinshed says : " At his Bolingbroke's comming vnto Doncaster, the earle of Northumberland, and his sonne, sir Henrie Persie, wardens of the marches against Scotland, with the earle of Westmerland, came vnto him ; where he sware vnto those lords, that he would demand no more, but the lands that were to him descended by inheritance from his father, and in right of his wife."

Douglas' son. I. iii. 261.

= Mordake (q.v.).

Drawers.

Waiters in a tap-room.

Earl of Athol. I. i. 73.

According to French there was at the time of the battle of Holmedon no Earl of Athol. The dignity was resigned to the crown in 1341, and not revived until nearly seventy years after in the person of Walter Stewart, son of King Robert II.

Earl of March. I. iii. 84.

> Against that great magician, damn'd Glendower,
> Whose daughter, as we hear, the Earl of March
> Hath lately married. [I. iii. 83–85.]

Shakespeare has confounded Edmund Earl of March, nephew to Lady Percy and the proper Mortimer of the Play with Sir Edmund Mortimer uncle to the former and brother to

Lady Percy. Steevens says: "Shakespeare has fallen into some contradictions with regard to this Lord Mortimer. Before he makes his personal appearance in the play, he is repeatedly spoken of as Hotspur's brother-in-law. In Act II. Lady Percy expressly calls him her brother Mortimer. And yet when he enters in the third Act, he calls Lady Percy his aunt, which in fact she was, and not his sister. This inconsistence may be accounted for as follows. It appears both from Dugdale's and Sandford's account of the Mortimer family, that there were two of them taken prisoners at different times by Glendower; each of them bearing the name of Edmund; one being Edmund Earl of March, nephew to Lady Percy and the proper Mortimer of the play; the other, Sir Edmund Mortimer, uncle to the former and brother to Lady Percy.

Earl of Westmoreland. I. i. p.1, 31; III. ii. 170; III. iii. 197; IV. i. 88; IV. ii. p.50, 52; IV. iv. 30; V. ii. 29, 32, 44; V. iv. p.1, 8, 15; V. v. p.1, 35.

One of the minor characters of the play who supports King Henry in the suppression of the rebels. At the end of the play he is bidden by the king to accompany his son, John of Lancaster, towards York to encounter Northumberland and the Archbishop of York who are at the head of an armed force:

> You, son John, and my cousin Westmoreland
> Towards York shall bend you with your dearest speed,
> To meet Northumberland and the prelate Scroop,
> Who, as we hear, are busily in arms: [V. v. 35–38.]

This nobleman may be well called, in the usual lists of the characters, one of the 'Friends to the King.' He was the head of that great Northern house of Nevill, which exercised so much sway in this and several succeeding reigns. Gilbert de Nevill came in with the Conqueror, and his grandson, Gilbert de Nevill, married the daughter and heir of Bertram de Bulmer, a powerful Northern baron, by which alliance Brancepeth Castle came to the Nevills. Their daughter, Isabel de Nevill, married Robert Fitz-Maldred, Lord of Raby, and their son Geoffrey took his mother's name, and his great-grandson, Ranulph de Nevill, was summoned to Parliament, 22 Edward I., 1294, as Baron Nevill of Raby; his son and grandson were distinguished persons in the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II.; and the grandson, Ralph Nevill, fourth baron, is the character of this play. He was born in 1365, succeeded his father, John Nevill, in 1389, was created Earl of Westmoreland in 1397, by Richard II. but was the first to join Bolingbroke's standard and the earl became his most powerful supporter against the rebellious Percies. *French.*

[The Earl of Westmoreland is also a character in the *Second Part of King Henry the Fourth.* (q.v.)]

Eastcheap. I. ii. 130, 156, 191; II. iv. 15, 440.

A Street in London in which was situated the Boar's Head Tavern, of which Dame Quickly was the hostess. Stow says: "This Eastcheap is now a flesh market of butchers there dwelling on both sides of the street: it had sometime also cooks mixed amongst the butchers, and such other as sold victuals ready dressed of all sorts. For of old time, when friends did meet, and were disposed to be merry, they went not to dine and sup in taverns, but to the cooks, where they called for meat what they liked, which they always found ready dressed at a reasonable rate."

Ebrew Jew. II. iv. 181.

> You rogue, they were bound, every man of them;
> or I am a Jew else, an Ebrew Jew. [II. iv. 180–181.]

A Jew by blood and by nature. A Jew in which no faith could be put.

Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March. I. i. 38; I. iii. 80, 84, 92, 93, 110, 119, 130, 135, 144, 156, 219, 220, 222, 225, 281, 295; II. iii. 25, 83; II. iv. 341; III. i. p.1, 3, 146, 264; III. ii. 119, 164; IV. iii. 93; IV. iv. 22, 23; V. v. 19, 40.

Supplies the romantic touch in the play in his amorous dealings with his Welsh wife—Glendower's daughter — who cannot speak English, while he can speak no Welsh.

At the beginning of the play, Mortimer is in command of the Herefordshire men, but is de-

feated and taken prisoner by Glendower, who has rebelled against Henry.

Mortimer is brother-in-law to Hotspur, and when the latter appears before the king at Windsor to answer for his refusal to surrender the prisoners taken by him at the battle of Holmedon hill, he offers to surrender them conditionally upon Henry ransoming Mortimer.

Henry, being afraid of Mortimer—who was proclaimed by Richard as his successor—denounces him as a traitor. Hotspur takes exception to Mortimer being thus denounced, and describes how bravely the latter fought on the banks of the Severn :

> to prove that true
> Needs no more but one tongue for all those wounds,
> Those mouthed wounds, which valiantly he took,
> When on the gentle Severn's sedgy bank,
> In single opposition, hand to hand,
> He did confound the best part of an hour
> In changing hardiment with great Glendower :
> Three times they breathed and three times did they drink,
> Upon agreement, of swift Severn's flood ;
> Who then, affrighted with their bloody looks,
> Ran fearfully among the trembling reeds,
> And hid his crisp head in the hollow bank
> Bloodstained with these valiant combatants.
> [I. iii. 95–107.]

Later Mortimer makes peace with Glendower and both join Hotspur in the rebellion against Henry.

In the last act we find Mortimer and Glendower in rebellion in the West, and after the battle of Shrewsbury, Henry and his son march against them.

[Edmund Mortimer was the youngest son of Edmund de Mortimer, third Earl of March. Joined Bolingbroke on his return to England in 1399. On the revolt of Owen Glendower he raised the men of Herefordshire and fighting against the Welsh chieftain was captured. On Henry the Fourth refusing to ransom him, Mortimer joined with Glendower in his desire to either restore Richard to the throne, or in case of Richard's death, to bestow it upon his nephew, Edmund Mortimer son of Roger Mortimer. According to some authorities Mortimer married a daughter of Glendower. Although in sympathy with the Percys, he was not present at the battle of Shrewsbury. He is supposed to have lost his life during the siege of Harlech in 1407.]

England. I. ii. 59 ; II. iv. 14, 51, 131, 305, 409 ; III. i. 45, 74 ; V. i. 54 ; V. iv. 66.

Esperance ! Percy ! V. ii. 97.

The war-cry of Percy. *Esperance* or *Esperanza* was the motto of the Percy family. The present motto is *Esperance en Dieu.*

Europe. III. iii. 46.

Finsbury. III. i. 253.

> And give such sarcenet surety for thy oaths,
> As if thou never walk'dst further than Finsbury.
> [III. i. 252–253.]

Open walks and fields near Chiswell Street London Wall, and a common resort of the citizens of London.

Foot land-rakers. II. i. 74.

= beggars who travel the country and commit petty thefts.

France. III. ii. 95.

Francis. II. iv. 8, 32, 35, 37, p.38, 40, 42, 44, 47, 52, 54, 56, 58, 63, 65, 66, 67, 74, 78, p.96, 96, p.113.

A drawer in the Boar's Head Tavern in Eastcheap. *See* Dick.

[Francis also appears in the *Second Part of King Henry the Fourth* as Page to Falstaff.]

Gadshill. I. ii. 107, 128, 161 ; II. i. p.32, 53 ; II. ii. p.48 ; II. iv. p.113.

One of Falstaff's highwaymen who receives his name from a place where many robberies have been committed on the road between Canterbury and London.

He acts as a spy upon travellers from Rochester, and in consequence earns the name of " our setter " :

> *Gads.* Stand.
> *Fal.* So I do, against my will.
> *Poins.* O, 'tis our setter : I know his voice.
> [II. ii. 48–50.]

He is described as a "suspicious-looking character, a braggart and a coward." He assists in the robbing of the travellers, but takes to his heels with the others when set upon by the Prince and Poins.

Gadshill is a character in the *Famous Victories*, in which he is the person who robs the carrier, is taken before Judge Gascoigne, and for whose rescue Prince Hal involves himself in disgrace. He is called in that play 'The Theefe,' but Derrick addresses him by his name,—

'Whoop, hallo, now Gadshill, knowest thou me?'

French.

Gadshill. I. ii. 125; IV. iii. 38.

A hill near Rochester, notorious for highway robbers. A ballad entitled *The Robbery at Gadshill* was entered in the Stationers' Register in 1558. In Dekker and Webster's *Westward Hoe*, 1606, we have: "— Why, how lies she? Troth, as the way lies over Gads-hill, very dangerous," and in *The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth*: "And I know thee for a taking fellow Upon Gads-hill in Kent." From a paper by Sir Henry Ellis, the following extract is taken: "In the course of that Mychaelmas Terme, I being at London, many robberyes weare done in the hye wayes at Gadeshill on the west parte of Rochester, and at Chatham downe on the East parte of Rochester, by horse theves, with suche fatt and lustye horses as weare not lyke hackney horsses, and one of them sometyme wearing a vizarde greye bearde, (by reason that to the persons robbed the Theves did use to mynister an othe that there should bee no hue and crye made after, and also did gyve a watche worde for the parties robbed, the better to escape other of their Theves companye devyded vppon the hyghe waye,) he was by common report in the Contry called Justice greye Bearde; and no man durst travell that waye without great companye." And Harper in his *Dover Road* says: Is this, then, the famous hill where travellers were wont to be robbed? Is this the place referred to by that seventeenth-century robber turned *littérateur*, John Clavell, who, in his *Recantation of an Ill-led Life*, speaks so magniloquently of—

> Gad's Hill, and those
> Red tops of mountains, where good people lose
> Their ill kept purses.

Was it here, then, upon this paltry pimple of a hill that Falstaff and Prince Hal, Poins and the rest of them, robbed the merchants, the franklins, and the flea-bitten carriers, who, Charles's Wain being over the chimneys of their inn at Rochester, set out early in the morning for London? Was this the spot where Falstaff brave amid so many confederates, added insult to injury of those travellers by calling them 'gorbellied knaves' and 'caterpillars,' and where Prince Henry, in his turn, alluded to the knight as 'fat guts'? Yes, this is the place, but how changed from then. To see Gad's Hill as it was in those times it would be necessary to sweep away the row of mean cottages that form quite a hamlet here, together with Gad's Hill Place, the hedges and enclosures, and to clothe the hillsides with dense woodlands, coming close up to, and overshadowing the highway, which should be full of ruts and sloughs of mud. Then we should have some sort of an idea how terrible the hill could be o' nights when the rogues who lurked in the shadow of the trees pounced upon rich travellers, and tricked out in

> vizards, hoods, disguise,
> Masks, muzzles, mufflers, patches on their eyes;
> Those beards, those heads of hair, and that great wen
> Which is not natural,

relieved them of their gold.

And not only rogues of low estate, but others of birth and education, pursued this hazardous industry, so that Shakespeare, when he made the Prince of Wales and Sir John Falstaff appear as highwaymen on this scene, was not altogether drawing upon his imagination. Thus, when the Danish Ambassador was set upon and plundered here in 1656, they were not poor illiterates who sent him a letter the next day in which they took occasion to assure him that 'the same necessity that enforc't ye Tartars to breake ye wall of China compelled them to wait on him at Gad's Hill.' But travellers did not always tamely submit to be robbed and cudgelled, as you shall see in these extracts from Gravesend registers—'1586, September 29th. daye, was a thiefe yt was slayne, buryed;' and, again, '1590, Marche, the 17th daie, was a theefe yt was at Gad'shill wounded to deathe, called Robert Writs, buried.'

Gaunt, dukedom of Lancaster. V. i. 45.

> The seat of Gaunt, dukedom of Lancaster :
> To this we swore our aid. [V. i. 45–46.]

See under Doncaster.

Gilliams. II. iii. 68.

= Hotspur's servant ; another form of the name Williams.

Gloucestershire. I. iii. 243.

> —what do you call the place ?—
> A plague upon it, it is in Gloucestershire ;
> [I. iii. 242–243.]

Hotspur means " Berkeley " but being excited cannot recall the name.

Gloucestershire. III. ii. 176.

Good Friday. I. ii. 116.

> how agrees the devil and thee about thy soul,
> that thou soldest him on Good Friday last for a cup
> of Madeira and a cold capon's leg ? [I. ii. 115–117.]

Deighton remarks : " which, as the anniversary of Christ's crucifixion, is specially a day for repentance, and therefore a day on which Falstaff's bargain would be all the more heinous."

Goodman Adam. II. iv. 93.

> I am now of all humours that have showed themselves humours since the old days of goodman Adam to the pupil age of this present twelve o'clock at midnight. [II. iv. 92–95.]

= A common term of familiarity.

Great Oneyers. II. i. 76.

= Great ones. A Moneyer. A moneyer is an officer of the Mint, who makes coin, and delivers out the king's money. Moneyers are also taken for bankers, or those that make it their trade to turn and return money.

Gregory. V. iii. 45.

> Turk Gregory never did such deeds in arms as I have done this day. [V. iii. 45–46.]

Pope Gregory the Seventh, called Hildebrand. A man of obscure origin ; elected pope in 1073. Deposed by the emperor Henry IV., but Gregory retaliated by excommunicating the emperor and finally compelling him to do penance. On account of his vice and enormity of every description he earned the name of " Turk Gregory." The Turks were always considered to be proverbial for their cruelty.

Hal. I. ii. 1, 13, 69, 82, 94, 95, 105, 113, 137 ; II. ii. 7, 20, 40, 66 ; II. iv. 3, 193, 198, 208, 222, 282, 329, 365, 490 ; III. iii. 102, 137, 146, 165, 176 ; IV. ii. 51, 64 ; V. i. 125 ; V. iii. 50, 53 ; V. iv. 75.

An abbreviation for Henry, Prince of Wales, used by Falstaff and Poins.

Half-moon. II. iv. 28.

> " Anon, anon, sir ! Score a pint of bastard
> in the Half-moon, " or so. [II. iv. 27–28.]

The name of a room in the Boar's Head Tavern.

Harry Monmouth. V. ii. 50 ; V. iv. 59.

Prince Henry, so-named from the town of Monmouth where he was born.

Henry Bolingbroke. III. i. 64.

> Three times hath Henry Bolingbroke made head
> Against my power ; thrice from the banks of Wye
> And sandy-bottom'd Severn have I sent him
> Bootless home and weather-beaten back.
> [III. i. 64–67.]

Moorman remarks : " The first occasion was in 1400, when the king waged war in person with Glendower, who, withdrawing to the mountains of the Snowdon district, escaped capture. In the following year war broke out again, and resulted in the victory of Glendower over the Lord Grey of Ruthven, who was captured. The third occasion was in 1402, when, after the Earl of March had been taken prisoner by Glendower, the king himself again entered Wales, but again, as Holinshed says, ' lost his labour.' The word weather-beaten probably refers to the storms which King Henry encountered on this last ex-

pedition, and of which Holinshed writes as follows: 'Owen conveied himselfe out of the waie, and (as was thought) through art magike, he caused such foule weather of winds, tempest, raine, snow and haile to be raised, for the annoiance of the kings armie, that the like had not been heard of.'" *Warwick edition.* See *Extract* 5 from Holinshed.

Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland. I. i. 79; I. iii. p.1, 122; II. iv. 342; III. ii. 118; IV. iii. 67; IV. iv. 14; V. v. 37.

This character, whom we first met in *King Richard the Second* still displays the characteristics shown in that play, being "half-hearted and timorous," and as contemptible in his actions as Worcester.

Having deserted Richard for Bolingbroke he plots against the latter almost as soon as he ascends the throne as Henry the Fourth, which conduct shows him to be utterly selfish, turning to whichever side seems to be of advantage to himself.

We see but little of Northumberland in this part of *King Henry the Fourth.* He is not present at the battle of Shrewsbury on account of being sick—which is afterwards found to be feigned—he not being willing to run any risk himself but ready to allow others to fight for him, while simulating an intense interest in their fortunes.

The prophetic words of King Richard in the preceding play find their accomplishment in this:

> 'Northumberland, thou ladder wherewithal
> The mounting Bolingbroke ascends my throne,
> . . . . . thou shalt think,
> Thou he divide the realm, and give thee half,
> It is too little, helping him to all.'

'The impatient spirit of Henry Percy, and the factious disposition of the Earl of Worcester, younger brother of Northumberland, inflamed the discontent of that nobleman, and the precarious title of Henry tempted him to seek revenge by overturning that throne which he had at first established.' *Hume.* The illness of the earl, the command of his troops devolving on his fiery son, and the defeat of their army, are admirably described in the play.

This powerful noble married first, Margaret Nevill, youngest daughter of Ralph, second Lord Nevill of Raby, by whom he had four sons: 1. Henry Percy, surnamed 'Hotspur'; 2. Sir Thomas Percy, and 3. Sir Ralph Percy, Knights; these two brothers married their father's wards, Elizabeth and Philippa de Strabolgi, daughters and co-heirs of David, last Earl of Athol of that surname; 4. Alan Percy. The Earl of Northumberland married secondly, Maud Lucy, daughter of Thomas, second Baron Lucy; she brought Cockermouth Castle to the Percies. There was no issue by this second marriage. *French.*

[The Earl of Northumberland is also a character in the *Second Part of King Henry the Fourth.* (q.v.)]

Henry Percy, surnamed Hotspur. I. i. 52, 53, 70, 86, 89, 90, 92; I. iii. p.1, 24, 71, 113, 254; II. iii. p.1, 41, 82, 89, 110; II. iv. 101, 102, 105, 109, 335, 368; III. i. p.1, 7, 52, 83, 147, 265; III. ii. 29, 85, 96, 112, 118, 122, 126, 132, 140, 141, 173, 175; III. iii. 204; IV. i. p.1, 104, 122; IV. ii. 75; IV. iii. p.1; IV. iv. 13, 19, 24, 36; V. i. 87, 116; V. ii. 19, 24, p.28, 97; V. iii. p.14, 46, 50, 55; V. iv. 21, 32, p.59, 61, 63, 67, 85, 87, 110, 122, 145.

Is a "great contrast both to his father and to King Henry," for instead of the "cool and calculating tactfulness" which characterises both Northumberland and the king, we find in Hotspur a quick-tempered, impulsive, and rash character.

He is a typical soldier, somewhat "rough in speech, but at the same time a very heroic figure."

The very soul of honour, and professing contempt of pretentiousness, he thus offends Glendower, when he bids him:

> O, while you live, tell truth, and shame the devil!
> [III. i. 62.]

Hotspur evidently looks upon the "fine arts with contempt" as he says "nothing would set his teeth on edge So much as mincing poetry," but one notices that when he becomes "excited" his sayings are remarkable for their "imaginative quality," as is exemplified in his speech on

'honour' and his description of the "fight between Glendower and Mortimer."

He enters into the plot against Henry with characteristic eagerness, but his lack of tact and self-restraint make him unfitted to take a leading part in the conspiracy, for he "wishes to fight as soon as he has reached the camp near Shrewsbury, but is restrained by more prudent counsel."

Although one admires Hotspur's courage, he lacks the modesty of the prince, being given to boastful language, and thinks that his success is a foregone conclusion, anticipating with "eager delight" the time when he shall meet "this madcap Prince of Wales," face to face in single combat.

He meets the prince in the battle of Shrewsbury and is mortally wounded, but Hotspur's dying words express no fear of death, but a regret that he has been "robb'd of his youth," and would "better brook the loss of brittle life Than those proud titles the prince had won of him."

After the battle of Shrewsbury, Hotspur's body was given to his kinsman, Thomas Neville, Lord of Furnival who had it interred at Whitchurch, but a few days afterwards it was disinterred and publicly exhibited at Shrewsbury and then beheaded and quartered. His head was sent to York and placed above the gate of that city, and his quarters to London, Bristol, Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Chester. There they remained until November when the king ordered that the head and quarters should be given up to his widow, who finally interred her husband's remains in York Minster.

Extract from *Close Roll, 5 Henry IV., pars.* 1. Concerning the delivery of the head and quarters of Percy:

The King to the mayor and sheriffs of the City of York greeting. Whereas of our special grace we have granted to our kinswoman Elizabeth, who was the wife of Henry de Percy, Chivaler, deceased, the head and the quarters of the same Henry to be buried. We command you that you deliver the aforesaid head, placed by our command above the gate of the aforesaid City, to the same Elizabeth to be buried according to our grant above said. Witness the King at Cirencester the third day of November. By writ of privy seal.

The king to the mayor and sheriffs of the Town of New Castle upon Tyne greeting. Whereas of our special grace we have granted to our kinswoman Elizabeth who was the wife of Henry de Percy, Chivaler, deceased, the head and the quarters of the same Henry to be buried. We command you that you deliver to the same Elizabeth a certain quarter of the same Henry above the gate of the aforesaid City, to the same Elizabeth to be buried according to our grant above said. By the same writ.

Life briefs are directed to the underwritten for the other quarters of the same Henry Percy under the same date, namely,

To the Mayor and Sheriffs of London.

To the Mayor, Sheriffs and Bailiffs of the Town of Bristol.

To the Mayor and Bailiffs of the Town of Chester.

Commenting on the character of Hotspur, Gervinus says: "Never was a more living character delineated in poetry; ballads designed to sing his glory might have borrowed their boldest traits and images from this drama. There is too, scarcely any part more grateful to the actor; Betterton, the cleverest actor of the old English school, hesitated whether he should himself choose Percy, or the favourite of all parts, Falstaff. . . . For Henry Percy is the ideal of all genuine and perfect manliness, and of that active nature which makes the man a man. . . . When he hears of Henry's proud bearing before the battle of Shrewsbury, this jealousy urges him imprudently into the most dangerous actions. Danger has ever an alluring charm for him; when the goad of emulation is added to it, it decides him completely to venture on the unequal fight, and with the most painful impatience he leaves explanatory letters unread, and every earnest appeal to his military talent, to his foresight, and to his honour unheeded. His courage makes him a sophist, just as his quick passion occasionally makes him a statesman—two capacities which lie in direct opposition to his soldierly nature. . . . Accused by the king of having refused the prisoners made at Holmedon, he excuses his refusal of the demand; but when the king gives him the lie, and threatens him, he is at once no longer master of his pride and anger. With his heated imagination, which the mere idea of a great exploit carries beyond the bounds of patience and re-

flection, he utters presagingly bold schemes of revolt; and when his spirit is excited into violent passion, the political Worcester suggests his long-matured plans against Henry to the 'quick conceiving discontents' of the hot-blooded youth. This blind passion throws the spotless hero into traitorous connections, it leads the resolute man into league with the undecided and the weak, the warrior and soldier into schemes with artful diplomatists, the man of valour and fidelity into alliance with traitors and cowards, and the man imprudent himself into undertakings imprudently designed. And when candid advisers suspect these plans and his friends, the honest man bears ill-will against the honest counsellor, because he himself does not believe in dishonesty. This passionateness, this want of penetration and knowledge of human nature, prove the ruin of the trustful man; for the want of self-command, which leads him to immoderate ebullitions and arrogant blame, forms, in Worcester's opinion, the principal blemish in the extreme beauty of his character. Beyond this, there is no ignoble vein in the man," and Hudson: "It is difficult to speak of Hotspur satisfactorily; not indeed but that the lines of his character are bold and emphatic enough, but rather because they are so much so . . . There is no mistaking him: no character in Shakespeare stands more apart in plenitude of peculiarity; and stupidity itself cannot so disfeature him with criticism, but that he will be recognized by any one who has ever been with him. He is as much a monarch in his sphere as the King and Falstaff are in theirs; only they rule more by power, he by stress: . . . Who that has been with him in the scenes at the Palace and at Bangor can ever forget his bounding, sarcastic, overbearing spirit? . . . and what with Glendower, the poetry is as unrivalled in its kind as the wit and humour in the best scenes at Eastcheap. What a dressing Hotspur gives the silken courtier who came to demand the prisoners! Still better, however, is the dialogue that presently follows in the same scene; where Hotspur seems to be under a spell, a fascination of rage and scorn: nothing can check him, he cannot check himself; because, besides the boundings of a most turbulent and impetuous nature, he has always had his own way, having from his boyhood held the post of a feudal war-chief. Irascible, headstrong, impatient, every effort to arrest or divert him only produces a new impatience. . . . Hotspur is a general favourite: whether from something in himself or from the king's treatment of him, he has our good-will from the start; nor is it without some reluctance that we set the prince above him in our regard. Which may be owing in part to the interest we take, and justly, in his wife; who, timid, solicitous, affectionate, and playful, is a woman of the true Shakespearian stamp. How delectable is the harmony felt between her prying, inquisitive gentleness and his rough, stormy courage! for in her gentleness there is much strength, and his bravery is not without gentleness. The scene at Warkworth, where they first appear together, is a choice heart-reflection: combining the beauty of movement and of repose, it comes into the surrounding elements like a patch of sunshine in a tempest."

[Hotspur was the eldest son of Sir Henry Percy, first Earl of Northumberland. In 1388 as governor of Berwick came into conflict with the Scots, and at the battle of Otterburn was captured by the Earl of Douglas, who was killed in the battle. Assisted in placing Henry the Fourth on the throne for which services was appointed justiciary of North Wales. In 1402—with his father and the Earl of March—routed the Scottish forces at Holmedon Hill, taking prisoner Archibald Earl of Douglas—the Douglas of the play, and nephew to the Douglas slain at Otterburn—and many other Scottish nobles. Became discontented with Henry, and on the king refusing to ransom Sir Edmund Mortimer—his brother-in-law—a prisoner in the hands of Owen Glendower, revolted. Set free the Earl of Douglas who joined in the rebellion, and at the battle of Shrewsbury on July 21st, 1403, was defeated and killed by an unknown hand, having penetrated the royal line till completely surrounded by enemies. He married Elizabeth, eldest daughter and co-heir of Edmund Mortimer, third Earl of March, by the Lady Philippa Plantagenet, only child of Lionel of *Antwerp*, third son of Edward III. By his wife, the 'Lady Percy' in this play, Hotspur left a son and one daughter, Elizabeth Percy, married first to John, Lord Clifford, and secondly to Ralph Nevill, second Earl of Westmoreland. The son of Hotspur, Henry Percy, became second Earl of

Northumberland in 1414; he was slain at the first battle of St. Albans, 1455; and his eldest son is the 'Earl of Northumberland' in the *Third Part of King Henry the Sixth*.]

Henry, Prince of Wales, Son to King Henry the Fourth. I. ii. p.1; I. iii. 230; II. ii. p.1, p.90, 96; II. iv. p.1, 10, 139, 397, 410, 414, 425, 439, 477, 478; III. ii. p.1, 1; III. iii. p.88; IV. i. 95, 121, 122; IV. ii. p.50; IV. iv. 29; V. i. p.1, 86, 101; V. ii. 46; V. iii. p.40; V. iv. p.1, 2, 12, 42, 63, 67, 68, 77, p.131; V. v. p.1, 39.

Although at the beginning of the play led to believe that Prince Henry is a thoroughly dissolute character, we find in reviewing his actions through its course that nothing could be further from the truth.

It is true that his father speaks of him in disparaging terms, wishing Hotspur were his son instead:

> Yea, there thou makest me sad and makest me sin
> In envy that my Lord Northumberland
> Should be the father to so blest a son,
> A son who is the theme of honour's tongue;
> Amongst a grove, the very straightest plant;
> Who is sweet Fortune's minion and her pride:
> Whilst I, by looking on the praise of him,
> See riot and dishonour stain the brow
> Of my young Harry. O that it could be proved
> That some night-tripping fairy had exchanged
> In cradle-clothes our children where they lay,
> And call'd mine Percy, his Plantagenet! [I. i. 78–89].

but on making the acquaintance of Prince Hal—in company with his fellow-revellers, Sir John Falstaff and Poins—we find that he is but a gay, light-hearted youth, determined to find the highest excitement in life before he is king, but ready, when the time shall come, to assume his regal position worthily, for he says:

> So, when this loose behaviour I throw off
> And pay the debt I never promised,
> By how much better than my word I am,
> By so much shall I falsify men's hopes;
> And like bright metal on a sullen ground,
> My reformation, glittering o'er my fault,
> Shall show more goodly and attract more eyes
> Than that which hath no foil to set it off.
> I'll so offend, to make offence a skill;
> Redeeming time when men think least I will.
> [I. ii. 207–216.]

There is an ulterior motive, too, in Prince Henry's association with these common folk, for he knows that to rule wisely, it is necessary to have an insight into the life of all classes of his subjects, and we find later, when he is king, that his experience has taught him to be considerate and just in all his actions.

He promises his anxious father that he will reform:

> I shall hereafter, my thrice gracious lord,
> Be more myself, [III. ii. 92–93.]

and just before the battle of Shrewsbury is about to take place, shows his valour by offering to meet Hotspur in single combat, in order to avoid needless bloodshed:

> And so I hear he doth account me too;
> Yet this before my father's majesty—
> I am content that he shall take the odds
> Of his great name and estimation,
> And will, to save the blood on either side,
> Try fortune with him in a single fight.
> [V. i. 95–100.]

Thus we see that he is considerate, bold, and fearless, and he enters into the battle with all energy, succeeds in isolating Hotspur and eventually killing him.

In summing up Prince Henry's character, we may say that he is Shakespeare's "man of action," and becomes in the next play his "ideal king." Unlike other of the poet's heroes he is intensely practical and human and shows himself eminently suitable for the regal dignity he is to attain.

In the preceding play we have a slight glimpse of the 'Prince Hal' of this drama, in the anxious enquiry of Bolingbroke, Act V., Scene 3:

> 'Can no man tell of my unthrifty son?'

Shakespeare has drawn a lively portrait of this 'mad-cap prince,' who afterwards so nobly redeemed the follies of his youth. The death of his mother, when he was but seven or eight years old, must have left him early without sufficient control, but his grandmother, the Countess of Hereford, sister of Archbishop Arundel, bestowed some pains on his education, and at eleven years of age he was entered a student at Queen's College, Oxford, a fact which is recorded by an inscription on one of the windows:

> In Perpetuam Rei Memoriam:—
> Imperator Britanniæ,
> Triumphator Galliæ,
> Hostium Victor et sui,
> Henricus V.,
> Parvi Hujus Cubiculi,
> Olim magnus incola.
> Wood's *Athenæ Oxoniensis*.

Fuller alludes to the chamber over the gateway as the one used by Henry when a scholar at Oxford.

Shakespeare in his portrait of 'Prince Hal' has taken the groundwork of his facts chiefly from Holinshed and Stow, with some few hints from the old drama, called *The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth;* but these facts and hints have been clothed in the poet's own immortal language with singular felicity and beauty. The Prince of Wales, who was so created the day after his father's coronation, won his spurs at Shrewsbury, where he behaved with great bravery, and was 'hurt in the face by an arrow' (Holinshed), a wound which the young hero calls in the play 'A shallow scratch,' and refuses to quit the field. *French.*

[Prince Henry is also a character in the *Second Part of King Henry the Fourth* (q.v.)]

Hercules. II. iv. 269.

Herefordshire. I. i. 39.

Highway, The, near Gadshill.

The Scene of Act II., Scene ii. The Gadshill robbery. Falstaff and his friends waylay the travellers and rob them, and are afterwards themselves robbed by the Prince and Poins.

Holmedon. I. i. 55, 65, 70; I. iii. 24; V. iii. 14.

Hambleton, near Wooler, Northumberland. In 1402 the Scots under the Earl of Douglas invaded England, and on September 14th, of the same year a decisive battle was fought at Holmedon Hill in which the English were successful. See *Extract* 1 from Holinshed.

Humbleton Hill itself is terraced in three successive tiers, and has an elevation of nearly 1000 feet above the sea. . . . It was on the terraces of Humbleton that the Scotch took up their position, and, according to tradition, numbered 10,000. This estimate, however, is probably an exaggeration. The victory was won for the English by the archers, there being little or no fighting at close quarters. North of the hill, in the Red Riggs, is an old stone pillar known as the Bendor Stone, which was erected to commemorate this archers' victory.

Holy Land. I. i. 48.

> It seems then that the tidings of this broil
> Brake off our business for the Holy Land.
> [I. i. 47–48.]

= Palestine. It was the intention of Henry IV to go on crusade to the Holy Land to expiate his guilt for the murder of Richard II.

Holy-rood. I. i. 52.

The 14th September. "This festival, called also Holy Cross Day, was instituted on account of the recovery of a large piece of the Cross by the emperor Heraclius, after it had been taken away, on the plundering of Jerusalem by Chosroes, king of Persia, about the year of Christ 615." *Brand.* In Howe's edition of Stow's *Chronicle,* we read: "The 17 of Nov. was begun to be pulled downe the roode of Paules Church, with Mary and John, and all other images in the church, and then the like was done in all the churches in London, and so throughout England, and texts of Scripture were written upon the walls of those churches against images," etc.

Hotspur. I. i. 52, 70; II. iv. 102; III. i. 7; III. ii. 112, 140; V. i. 116; V. ii. 19.

Holinshed in his History of Scotland says: "This Harry Percy was surnamed, for his *often pricking* [*i.e.* spurring a horse, riding hard], Henry Hotspur, as one that seldom times rested, if there were anie service to be done abroad."

Hybla. I. ii. 43.

A locality in Sicily famous for its bees.

Hydra's heads. V. iv. 25.

A monster with nine heads—of which the middle one was immortal—the offspring of Typhon and Echidna, which ravaged the country of Lerna, near Argos. One of the twelve labours imposed upon Hercules by Eurystheus, was the

destruction of this monster. Hercules struck off its heads with his club, but in place of each head cut off, two new ones grew forth, but with the assistance of his servant Iolaus, Hercules burnt off the eight mortal heads and buried the ninth, which was immortal, under a huge rock.

India. III. i. 169.

Jack. I. ii. 100, 115; II. ii. 68; II. iv. 113, 127, 162, 189, 209, 234, 251, 265, 295, 325, 327, 355, 479; III. iii. 97, 101, 139, 187, 200; IV. ii. 50, 62; V. iv. 103.

An abbreviation for John (Sir John Falstaff).

Jack. II. iv. 11.

> And tell me flatly I am no proud Jack, like Falstaff. [II. iv. 11.]

A contemptuous term.

Jack. II. iii. 85.

> How! the prince is a Jack, a sneak-cup. [III. iii. 85.]

= A knave.

Jerusalem. I. i. 102.

> And for this cause a while we must neglect
> Our holy purpose to Jerusalem. [I. i. 101–102.]

The projected crusade to the Holy Land is consequently postponed.

John of Gaunt. II. ii. 65.

= Gaunt or thin John.

John of Lancaster, son to King Henry the Fourth. I. i. p.1; III. i. 8; III. ii. 171; III. iii. 196, 197; IV. i. 88; IV. iii. 61; IV. iv. 29; V. i. p.1; V. iv. p.1, 3, 17, 19, p.131, 131, 156; V. v. p.1, 25, 35.

Takes no important part in the action of the play, but from the part in which he does appear, we gather that he is a brave man, who served his father well in the battle against the rebels, for we see him on the battle-field eager to do his duty:

> We breathe too long: come, cousin Westmoreland,
> Our duty this way lies; for God's sake, come. [V. iv. 15–16.]

and the king and the Prince of Wales praise him for his gallant deeds:

> *Prince.* By God, thou hast deceived me, Lancaster;
> I did not think thee lord of such a spirit:
> Before, I loved thee as a brother, John;
> But now, I do respect thee as my soul.
> *King.* I saw him hold Lord Percy at the point,
> With lustier maintenance than I did look for
> Of such an ungrown warrior. [V. iv. 17–23.]

Lancaster considers it "high courtesy" when he is bidden by his brother Prince Henry to "go to the Douglas, and deliver him Up to his pleasure, ransomless and free"; and at the end of the play he is ordered by his father to proceed —with Westmoreland—towards York to meet Northumberland and the Archbishop of York who are in arms against the king:

> You, son John, and my cousin Westmoreland
> Towards York shall bend you with your dearest speed,
> To meet Northumberland and the prelate Scroop,
> Who, as we hear, are busily in arms: [V. v. 35–38.]

John Plantagenet, third son of Henry the Fourth, born in 1389, is here rightly called as above, since he did not receive any other style until the reign of his brother, who created him 'Duke of Bedford,' under which name he is a character in *King Henry V.*; but he figures more prominently in the *First Part of King Henry VI.*, as the 'Regent of France.' He was however made by his father Constable of England, Governor of Berwick, Warden of the East Marches towards Scotland, and a K.G.

[Prince John of Lancaster is also a character in the *Second Part of King Henry the Fourth* (q.v.)]

Kate. II. iii. 37, 93, 97, 104, 108, 110, 114, 116, 119; III. i. 228, 246, 254.

> How now, Kate! I must leave you within these two hours. [II. iii. 37–38.]

= Lady Percy. Her real name was Elizabeth. Holinshed gives it as Eleanor. Steevens says: "Shakespeare either mistook the name of Hotspur's wife, (which was not Katharine, but Elizabeth,) or else designedly changed it, out of the remarkable fondness he seems to have had for the familiar appellation of Kate, which he is never weary of repeating, when he has once introduced it; as in this scene, the scene of

Katharine and Petruchio, and the courtship between King Henry V. and the French Princess."

Kendal Green. II. iv. 221, 230.

Kendal, a town in Westmoreland was famous for its manufacture of cloths. A green cloth made first at Kendal was the dress worn by Robin Hood and his merry men in Sherwood Forest.

Kent, Wild of. II. i. 55.

> there 's a franklin in the
> wild of Kent hath brought three hundred marks
> with him in gold : [II. i. 54–56.]

= the Kentish weald.

King Henry the Fourth. I. i. p.1 ; I. iii. p.1 ; III. ii. p.1 ; V. i. p.1 ; V. ii. 43 ; V. iii. p.1, 8 ; I. iv. p.1 ; V. v. p.1.

The Henry Bolingbroke of *Richard the Second* does not figure in this play as a very prominent character. His characteristics show the development of his nature as portrayed in *Richard the Second ;* he is the same practical man,—diplomatic and dominant in purpose.

Throughout the play it is evident that he feels the "insecurity of his position," and is conscious of the unjust methods he used in securing the crown.

Addressing the nobles at the opening of the play, he rejoices that peace having at last been concluded, he can now undertake a pilgrimage to the Holy Land as a penance for the murder of Richard, but the news that Mortimer has been defeated and taken prisoner compels him to abandon this projected pilgrimage for the present :

> It seems then that the tidings of this broil
> Brake off our business for the Holy Land. [I. i. 47–48.]

This decision is strengthened on Westmoreland announcing Hotspur's victory over Douglas at Holmedon. This victory causes jealousy to arise in the mind of Henry—particularly as his own son, Prince Henry, is causing him trouble by his dissolute habits, and at the same time he is suspicious of Mortimer who has a prior claim to the crown, and this jealousy and suspicion leads to the rebellion of the Percys.

In this rebellion the old spirit of Henry is revived, and we find him diplomatic and practical, fearless and "mighty and to be feared." At the same time he can be lenient when it suits his purpose as is evidenced by his offer of unconditional pardon to Hotspur the day previous to the battle of Shrewsbury :

> The king hath sent to know
> The nature of your griefs, and whereupon
> You conjure from the breast of civil peace
> Such bold hostility, teaching his duteous land
> Audacious cruelty. If that the king
> Have any way your good deserts forgot,
> Which he confesseth to be manifold,
> He bids you name your griefs ; and with all speed
> You shall have your desires with interest,
> And pardon absolute for yourself and these
> Herein misled by your suggestion. [IV. iii. 41–51.]

Shakespeare does not portray Henry's share in the battle of Shrewsbury—in which the rebels are completely routed and Hotspur slain—but makes Prince Henry the dominant character.

So far we find Henry the same "calm and dignified" man as he appeared in Richard the Second, but although fortune favours him in the suppression of the rebels, the "dread of retribution" for his past misdeeds continually haunts him :

> I know not whether God will have it so,
> For some displeasing service I have done,
> That, in his secret doom, out of my blood
> He'll breed revengement and a scourge for me ;
> But thou dost in thy passages of life
> Make me believe that thou art only mark'd
> For the hot vengeance and the rod of heaven,
> To punish my mistreadings. [III. ii. 4–11.]

and he is conscious that fate is leading him to his downfall.

Bolingbroke had been seated for three years on his illgotten throne when the action of this plays opens ; the first scene recording the recent battle of Homledon, now Hambleton, near Wooler, co Northumberland, fought on Holyrood day, Sept. 14, 1402 ; and the drama closes with the victory of Shrewsbury, July 21, 1403. The former battle was gained for the king by the Percies, who were arrayed against him in the latter conflict. Henry IV. behaved with signal valour at Shrewsbury, killing, it is said, sixteen, or according to some writers thirty-six, of the enemy with his own hand, thus performing the part of a gallant knight as well as of a skilful leader.

Henry the Fourth's first wife was the great co-heiress, Mary de Bohun, second daughter of Humphrey, the last Earl of Hereford, to whom he was married in 1384. It is said that after he came to the throne he ordered 10,000 masses to be sung for the repose of her soul under the style of 'Queen Mary,' although she never enjoyed that title, as she died in 1394. The children of this marriage were four sons, and two daughters; of the latter, Blanche became the wife of Lewis II., *Barbatus*, Duke of Bavaria; and Philippa married Eric X., King of Norway. The sons were, 1. Henry of *Monmouth*, born in the Norman castle there, according to the inscription upon his statue in that town, 'August ix, 1387,' although most writers place his birth a year later. Rapin ascribes it to the year 1386, and Buswell to 1385. One hardly reconciles the date usually given, 1388, for the birth of 'Prince Hal,' for that would only make him eleven years old when he is represented as boasting, that in a tournament—

> 'He would unhorse the lustiest challenger.'

2. Prince Thomas, born in 1388, afterwards Duke of Clarence, a character in the next play;
3. 'Prince John of Lancaster' in this play;
4. Prince Humphrey, the 'Duke of Gloucester' in the *Second Part*.

Henry IV., married secondly, Feb. 7, 1403, the widow of his friend John de Montfort, Duke of Britany; she was Joan, daughter of Charles *le Mauvais*, King of Navarre, and was crowned Feb. 25, 1403; she died in the reign of Henry VI., 1437, and was buried in Canterbury Cathedral, in the splendid tomb of her royal husband, whereon are their life-like effigies. Joan of Navarre had no issue by her second marriage. *French.*

[King Henry the Fourth is also a character in the *Second Part of King Henry the Fourth* (q.v.)]

King's Camp near Shrewsbury.

The Scene of Act V., Scene i. Continues Act IV., Scene iii. Worcester appears in the royal camp with a letter from Hotspur, but it is merely a repetition of Hotspur's speech to Blunt in Act IV., Scene iii. In order to save bloodshed Prince Henry challenges Hotspur to single combat, after which the king offers unconditional pardon if the rebels will return to their allegiance.

Knight of the Burning Lamp. III. iii. 27.

The 'Knight of the burning lamp' and the 'Knight of the burning pestle' were humorous names invented to ridicule knightly heroes in the days of chivalry.

Lady Mortimer, daughter to Glendower, and wife to Mortimer. II. iv. 110; III. i. p.192.

Strangely enough Lady Mortimer can speak no English, and her husband can speak no Welsh. Mortimer says:

> This is the deadly spite that angers me;
> My wife can speak no English, I no Welsh.
> [III. i. 192–193.]

She has however a great love for her husband and is overcome with grief when she is told that he has to go to the wars, and vows: "she will not part with him; She'll be a soldier too, she'll to the wars," but Glendower—acting as interpreter—explains to her that the parting will not be for long. Then comes the tender parting with her husband, and she bids him lie down upon the grass, and put his head upon her lap while she softly sings him to sleep:

> *Glend.* She bids you on the wanton rushes lay you down
> And rest your gentle head upon her lap,
> And she will sing the song that pleaseth you,
> And on your eyelids crown the god of sleep,
> Charming your blood with pleasing heaviness,
> Making such difference 'twixt wake and sleep
> As is the difference betwixt day and night
> The hour before the heavenly-harness'd team
> Begins his golden progress in the east.
> [III. i. 213–221.]

[Lady Mortimer was the daughter of Owen Glendower, and according to Shakespeare the wife of Sir Edmund Mortimer. Welsh historians do not, however, bear out this statement.]

Lady Percy, wife to Hotspur, and sister to Mortimer. II. iii. p.37, 110; III. i. p.192.

Presents an "attractive figure" in the play. Her nature is closely allied to that of her husband

in its "mixture of banter and seriousness," and she also shows the same poetical quality in her speech. She has a great love for her husband and is greatly troubled about him, saying that "he has lost the fresh blood in his cheeks," and talks in his sleep:

> Of sallies and retires, of trenches, tents,
> Of palisadoes, frontiers, parapets,
> Of basilisks, of cannon, culverin,
> Of prisoners' ransom, and of soldiers slain,
> And all the currents of a heady fight. [II. iii. 53–57.]

We can see that beneath his seeming roughness Hotspur has a great affection for his "dear lady," whose tribute to her "heart's dear Harry" is not all paid to his heroism.

[Lady Percy is also a character in the *Second Part of King Henry the Fourth* (q.v.)]

Lazarus. IV. ii. 25.

> slaves as ragged as Lazarus
> in the painted cloth, [IV. ii. 25–26.]

= The beggar Lazarus represented on a painted canvas. In ancient times a cloth or canvas painted in oils was a cheap substitute for tapestry for hanging the rooms of dwelling-houses, the subjects usually depicted being of a scriptural or allegorical nature.

Leather-jerkin. II. iv. 69.
Crystal-button. II. iv. 69.
Not-pated. II. iv. 70.
Agate-ring. II. iv. 70.
Puke-stocking. II. iv. 70.
Caddis-garter. II. iv. 70.
Spanish-pouch. II. iv. 71.

The Prince is here describing the vintner of the tavern. *Leather-jerkin—Crystal-button* = a a man who wears a leather jacket with glass buttons. They were usually worn by vintners. From Greene's *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, 1620, we read that "a leather jerkin with crystal-buttons was the habit of a pawn-broker." *Not-pated* = having the hair cut short and round. Steevens quotes from Stowe's *Annals* for the Year 1535, 27th, of Henry the Eighth: "He caused his own head to bee polled, and from thenceforth his beard to bee notted and no more shaven." *Agate-ring* = a ring with a cheap stone in it. *Puke-stocking* = a puke colour, a colour between russet and black. In *The Order of my Lorde Maior, &c., for their Meetings and Wearing of theyr Apparel throughout the Yeere*, 1586, appears "the maior, &c., are commanded to appeare on Good Fryday in their pewke gownes, and without their chaynes and typetes." *Caddis-garter* = A garter made of worsted material in contradistinction to the silk garter worn by men of fashion. The garters of Shakespeare's time were worn in sight, and consequently were expensive. Steevens quotes from *Warres, or the Peace is Broken*: "—fine piecd silke stockens on their legs, tyed up smoothly with caddis garters—" and in Stow's *Chronicle* we have: "men of mean rank weare garters and shoe-roses of more than five pound price." *Spanish-pouch* = the pouch of Spanish leather usually worn by vintners in which he placed his money.

Lincolnshire. I. ii. 77.

> Yea, or the drone of a Lincolnshire bagpipe [I. ii. 77.]

= the wail of a Lincolnshire bagpipe. Lincolnshire bagpipes are mentioned in *A Nest of Ninnies*, by Robert Armin, 1608: "At a Christmas time, when great logs furnish the hall fire: when brawne is in season, and indeed all reveling is regarded: this gallant knight kept open house for all commers, where beefe, beere, and bread was no niggard. Amongst all the pleasures provided, a noyse of minstrells and a Lincolnshire bagpipe was prepared: the minstrells for the great chamber, the bagpipe for the hall; the minstrells to serve up the knight's meate, and the bagpipe for the common daunc-ing. *The drone of the bagpipe* is considered to mean the dull croak of a frog, one of the native musicians of that waterish county."

London. I. ii. 127; II. i. 15, 42; II. ii. 91; V. iii. 30.

London. An Apartment of the Prince's.

The Scene of Act I., Scene ii. A great contrast to the preceding scene. It introduces us to Prince Henry (Hal) and Falstaff. There is a plot to rob the Canterbury pilgrims and the London traders at Gadshill and a counterplot by the Prince and Poins to rob Falstaff and his

riends of their ill-gotten gain. The lies and ubterfuges of Falstaff provide great fun.

London. The Palace.

The Scene of Act I., Scene i. Act I., Scene iii. Act III., Scene ii.

Act I., Scene i. Introduces the chief characters of the Play. Henry declares his intention of going on crusade to the Holy Land. Westmoreland announces that Glendower has raised the standard of rebellion in Wales and has taken Edmund Mortimer prisoner. He also announces the defeat at Holmedon hill by Hotspur of a Scottish force under the Earl of Douglas. Henry demands of Hotspur the prisoners he has captured at Holmedon, but refusing to accede to the king's demand, has summoned Hotspur to appear before a council at Windsor.

Act I., Scene iii. Continues Scene i. At the opening of the scene Worcester is dismissed the king's presence. Hotspur appears and is prepared to surrender the prisoners taken at Holmedon conditionally upon Henry ransoming Edmund Mortimer, a prisoner in the hands of Glendower. Principally from personal motives —Mortimer being the real heir to the crown— Henry refuses this request and dismisses the council. Hotspur's outbursts of passion and the cool and calculating schemes of Worcester provide a great contrast.

Act III., Scene ii. This scene shows us the interview between Henry and the Prince of Wales. The king chides his son for keeping such low company, and the prince asks for forgiveness. The interview ends with a reconciliation between father and son and Henry promises the prince a high place of 'sovereign trust' in the war. The interview is interrupted by Sir William Blunt who enters with the news that Hotspur and Douglas have joined forces at Shrewsbury. Malone points out that the reference in this scene to the expulsion of King Henry from the Privy Council is an anachronism. The prince had been president of the council, and was removed from the office in consequence of his striking Lord Chief Justice Gascoigne; but this was some years after the battle of Shrewsbury (1403). *See under* Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench in the *Second Part of King Henry the Fourth.*

Long-staff sixpenny strikers. II. i. 74.

Contemptible fellows who carried long staffs and would knock a man down for sixpence. Cf. *The London Prodigal*, 1605: "Nay, now I have had such a fortunate beginning, I'll not let a six-penny-purse escape me." *Malone.*

Lord Mortimer of Scotland. III. ii. 164.

> Lord Mortimer of Scotland hath sent word
> That Douglas and the English rebels met
> The eleventh of this month at Shrewsbury.
> [III. ii. 164–166.]

Steevens says: There was no such person as Lord Mortimer of Scotland; but there was a Lord March of Scotland, (George Dunbar,) who having quitted his own country in disgust, attached himself so warmly to the English, and did them such signal services in their wars with Scotland, that the Parliament petitioned the King to bestow some reward on him. He fought on the side of Henry in this rebellion, and was the means of saving his life at the battle of Shrewsbury, as is related by Holinshed. This, no doubt, was the lord whom Shakespeare designed to represent in the act of sending friendly intelligence to the King. Our author had a recollection that there was in these wars a Scottish lord on the King's side, who bore the same title with the English family, on the rebel side, (one being the Earl of March in England, the other, Earl of March in Scotland,) but his memory deceived him as to the particular name which was common to both. He took it to be Mortimer instead of March.

Lord of Stafford. V. iii. 7, 13; V. iv. 41.

Edmund, fifth Earl of Stafford, who was killed at the battle of Shrewsbury while leading the king's foreward. For his valour in the field he had been made Lord High Constable of England by Henry. He was killed by Douglas who mistook him for the king, being one of several knights who were wearing the king's arms on their surcoats, hence: "The Lord of Stafford dear to-day hath bought Thy likeness."

[Edmund Stafford, Earl of Stafford, was the third son of Hugh Earl of Stafford, and his wife Philippa, daughter of Thomas Beauchamp, the elder Earl of Warwick, and the heir of his brothers Thomas and William, and was after their deaths without issue, the fifth Earl of Stafford and Lord of Tunbridge. He married Anne, daughter of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, sixth son of Edward III. He was the father of Humphrey Stafford, first Duke of Buckingham, slain at the battle of Northampton fighting for the Lancastrian party in 1460.]

Lord Scroop. I. iii. 271.

who bears hard
His brother's death at Bristow, the Lord Scroop.
[I. iii. 270–271.]

Shakespeare is mistaken here. Lord Scroop was not brother to the Archbishop of York. Lord Scroop, afterwards the Earl of Wiltshire who was executed at Bristol by Bolingbroke, was the youngest son of Henry le Scroop, first baron of Masham, whilst the Archbishop of York was the second son of Richard, Lord Scroop of Bolton.

Lords.

Lucifer. II. iv. 337.

Madeira. I. ii. 116.

A rich wine of the sherry class, produced in Madeira.

Maid Marian. III. iii. 115.

and for womanhood, Maid Marian may be the
deputy's wife of the ward to thee. [III. iii. 115–116.]

The paramour of Robin Hood in Sherwood Forest. The allusion here is to her as one of the characters in the morris-dance, held generally on May-day, in which she was represented as a woman of dissolute character.

Malt-worms. II. i. 75.

Mad mustachio purple-hued malt-worms. [II. i. 75.]

Drunkards whose faces were red with drinking ale, and whose large moustaches gave them fierce countenances. In *The Life and Death of Ja Straw*, 1503, we have: "You shall purchase t prayers of all the alewives in town, for saving malt-worm and a customer."

Manningtree ox. II. iv. 451.

Manningtree: a town in Essex, famous for i fat oxen and its great fairs at which moralit plays were performed, and eating and drinkin were done on a large scale. In Dekker's *New from Hell, brought by the Devil's Carrier* we have "—you shall have a slave eat more at a mea than ten of the guard; and drink more in tw days, than all Manningtree does at a Whitsun ale."

Mars. III. ii. 112.

Thrice hath this Hotspur, Mars in swathing clothes,
This infant warrior, in his enterprises
Discomfited great Douglas. [III. ii. 112–114.]

Mars was the god of war, and Hotspur is her represented as young Mars. He defeated th Scotch at Nesbit and at Holmedon, but wa himself defeated by the Scotch at Otterburn being taken prisoner, after killing the then Ear of Douglas.

Mars. IV. i. 116.

And to the fire-eyed maid of smoky war
All hot and bleeding will we offer them:
The mailed Mars shall on his altar sit
Up to the ears in blood. [IV. i. 114–117.]

Fire-eyed maid of smoky war = Bellona the Roman goddess of war. *Mailed Mars* = The god of war clad in armour. Both the goddess and the god are represented here as receiving the sacrifice.

May. IV. i. 101.

Menteith. I. i. 73.

One of the titles held by Murdach Stewart, Earl of Fife, whose mother, Margaret Graham, was Countess of Menteith in her own right. He was a captive in England for thirteen years, and was reclaimed in 1415 for the Earl of Northumberland.

Mercury. IV. i. 106.

> Rise from the ground like feather'd Mercury,
> [IV. i. 106.]

An allusion to the wings attached to the ankles of the god Mercury suggestive of rapid speed. Mercury was the winged messenger to the gods.

Merlin. III. i. 150.

> I cannot choose: sometime he angers me
> With telling me of the moldwarp and the ant,
> Of the dreamer Merlin and his prophecies.
> [III. i. 148–150.]

An allusion to an old prophecy, that is said to have induced Glendower to rebel against King Henry. Cf. *The Mirrour for Magistrates*, 1559, where Glendower is introduced, speaking of himself:

> And for to set us hereon more agog,
> A prophet came (a vengeaunce take them all!)
> Affirming Henry to be Gogmagog,
> Whom Merlyn doth a *mouldwarp* ever call,
> Accurs'd of God that must be brought in thrall,
> By a wulf, a dragon, and a lyon strong,
> Which shuld devide his kingdome them among.

Holinshed says: "This [the division of the realm between Mortimer, Glendower, and Percy,] was done (as some have sayde) through a foolish credite given to a vaine prophesie, as though King Henry was the *molde-warpe*, cursed of God's own mouth, and they three were the *dragon*, the *lion*, and the *wolfe*, which should divide this realm between them."

Messengers. IV. i. p.13; V. ii. p.80, p.90.

In Act IV., Scene i., one of the messengers enters and hands a letter to Hotspur. The letter is from his father the Earl of Northumberland who is unable to join him as he is sick:

> He cannot come, my lord; he is grievous sick.
> [IV. i. 16.]

In Act V., Scene ii., he again enters with letters, but Hotspur has no time to read them; after which another messenger enters and informs Hotspur that the king and his forces are approaching:

> My lord, prepare; the king comes on apace. [V. ii. 90.]

Michaelmas. II. iv. 55.

The festival of St. Michael and All Angels, the 29th of September.

Mistress Quickly, hostess of a tavern in Eastcheap. II. iv. p.283, p.484; III. iii. p.52, 92.

Is mainly distinguished by her "density of understanding." She first enters with news for the prince that "there is a nobleman of the court at door would speak with you: he says he comes from your father."

Later she has words with Falstaff, who declares that his pockets have been picked, but she tells him that she does not keep thieves in her house, and defies him, saying that he owes her for the garments he wears, as well as for his board, drink and various sums of money she has lent him from time to time:

> you owe me money, Sir John;
> and now you pick a quarrel to beguile me of it: I
> bought you a dozen of shirts to your back.
> [III. iii. 66–68.]

and

> You owe money here besides, Sir
> John, for your diet and by-drinkings, and money
> lent you, four and twenty pound. [III. iii. 72–74.]

At this juncture their quarrel is interrupted by the entry of the prince, who—on hearing Falstaff's detailed description of his lost valuables—confesses that it was he (the prince) who rifled Falstaff's pockets. Hearing this, Falstaff forgives the hostess, who then leaves the room.

[Mistress Quickly also appears in the *Second Part of King Henry the Fourth* (q.v.)]

Monsieur Remorse. I. ii. 113.

A nonce name, or a name coined for the occasion. Applied to Falstaff by Poins.

Moor-ditch. I. ii. 79.

A ditch in the neighbourhood of Bishopsgate and Cripplegate proverbial for its muddy, stagnant character. Stow in his *Survey of London* says: "The ditch, which partly now remaineth, and compassed the wall of the city, was begun to be made by the Londoners in the year 1213, the 15th, of King John. This ditch being then

made of 200 feet broad, caused no small hindrance to the canons of the Holy Trinity, whose church stood near unto Aldgate; for that the said ditch passed through their ground from the Tower of London unto Bishopsgate. This ditch, being originally made for the defence of the city, was also long together carefully cleansed and maintained, as need requireth; but now of late neglected and forced either to a very narrow, and the same a filthy channel, or altogether stopped up for gardens planted, and houses built thereon; even to the very wall, and in many places upon both ditch and wall houses to be built; to what danger of the city, I leave to wiser consideration, and can but wish that reformation might be had." And in *Gull's Hornbrook* by Thomas Dekker, we read: "it will be a sorer labour than the cleansing of Augeas' stable, or the scowring of Moor-ditch."

Mordake, Earl of Fife. I. i. 71; II. iv. 357; IV. iv. 24.

Murdach Stewart, eldest son of Robert, Duke of Albany, Regent of Scotland, who was third son of King Robert II. Shakespeare following Holinshed makes him the son to the governor Douglas. Earl Mordake also held the title of the Earl of Menteith. He was taken prisoner at the battle of Holmedon.

Mordake, Earl of Fife. I. i. 95.

and sends me word,
I shall have none but Mordake Earl of Fife.
[I. i. 94–95.]

Henry was going beyond his right in demanding the prisoners captured at Holmedon. By the law of arms, every man who had taken any captive, and whose redemption did not exceed ten thousand crowns, had him clearly for himself, either to acquit or ransom at his pleasure. Mordake being a prince of the royal blood was the only prisoner Henry could justly claim by his acknowledged military prerogative. Pounouny Castle in Scotland is considered to have been built out of the ransom of Henry Percy when taken prisoner at the battle of Otterbourne by an ancestor of the present Earl of Eglinton. *Malone.*

Mortimer. I. iii. 144.

Trembling even at the name of Mortimer. [I. iii. 144.]

Johnson and Steevens seem to think that Hotspur meant to describe the King as trembling not with fear, but rage; but surely they are mistaken. The king had no reason to be enraged at Mortimer, who had been taken prisoner in fighting against his enemy; but he had much reason to fear the man who had a better title to the crown than himself, which had been proclaimed by Richard II; and accordingly, when Hotspur is informed of that circumstance, he says:

Nay, then I cannot blame his cousin king
That wish'd him on the barren mountains starv'd.

and in the very next line, Worcester says: "He cannot blame him for trembling at the name of Mortimer, since Richard had proclaimed him next of blood. *Malone.*

Mortimer. I. iii. 156.

did King Richard then
Proclaim my brother Edmund Mortimer
Heir to the crown? [I. iii. 155–157.]

Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, who was born in 1371, was declared heir apparent to the crown in the 9th year of King Richard II (1385). But he was killed in Ireland in 1398. The person who was proclaimed by Richard heir apparent to the crown, previous to his last voyage to Ireland, was Edmund Mortimer, (the son of Roger,) who was then but seven years old; but he was not Percy's wife's brother, but her nephew.

Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, was the undoubted heir to the crown after the death of Richard, as appears from the following table; in which the three younger children of King Edward III., are not included, as being immaterial to the subject before us:

King Edward III.

Edward, Prince of Wales.	William of Hatfield died without issue.	Lionel, duke of Clarence.	John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster.
King Richard II., died without issue.		Philippa, married to Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March.	Henry, duke of Hereford, afterwards King Henry IV.
		Roger Mortimer, Earl of March.	
		Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March.	Eleanor died without issue.	Anne, married to Richard, Earl of Cambridge.

Edmund, Earl of March, (the Mortimer of this play,) was married to Anne Stafford, daughter of Edmund, Earl of Stafford. Thomas Walsingham asserts that he married a daughter of Owen Glendower; but this is a very doubtful point, for the Welsh writers make no mention of it. Sandford says that this Earl of March was confined by the jealous Henry in the castle of Trim in Ireland, and that he died there, after an imprisonment of twenty years, on the 19th of January, 1424. But this is a mistake. There is no proof that he was confined a state-prisoner by King Henry the Fourth, and he was employed in many military services by his son Henry the Fifth. He died at his own castle at Trim in Ireland, at the time mentioned by Sandford, but not in a state of imprisonment.

I learn that Owen Glendower's daughter was married to his antagonist Lord Grey of Ruthven. Holinshed led Shakespeare into the error of supposing her the wife of Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March. This nobleman, who is the Mortimer of the present play, was born in November, 1392, and consequently at the time when this play commences, was little more than ten years old. The Prince of Wales was not fifteen. *Malone.*

Mugs. II. i. 44.

The name by which the 'First Carrier' is addressed.

Murray. I. i. 74.

Thomas Dunbar, second Earl of Murray, and grandson of Patrick, ninth Earl of Dunbar and Marche, whose wife was Agnes, daughter of Sir Thomas Randolph who at Bannockburn commanded the left wing of the army of his uncle, King Robert Bruce, who created his nephew, Earl of Moray. Taken prisoner at the battle of Holmedon.

Ned. I. ii. 112; II. ii. 105; II. iv. 1, 20, 22, 28.

= Poins.

Newgate fashion. III. iii. 90.

> Yea, two and two, Newgate fashion. [III. iii. 90.]

Like prisoners on their way to Newgate gaol, fastened two and two together.

Officers.

Owen Glendower. I. i. 40; I. iii. 83, 101, 114, 117, 295; II. iii. 26; II. iv. 340, 341, 369; III. i. p.1, 3, 11, 78, 87, p.192; IV. i. 124, 131; IV. iv. 16; V. v. 40.

A Welsh chieftain and ally of Hotspur, who, though he does not show his nationality in his speech, betrays it in his being endowed with a love of poetry and art; possessing such refinement and high-bearing which is characteristic of his race,—indeed his character conveys to us the beautiful atmosphere and artistic mysticism of medieval Wales.

His character however, is somewhat spoiled by a "complacent conceit," as he ostentatiously regards himself "as not in the roll of common men," for he says:

> at my nativity
> The front of heaven was full of fiery shapes,
> Of burning cressets; and at my birth
> The frame and huge foundation of the earth
> Shaked like a coward. [III. i. 13–17.]

to which Hotspur replies:

> Why, so it would have done at the same season, if your mother's cat had but kittened, though yourself had never been born. [III. i. 18–20.]

We cannot but notice the humorous side of his attempts to convince Hotspur that he is gifted with supernatural powers, claiming that he can call up spirits from the "vasty deep" which assertion Hotspur ridicules in such a fashion that he makes Glendower wild with fury:

> *Glend.* I can call spirits from the vasty deep.
> *Hot.* Why, so can I, or so can any man;
> But will they come when you do call for them?
> *Glend.* Why, I can teach you, cousin, to command
> The devil.
> *Hot.* And I can teach thee, coz, to shame the devil
> By telling truth: tell truth, and shame the devil.
> [III. i. 53–59.]

Glendower's belief in himself, however, has a curious effect upon others, for even the king, when he fails to bring him into subjection, declares that Glendower has the assistance of the supernatural, and calls him "that great magician, damn'd Glendower." See *Extract* 5 from Holinshed.

Commenting on this character, Hudson says: "The best of historical matter for poetical and dramatic uses has seldom been turned to better account that way than in the portrait of Glendower. He is represented, with great art and equal truth, according to the superstitious belief of his time; a belief in which himself doubtless shared: for, if the winds and tempests came *when* he wished them, it was natural for him to think, as others thought, that they came *because* he wished them. The popular ideas respecting him all belonged to the region of poetry; and Shakespeare has given them with remarkable exactness, at the same time penetrating and filling them with his own spirit.

Crediting the alleged portents of his nativity, Glendower might well conclude he was "not in the roll of common men"; and so betake himself to the study and practice of those magic arts which were generally believed in then, and for which he was specially marked by his birth and all the courses of his life. And for the same cause he would naturally become somewhat egotistical, long-winded, and tedious; presuming that what was interesting to him as relating to himself would be equally so to others for its own sake. So that we need not altogether discredit Hotspur's account of the time spent by him "in reckoning up the several devils' names that were his lacqueys." For, though Hotspur exaggerates here, as usual, yet we see that he has some excuse for his sauciness to Glendower, in that he has been dreadfully bored by him. And there is something ludicrous withal in the Welshman's being so wrapped up in himself as not to perceive the unfitness of talking thus to one so hare-brained and skittish.

Glendower, however, is no ordinary enthusiast. A man of wild and mysterious imaginations, yet he has a practical skill that makes them tell against the King; his dealing in magic rendering him even more an object of fear than his valour and conduct. And his behaviour in the disputes with Hotspur approves him as much superior in the external qualities of a gentleman as he is more superstitious. Though no suspicion of any thing false or mean can attach to Hotspur, it is characteristic of him to indulge his haughty temper even to the thwarting of his purpose: he will hazard the blowing-up of the conspiracy rather than put a bridle on his impatience; which the Welshman, with all his grandeur and earnestness of pretension, is too prudent to do."

[Owen Glendower was the son of Griffith Vaughan who married the daughter of Llewelyn, the last prince of North Wales. Trained in the English court he became a supporter of Richard the Second. His estates being seized by Lord Grey of Ruthin he petitioned Parliament for redress but being refused rebelled against Henry. Defeated and captured Lord Grey and Sir Edmund Mortimer. Joined the Percys' rebellion, but was not present at the battle of Shrewsbury, though according to some historians he committed great ravages in Shropshire. In *English Forests and Forest Trees*, we read: "An oak, called the 'Shelton Oak,' growing near Shrewsbury, was celebrated for Owen Glyndwr having mounted on it to observe the battle of Shrewsbury, fought on the 21st., of June, 1403, between Henry IV. and Harry Percy. The battle had commenced before Glyndwr had arrived, and he ascended the tree to see how the day was likely to go; finding that Hotspur was beaten, and the force of the king was overpowering, he retired with his 12,000 men to Oswestry." On the accession of Henry the Fifth in 1413 he was included in the general pardon, after which he retired into obscurity and his end is unknown. Holinshed says: "The Welsh rebell Owen Glendower made an end of his wretched life in this tenth yeare [1408–9] of king Henrie his reigne; being driuen now in his latter time (as we find recorded) to such miserie, that, in manner despairing of all comfort, he fled into desert places and solitarie caues; where, being destitute of all releefe and succour, dreading to shew his face to anie creature, and finallie lacking meat to susteine nature, for meere hunger and lacke of food, [he] miserable pined awaie and died."]

Paul's. II. iv. 524.

This oily rascal is known as well as Paul's. [II. iv. 524.]

= St. Paul's Cathedral, it being the most conspicuous building in London.

Pegasus. IV. i. 109.

A winged horse said to have sprung from the blood of Medusa when her head was cut off by Perseus.

Peto. I. ii. 161 ; II. ii. 21, p.48 ; II. iv. p.113, 298, 473, 548 ; III. iii. p.88, 198 ; IV. ii. 9.

One of Falstaff's band of robbers, who, like his confederates, is a braggart and a coward.

He tells how Falstaff hacked his sword with a dagger to make believe it was done in the fight, after the robbery at Gadshill. He acts as lieutenant to Falstaff in his ' charge of foot.'

The name of ' Peito ' occurs on the ' Roll of Battel Abbey,' and the family appears to have been seated in the county of Warwick from an early period. In 6 Edward I. Richard de Peito held lands at Drayton, near Stratford-upon-Avon ; and 23 Edward I., 1294, William de Peto, who married Margaret, daughter of Richard Langley, was seated at Wolphamcote, co. Warwick ; and in 1398, a descendant, William de Peto, cousin and heir to Geoffrey de Langley, gave a release of the manor of Milcote, in the same shire, to William Grevill. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Sir Humphrey Peyto was of Chesterton, where he is buried with his son and grandson, William and Edward Peyto ; and Sir Edward Peito was governor of Warwick Castle for the earl. It is therefore likely that the poet selected the name from its connection with his native county, and that he intended Peto to take a better rank than Pistol, Bardolph, and Nym ; thus he is classed, in the list of characters of the *Second Part*, in the usual editions, with Poins, as ' Attendants on Prince Henry,' whilst the others are called ' formerly servants to Falstaff,' in *King Henry V.* Peto, in this play, holds the rank of ' lieutenant ' to Falstaff in his ' charge of horse.' *French.*

[Peto also appears in the *Second Part of King Henry the Fourth* (q.v.)]

Pharaoh. II. iv. 472.

> if to be
> fat be to be hated, then Pharaoh's lean kine are to be loved. [II. iv. 471–473.]

A reference to Pharaoh's dream. See *Genesis* xli, 2–4.

Phœbus. I. ii. 15.

> and
> not by Phœbus, he, that wandering knight so fair. [I. ii. 14–15.]

Apollo the sun-god. Probably an allusion to El Donzel del Febo (Knight of the Sun) the hero of a Spanish romance, translated into English under the title of *The Mirror of Princely Deeds and Knighthood.*

Plantagenet. I. i. 89.

> O that it could be proved
> That some night-tripping fairy had exchanged
> In cradle-clothes our children where they lay,
> And call'd mine Percy, his Plantagenet ! [I. i. 86–89.]

It was a common superstition that among other pranks played by the fairies was stealing babies out of their cots and leaving ugly ones in their place. Brand quotes Willis's *Mount Tabor, or Private Exercises of a Penitent Sinner*, 1639. Under the heading of " Upon an extraordinary accident which befel me in my swaddling cloaths," we read : " When we come to years, we are commonly told of what befell us in our infancie, if the same were more than ordinary. Such an accident (by relation of others) befell me within few daies after my birth, whilst my mother lay in of me, being her second child, when I was taken out of the bed from her side, and by my suddain and fierce crying recovered again, being found sticking between the bed's head and the wall : and if I had not cryed in that manner as I did, our gossips had a conceit that I had been quite carried away by the fairies they know not whither, and some elfe or changeling (as they call it) laid in my room."

Poins. I. ii. p.107, 107 ; II. ii. p.1, 4, 7, 20, 59, p.90, 96, 98 ; II. iv. p.1, 85, p.87, 144, 474.

One of the comic characters, and a friend to Prince Henry and Falstaff. He informs the prince and Falstaff that :

> to-morrow morning, by four o'clock, early at Gadshill ! there are pilgrims going to Canterbury with rich offerings, and traders riding to London with fat purses : [I. ii. 124–127.]

Falstaff suggests that they waylay the travellers, but the prince refuses to accompany them, and when Falstaff has gone Poins suggests playing a trick upon him and his confederates, proposing that after they have robbed the travellers, the prince and himself in disguise,

shall rob them. The prince agrees, and they arrange to meet at a certain spot. Their plot succeeds, and Falstaff and his fellow-robbers are put to flight, leaving their booty on the ground.

The prince and Poins then proceed to the Boar's-Head Tavern in Eastcheap, and being in a joyful mood they play a trick on one of the waiters whilst they await the coming of Falstaff, who, on arriving, declares that he cannot overlook his supposed desertion.

French points out: "In the edition of 1623 the 'Actors' Names' are given at the end of the *Second Part of King Henry the Fourth*, and at the head of the 'Irregular Humourists' is Pointz; and the name occurs in this *First Part*, spelt 'Pointz, Poynes, and Poines.' As this favourite companion of Prince Hal is evidently of more gentle blood than Gadshill or Bardolph, 'the worst that they can say of me is that I am a second brother,' it is probable that Shakespeare intended him for a cadet of the family of Poyntz, one of high antiquity, found in *Domesday Book*, under Gloucestershire. Nicholas de Poyntz, and his son Hugh de Poyntz, were among the feudal barons in arms against King John; and Hugh's grandson, Hugh Poyntz, was summoned to Parliament as a baron from 1295 to 1307, and his descendants for three generations were also barons. The family continued to flourish in the county of Gloucester, of which they were sheriffs, from the time of Richard II to that of Elizabeth. Thomas Poyntz was one of the lances at Agincourt in the train of Lord Maltravers.

[Poins also appears in the *Second Part of King Henry the Fourth* (q.v.)]

Pomgarnet. II. iv. 38.

= Pomegranate. A special room in the Boar's Head Tavern. Steevens remarks: "To have windows or loop-holes looking into the rooms beneath them, was anciently a general custom."

Prince of Wales. I. iii. 230.

And that same sword-and-buckler Prince of Wales.
[I. iii. 230.]

A royster or turbulent fellow, that fought in taverns, or raised disorder in the streets, was called a swash-buckler. In this sense *sword-and-buckler* is here used. *Johnson.* Deighton remarks: "Henley illustrates the phrase *sword-and-buckler* from Stow. The field, commonly called West Smithfield, was for many years called Ruffian's Hall, by reason it was the usual place of frays and common fighting, during the time that swords and bucklers were in use. When every servingman . . . . carried a buckler at his back, which hung by the hilt or pomel of his sword."

Prince of Wales. IV. i. 95.

Where is his son,
The nimble-footed madcap Prince of Wales.
[IV. i. 94–95.]

Stow says: "He (the Prince) was passing swift in running, insomuch that he with two other of his lords, without hounds, bow, or other engine, would take a wild buck, or doe, in a large park."

Prince of Wales. II. iv. 11, 139; III. ii. 1; IV. i. 121; IV. iv. 29; V. i. 86, 101; V. ii. 46; V. iv. 12, 42, 63, 67.

Henry, Prince of Wales (q.v.).

Public Road near Coventry.

The Scene of Act IV., Scene ii. In this scene we see Falstaff with his charge of foot marching towards Coventry. They are overtaken by the Prince and Westmoreland who are highly amused at Falstaff's ragged contingent, but Falstaff declares that they are 'good enough to toss' and 'food for powder.'

Ralph. II. iv. 39.

A drawer or servant at the Boar's Head Tavern.

Ravenspurgh. I. iii. 248; III. ii. 95; IV. iii. 77.

Name of the seaport on the Yorkshire coast at which Henry IV—then Bolingbroke—landed on his return from exile in 1399. See *The Tragedy of King Richard the Second*, page 465.

Rebel Camp near Shrewsbury. The Scene of Act IV., Scene i. Act IV., Scene iii. Act V., Scene ii.

Act IV., Scene i. The rebels receive their first set-back by a messenger entering with the news that Northumberland—Hotspur's father—is prevented by sickness from joining them at Shrewsbury. News is brought by Sir Richard Vernon that the Earl of Westmoreland and Prince John with a large army are marching against them, and also that Glendower cannot join them for at least fourteen days.

Act IV., Scene iii. The evening before the battle of Shrewsbury. Hotspur and Douglas are in favour of fighting the same evening, but Worcester and Vernon counsel delay, which advice is adopted consequent upon the arrival of Sir William Blunt from the king with 'gracious offers.' Hotspur promises to send Worcester on the morrow with a reply.

Act V., Scene ii. Worcester and Vernon return to the rebel camp, but Worcester proves false, for instead of imparting to Hotspur the king's offer of pardon, tells him that Henry had denounced them as 'rebels and traitors.' By his treachery, Worcester's object is achieved, and preparations are made to meet the king's troops.

Richard. I. iii. 146, 155, 175, 242; III. ii. 94.

= Richard II.

Richard Scroop, Archbishop of York. I. iii. 269, 280; II. iii. 21, 25; III. ii. 119; IV. iv. p.1; V. v. 37.

Only appears once in the play, in his palace at York, in company with his friend, Sir Michael.

He bids Sir Michael hasten to deliver some letters which will enable reinforcements to be raised on Hotspur's behalf, whose force is weaker than that of the king.

The Archbishop is anxious that the king shall not gain the victory, for he says:

> And, to prevent the worst, Sir Michael, speed:
> For if Lord Percy thrive not, ere the king
> Dismiss his power, he means to visit us,
> For he hath heard of our confederacy,
> And 'tis but wisdom to make strong against him:
> Therefore make haste. [IV. iv. 35–40.]

knowing that through being implicated in the plot against Henry, his life would be in danger.

This prelate, Richard le Scrope, was the second son of Richard, Lord Scrope of *Bolton*, who had been chancellor in the reign of Richard II. The archbishop had two brothers, the eldest of whom, Roger, became second Lord Scrope of Bolton; and his youngest brother was Sir Stephen le Scrope of Bentley and Castlecombe. Nearly all historians and the commentators of Shakespeare have made the mistake, fallen into by the poet, in calling the archbishop a brother of the Earl of Wiltshire, who was a Scrope of Masham, as shown in the memoir of Sir Stephen Scrope in *Richard II.* The name of the Earl of Wiltshire was William le Scrope, who had only one brother, Sir Stephen Scrope, the loyal character in *Richard II.*

[The Archbishop of York is also a character in the *Second Part of King Henry the Fourth* (q.v.)]

Richard's time. V. i. 35.

> For you my staff of office did I break
> In Richard's time. [V. i. 34–35.]

Worcester was Lord High Steward to King Richard. On his brother—the Earl of Northumberland—being proclaimed a traitor, Worcester broke his staff,—the token of his office—and proceeded to Ravenspurgh to join Bolingbroke. Cf. *King Richard the Second,* II. iii. 26–28: "he hath forsook the court, Broken his staff of office and dispersed The household of the king." Holinshed says: "Sir Thomas Persie, earle of Worcester, lord steward of the kings house, either being so commanded by the king, or else vpon displeasure (as some write) for that the king had proclaimed his brother the earle of Northumberland, traitor, brake his white staffe, (which is the representing signe and token of his office,) and without delaie went to duke Henrie."

Rivo. II. iv. 111.

The derivation of the word is uncertain. Probably it was a cant word used in English taverns in the time of Shakespeare.

Robin Ostler. II. i. 10.

"In Munday, Drayton, Wilson and Hathaway,

The Life of Sir John Oldcastle, the ostler is summoned by a carrier : ' Ho ! John Hostler.' " *Arden edition.*

Rochester. I. ii. 129.

A City of Kent on the river Medway.

Rochester. An Inn Yard.

The Scene of Act II., Scene i. The scene is an Elizabethan tavern and the time four o'clock a.m. The carriers enter and prepare to set out for Canterbury. Gadshill obtains information from one of his friends at the tavern the amount of money the travellers carry.

Saint Alban's. IV. ii. 47.

Saint Albans lies on the main road from London to Shrewsbury.

Saint Nicholas' clerks. II. i. 61, 64.

> Sirrah, if they meet not with Saint Nicholas' clerks,
> I'll give thee this neck. [II. i. 61–62.]

Nicholas, or Old Nick, is a cant phrase for the devil, hence highwaymen and robbers were referred to as " Saint Nicholas' clerks." In Rowley's *Match at Midnight,* 1633, we have : " I think yonder comes prancing down the hills from Kingston, a couple of St. Nicholas's clerks." and in *A Christian Turn'd Turk,* 1612 : " —We are prevented ;—St. Nicholas's clerks are stepp'd up before us."

Salamander. III. iii. 47.

A reptile allied to the newt, considered in the middle ages as an animal that lived in fire without being burnt.

Scotland. I. iii. 262, 265 ; III. i. 45 ; IV. i. 85.

Scotland. I. iii. 280.

> And then the power of Scotland and of York,
> To join with Mortimer, ha ? [I. iii. 280–281.]

= The forces under Archibald, Earl of Douglas.

Scotland. III. ii. 264.

> Lord Mortimer of Scotland hath sent word
> That Douglas and the English rebels met
> The eleventh of this month at Shrewsbury.
> [III. ii. 164–166.]

See Lord Mortimer of Scotland.

Scroop. IV. iv. 3.

Lord William Scroop, Earl of Wiltshire, who was executed at Bristol by Bolingbroke. *See* Lord Scroop.

Servants. II. iii. p.67.

Severn. III. i. 66.

> Three times hath Henry Bolingbroke made head
> Against my power ; thrice from the banks of Wye
> And sandy-bottom'd Severn have I sent him
> Bootless home and weather-beaten back.
> [III. i. 64–67.]

See Henry Bolingbroke.

Severn. III. i. 74, 76.

> England, from Trent and Severn hitherto,
> By south and east is to my part assigned :
> [III. i. 74–5.]

The river Severn was the proposed boundary between the territories of Glendower and Mortimer under the indentures tripartite made at Bangor.

Severn's flood. I. iii. 103

Severn's sedgy bank. I. iii. 98.

It was on the banks of the river Severn that Glendower and Mortimer fought hand to hand, the latter being taken prisoner.

Sheriff. II. iv. p.504.

In company with one of the robbed carriers, goes to the Boar's-Head Tavern in Eastcheap and demands admittance in order to search the house for the thieves.

Upon being admitted, the prince asks :

> Now, master sheriff, what is your will with me ?
> [II. iv. 504.]

to which the sheriff replies :

> First, pardon me, my lord. A hue and cry
> Hath follow'd certain men unto this house.
> [II. iv. 505–506.]

and that " One of them is well known, . . . A gross fat man," adding " There are two gentlemen Have in this robbery lost three hundred marks." The prince, knowing to whom he refers tells him that the man they seek is not there, but assures him that he will be answerable for his appearance on the morrow. The sheriff then bids the prince " good-night " and departs.

Shirley. V. iv. 41.

Sir Hugh Shirlie, Master of the Hawks to Henry IV. He was slain at the battle of Shrewsbury. See *Extract* 14 from Holinshed.

Shrewsbury. III. i. 86 ; III. ii. 166 ; IV. ii. 54 ; IV. iv. 10.

The County Town of Shropshire. On Hayteley Field, about two miles north of this town, Henry the Fourth defeated, on the 21st of July, 1403, Hotspur and the Earl of Douglas, the former being killed. The two armies were unequal in numbers. Hotspur had some 14,000 men including a large force of Cheshire bowmen, while the king's army numbered about 40,000 men. The battle lasted about three hours and was fought with fierceness, the slaughter being very great ; the loss on Hotspur's side being estimated at 5,000, including many knights and gentlemen of Cheshire.

Three years after the battle Henry gave permission to Roger Ive, the rector of Fitz, 1399, and of Albrighton Hussey (close to the battlefield) from 1398 to 1447, to erect a Church on the site of the grave-pits where the slain were buried as a memorial of the victory, and where masses might be said for the king and for the souls of those who were slain in the battle and there buried. There is, however, no record of who were buried on the field. Over the east window in a niche, surmounted by a Gothic canopy, in which stands a crowned statue of Henry IV. He wears a jupon, and his right hand holds a dagger, and there has probably been a sword at the left.

Shrewsbury, Battle of. Plain between the Camps.

The Scene of Act V., Scene iii. The first part of the battle of Shrewsbury. Lord Stafford and Sir William Blunt—who appear wearing the royal arms on their surcoats, are mistaken for the king—and are both killed by Douglas.

Shrewsbury, Battle of. Another Part of the Field. The Scene of Act V., Scene iv. Act V., Scene v.

Act V., Scene iv. Continues the battle of Shrewsbury. The Prince after heavy fighting is wounded but refuses to retire to have his wounds dressed. The prince saves his father—who encounters Douglas—from being killed, and afterwards fighting Hotspur, kills him. Falstaff feigns death, but ' coming to life ' swears he has killed Percy whom he finds lying dead beside him.

Courtenay remarks : " The incidents of the battle of Shrewsbury are in part warranted by the Chronicle, in part imaginary. Among the latter is the slaying of Hotspur by the prince himself." Malone says : " Shakespeare has chosen to make Hotspur fall by the hand of the Prince of Wales : but there is, I believe, no authority for the fact. According to Holinshed the king slew that day with his own hand six and thirty persons of his enemies. The other [*i.e.* troops] of his party, encouraged by his doings, fought valiantly, and slew the Lord Percy, called Henry Hotspur. Speed says Percy was killed by an unknown hand.

Act V., Scene V. The king has gained the victory. Worcester and Vernon are sentenced to be beheaded. Douglas—for his bravery in the field—is set free by the Prince, but the final speech of the king ' Let us not leave till all our own be won ' remind us that the rebellion is not fully crushed, and consequently we look forward to the *Second Part of King Henry the Fourth*, for in reality the two parts form one complete play.

For accounts of the Battle *see inter alia* " Battle of Shrewsbury : Battlefield Church and College,

together with some account of the Proceedings at the commemoration of the 500th., Anniversary, July, 1903." Brooke's "Visits to Fields of Battle in England, of the fifteenth century," 1857. Barrett's "Battles and Battlefields in England," 1896. "A Collection of the Chronicles and Ancient Histories of Great Britain, now called England. By John de Wavrin. [1399–1422.] *Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages.*" Ramsay's "Lancaster and York: a century of English History, (A.D. 1399–1485)," 1892. Gairdner's "Houses of Lancaster and York with the conquest and loss of France," 1927. Ingulph's "Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland." [Bohn's edition.] 1908.

Shrewsbury clock. V. iv. 149.

> but we rose both at an
> instant, and fought a long hour by Shrewsbury clock.
> [V. iv. 148–149.]

Cf. Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Noble Gentleman*, v. 1: "Two . . . stars were seen to fight a long hour by the clock." *Arden edition.* Wordsworth quotes "Sh. Key,' "This mention of the church clock by its name not only gives the humorous effect of pretended exactness to Sir John's account of his exploit, but it serves as a reminder of the site of the scene represented and the celebrated event enacted—the battle of Shrewsbury."

Sir John Bracy. II. iv. 333.

This name is not mentioned by Holinshed or any other historian of the period, but there was a family of this name in the county of Worcester from the time of King John.

Sir John Falstaff. I. ii. p.1, 118, 148, 161; II. i. 68; II. ii. 1, p.4, 105; II. iv. 11, 29, 82, 87, 109, p.113, 256, 302, 325, 424, 428, 462, 474, 475, 476, 477, 484, 526; III. iii. p.1, 12, 21, 23, 28, 54, 65, 66, 72, p.88, 127, 142, 166; IV. ii. p.1, 55, 69, 78; V. i. p.1; V. iii. p.29; V. iv. p.75, 140.

Is probably Shakespeare's greatest comic character, and also the most "humorous creation in the whole field of Literature." His character is so complex that he can be "a knave without malice, a liar without deceit, and a knight, a gentleman, and a soldier without dignity, decency or honour."

He takes nothing seriously as he lives in an atmosphere of humour, ridicule, and sack, and adopts the "Epicurean Philosophy" taking no thought for the morrow.

He finds material for his art of humour in everything around him, in every situation and even in himself, and not only "takes a delight in his ease and sack, but in the world of humour, and incongruous make-believe which he has formed for himself and his friends."

The ring-leader of his merry band, Falstaff "loves to pretend that he is an innocent man among villains," for he tells the prince in his first appearance in the play:

> Thou hast done much harm upon me, Hal; God forgive thee for it! Before I knew thee, Hal, I knew nothing; and now am I, if a man should speak truly, little better than one of the wicked. I must give over this life, and I will give it over: by the Lord, an I do not, I am a villain: I'll be damned for never a king's son in Christendom.
> [I. ii. 93–99.]

and "forgives Mistress Quickly the hostess of the tavern after he has wronged her:"

> Hostess, I forgive thee: [III. iii. 172.]

He does not take either life or his own doings very seriously, in fact it would seem impossible to make Falstaff serious at all, and his versatility is apparent when Prince Hal remarks that he sees in Sir John a "good amendment of life; from praying to purse-taking."

Falstaff cannot be "called a liar in the ordinary sense of the term," as his lies are really gross-exaggerations, and he has no "intention of deceiving, when he increases two men in buckram suits to eleven," and pretends to have fought with Hotspur for an hour by Shrewsbury Clock.

It is these exaggerations which supply the humorous make-believe which is so delightful.

Falstaff is also in "reality no more a coward than a liar, and, although he runs away when set upon by the prince and Poins, and shams death to avoid being killed by Douglas, he shows no

fear on the battlefield, and is quite ready for death, though he will prevent it if he can : "

> Well, if Percy be alive, I'll pierce him. If he do come in my way, so : if he do not, if I come in his willingly, let him make a carbonado of me. I like not such grinning honour as Sir Walter hath : give me life : which if I can save, so ; if not, honour comes unlooked for, and there's an end. [V. iii. 55–60.]

Falstaff is an incongruous character, but the world in which he moves is similar, and thus his actions in the play are not out of place. We must not judge his morals harshly as he has created for himself an atmosphere in which they have no bearing.

[Falstaff also appears in the *Second Part of King Henry the Fourth* (q.v.)]

Sir John Paunch. II. ii. 64.

A nonce-name used for the fat Sir John Falstaff by Prince Henry.

Sir John Sack and Sugar. I. ii. 113.

Speaking of the manners of the English people, Hentzner says : " they put a great deal of sugar in their drink."

Much inquiry has been made about Falstaff's sack, and great surprise has been expressed that he should have mixed sugar with it. As they are here mentioned for the first time in this play, it may not be improper to observe, that it is probable that Falstaff's wine was Sherry, a Spanish wine, originally made at Xeres. He frequently himself calls it *Sherris-sack*. Nor will his mixing sugar with sack appear extraordinary, when it is known that it was a very common practice in our author's time to put sugar into all wines.

" Clownes and vulgar men (says Fynes Moryson) only use large drinking of beere or ale,—but gentlemen garrawse only in wine, with which they mix sugar, which I never observed in any other place or kingdom to be used for that purpose. And because the taste of the English is thus delighted with sweetness, the wines in taverns (for I speak not of merchantes' or gentlemen's cellers) are commonly mixed at the filling thereof, to make them pleasant."

Sir Michael, a friend to the Archbishop of York. IV. iv. p.1, 1, 8, 13, 35, 41.

Only appears in one scene of the play in company with his friend the Archbishop of York—in the latter's palace at York. The archbishop bids him hasten to deliver some letters which are to raise reinforcements for Hotspur, as he fears that " the power of Percy is too weak To wage an instant trial with the king." Sir Michael, however, assures the archbishop that " he need not fear " and goes on to name the various great nobles who are supporting them in their cause, adding, " Doubt not, my lord, they shall be well opposed," to which the archbishop answers : " I hope no less, yet needful 'tis to fear " ; and forthwith bids Sir Michael proceed with all possible speed on his errand.

[Nothing is known of this character, but he is considered to have been Chaplain to the Archbishop of York. In the time of Shakespeare, priests were often given the courtesy title of ' Sir.']

Sir Nicholas Gawsey. V. iv. 45, 58.

Sir Nicholas Goushill of Hoveringham, Nottinghamshire. He was slain at the battle of Shrewsbury. He was father of Sir Robert Goushill, knight, also killed in the field, who was the fourth husband of the Lady Elizabeth Fitzalan, great-great-granddaughter of Edward the First, and widow of the " Duke of Norfolk " in *King Richard II*. See *Extract* 14 from Holinshed.

Sir Richard Vernon. IV. i. p.86, 86 ; IV. iii. p.1, 20 ; IV. iv. 24 ; V. i. p.9 ; V. ii. p.1, 1 ; V. v. p.1, 14.

Cousin and ally to Percy.

Although he takes but little part in the play, he shows himself to be an " example of honesty, manly-bearing and generosity."

He is more prudent than Hotspur, and by his counsel succeeds in overcoming the latter's rash wish to fight with the king's forces without delay :

> *Hot.* We'll fight with him to-night.
> . . . . . .
> *Ver.* Do not, my lord. [IV. iii. 1–6.]

Accompanied by Worcester he visits the king's

camp, and Henry offers them and their friends unconditional pardon if they will return to their allegiance.

This generous offer of the king's is, on the suggestion of Worcester—to which Vernon ultimately agrees—withheld from Hotspur:

Wor. O, no, my nephew must not know, Sir Richard,
The liberal and kind offer of the king.
Ver. 'Twere best he did.
Wor. Then are we all undone.
It is not possible, it cannot be,
The king should keep his word in loving us;
He will suspect us still, and find a time
To punish this offence in other faults:
. . . . . .
Therefore, good cousin, let not Harry know,
In any case, the offer of the king.
Ver. Deliver what you will; I'll say 'tis so.
[V. ii. 1–26.]

and this step of being a party to Worcester's treacherous act, causes Vernon to stake his all on the losing side, and proves to be the cause of his subsequent death.

Hudson says: "Vernon, with his well-poised discretion in war-council and his ungrudging admiration of the Prince, makes a happy foil to Hotspur, whose intemperate daring in conduct, and whose uneasiness at hearing Prince Henry's praises spoken, would something detract from his manhood, but that no suspicion of dishonour can fasten upon him."

[Sir Richard Vernon evidently belonged to a very ancient family although little is known of him. He joined in the rebellion against Henry and being captured at the battle of Shrewsbury was beheaded at the High Cross, Shrewsbury. Sir Richard Vernon married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Piers Malbank, and left a son, Sir Richard Vernon, whose only daughter and heir, Johanna, married Sir Richard Foulshurst, knight.]

Sir Walter Blunt. I. i. p.1, 63, 69; I. iii. p.1; III. ii. p.162, 162; IV. iii. p.30, 32, 107; IV. iv. 30; V. i. p.1; V. iii. p.1, 20, 32, 58; V. iv. 41.

A noble and trustworthy man and a gallant follower of King Henry.

He is sent by the king to the rebel camp with "gracious offers," and tells Hotspur that the king wishes to know the nature of his grievances, promising a "pardon absolute" if he will return to his allegiance:

The king hath sent to know
The nature of your griefs, and whereupon
You conjure from the breast of civil peace
Such bold hostility, teaching his duteous land
Audacious cruelty. If that the king
Have any way your good deserts forgot,
Which he confesseth to be manifold,
He bids you name your griefs; and with all speed
You shall have your desires with interest,
And pardon absolute for yourself and these
Herein misled by your suggestion. [IV. iii. 41–51.]

Hotspur tells Blunt of the king's past misdeeds, and that his refusal to ransom Mortimer had forced him to rebel. When however, Blunt asks whether he "shall return this answer to the king," Hotspur says he will consider the king's offer, and answer it on the morrow.

In the battle which follows, Blunt encounters Douglas, and the latter mistaking him for the king, demands him to surrender:

The Lord of Stafford dear to-day hath bought
Thy likeness; for instead of thee, King Harry,
This sword hath ended him: so shall it thee,
Unless thou yield thee as my prisoner. [V. iii. 7–10.]

but the brave Blunt answers:

I was not born a yielder, thou proud Scot:
And thou shalt find a king that will revenge
Lord Stafford's death. [V. iii. 11–12.]

and engaging in combat is slain.

This gallant knight, standard-bearer to Henry the Fourth, fell on the battle-field of Shrewsbury, mistaken for his royal master, being—

'Semblably furnish'd like the king himself.'

He was one of the ancient family of Blount of Sodington, which came to his father, Sir Walter Blount, by marrying Joan, daughter and sole heir of Sir William de Sodington, his first wife. By his second wife, Eleanor, daughter and heir of Sir John Beauchamp, he was father of the character in this play. Sir Walter Blount's last male descendant, Sir Harry Pope Blount, Baronet, died in 1757, without issue, when the family estates passed to his niece Katherine Freeman, who married the Hon. Charles Yorke, father of Philip, third Earl of Hardwicke. The knight in this play was one of the executors to the will of John of *Gaunt*, who left him a bequest; 'a Mons^r Waut' Blount, Mons^r Chambleyn, cent marcs.' *French*.

Sunday-citizens. III. i. 257.

= Citizens dressed in their finery on Sundays. Trimmings of velvet were fashionable in the time of Shakespeare.

Sutton Co'fil'. IV. ii. 3.

> Bardolph, get thee before to Coventry ; fill me a bottle of sack : our soldiers shall march through ; we'll to Sutton Co'fil' to-night. [IV. ii. 1–3.]

A contraction of Sutton Coldfield, a small town north-west of Coventry. " The town is marked " Sutton Cofeild " in the map of Hemlingford Hundred in Dugdale's *Warwickshire*. The borough is named in its Charter of Incorporation (20 Henry VIII.) " Sutton Coldefeld . . . otherwise called Sutton Colvyle . . . otherwise called Sutton Coldefylde," and in a subsequent Charter (16 Charles II.), " St. Coleville . . . otherwise Sutton in Colefield." *Arden Edition.*

Temple hall. III. iii. 201.

> Jack, meet me to-morrow in the Temple hall at two o'clock in the afternoon. [III. iii. 200–201.]

The Hall of the Middle Temple was built in 1572. It was in this Hall that the *Twelfth Night* was acted on the 2nd of February, 1601.

Termagant. V. iv. 114.

See Hamlet pages 233-234.

Thieves. II. ii. p.95.

Falstaff, Gadshill, Bardolph and Peto, who set upon the travellers and rob and bind them. They are, however, put to flight on the appearance of Prince Henry and Poins, and leave their booty behind them.

Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester. I. i. 96 ; I. iii. p.1, 15, p.130 ; II. iv. 358 ; III. i. p.1, 5, 84 ; IV. i. p.1, 125 ; IV. iii. p.1, 21 ; IV. iv. 25 ; V. i. p.9, 9, 103 ; V. ii. p.1 ; V. v. p.1, 2, 14.

Uncle to Henry Percy, and the instigator of the rebellion against Henry the Fourth.

Westmoreland informs the king that this is his view, saying :

> This is his uncle's teaching : this is Worcester,
> Malevolent to you in all aspects ;
> Which makes him prune himself, and bristle up
> The crest of youth against your dignity.
> [I. i. 96–99.]

and later when we find Worcester in conversation with Percy it is apparent that the former is the leader of the conspiracy. He advises Hotspur :

> Then once more to your Scottish prisoners.
> Deliver them up without their ransom straight,
> And make the Douglas' son your only mean
> For powers in Scotland ; which, for divers reasons
> Which I shall send you written, be assured,
> Will easily be granted. [I. iii. 259–264.]

and arranges an ingenious scheme with Northumberland against the king.

When he appears before the king on the eve of the battle of Shrewsbury he says that :

> For mine own part, I could be well content
> To entertain the lag-end of my life
> With quiet hours ; for, I protest,
> I have not sought the day of this dislike.
> [V. i. 23–26.]

and on the king enquiring how the rebellion came about had he not sought it, replies that when he (Bolingbroke) came to England to oppose Richard he declared he had only come to claim his rightful possessions and not the crown.

In reply to this the king generously offers to forgive the rebels if they will abandon their project, but Worcester, prompted by cowardice refuses to accept Henry's offer, and the sentence of death passed on him later is a just reward for his treachery.

[Sir Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, son of Sir Henry Percy, third baron Percy, and younger brother of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland. Took part in the French campaigns 1369–73, and in John of Gaunt's Spanish enterprise in 1386. Steward of Richard the Second's household 1394, and was created Earl of Worcester and Lord High Admiral of England by Richard in 1397. When his brother—the Earl of Northumberland—was proclaimed a traitor he deserted Richard for Bolingbroke, and from being one of the warmest supporters of the new king Worcester became one of his most bitter enemies, being termed by Holinshed as " the procurer and setter-forth of all the mischief." In

1403 joined in the rebellion against Henry, and, being captured at the battle of Shrewsbury was executed two days later at the High Cross, Shrewsbury. His head was placed on London Bridge and his body is believed to have been buried in the Holy Trinity chapel of St. Mary's, Shrewsbury.]

Titan. II. iv. 120, 121.

Didst thou never see Titan kiss a dish of butter?
[II. iv. 120.]

= the sun. The Prince is here comparing Falstaff melting in the heat as butter is melted by the sun.

Tom. II. i. 5.

An Ostler.

Tom. II. iv. 8.

A drawer in the Boar's Head Tavern in Eastcheap. *See* Dick.

Travellers. II. ii. p.76.

According to Gadshill "some eight or ten in number" who are set upon, bound and robbed by Falstaff and the other thieves, on the highway near Gadshill.

Trent. III. i. 74.

England, from Trent and Severn hitherto,
By south and east is to my part assign'd:
[III. i. 74–75.]

The river Trent was the proposed boundary between the territories of Mortimer and Percy, under the indentures tripartite made at Bangor.

Trent. III. i. 79.

and, dear coz, to you
The remnant northward, lying off from Trent.
[III. i. 78–79.]

Under the agreement made at Bangor all the territory north of the Trent to the Scottish border was assigned to the Percys.

Trent. III. i. 102.

And here the smug and silver Trent shall run
In a new channel, fair and evenly;
[III. i. 102–103.]

From Burton-upon-Trent the river Trent takes a north-easterly course, and a "huge half-moon" is formed. Hotspur proposed cutting a channel so that it would run straight and add additional territory to his portion.

Trent. III. i. 136.

Come, you shall have Trent turn'd. [III. i. 136.]

As Hotspur is intractable, Glendower consents to Hotspur diverting the river as he wishes.

Trojans. II. i. 69.

A cant term for robbers.

Turk Gregory. V. iii. 45.

See Gregory.

Vintner. II. iv. p.80.

Presumably the husband of Dame Quickly, the hostess of the Boar's-Head Tavern in Eastcheap. He enters and announces to the prince the arrival of Falstaff and his friends:

My lord, old Sir John, with half-a-dozen more, are at the door: shall I let them in? [II. iv. 82–83.]

Wales. II. iv. 336.

That same mad fellow of the north, Percy and he of Wales, that gave Amamon the bastinado, [II. iv. 335–337.]

= Glendower.

Wales. III. i. 76.

All westward, Wales beyond the Severn shore,
And all the fertile land within that bound,
To Owen Glendower: [III. i. 76–78.]

The territory assigned to Glendower under the agreement made at Bangor.

Wales. I. i. 37; III. i. 45; IV. iii. 95; V. v. 39.

Warkworth Castle.

The Scene of Act II., Scene iii. The ancient seat of the Percys in Northumberland. Percy receives a letter written by an unknown lord warning him that the course he is pursuing is dangerous. Gives an insight into Hotspur's domestic life, and although there is much sympathy between him and his wife he refuses to take her into his confidence.

Warwickshire. IV. ii. 52.

Windsor. I. i. 104.

Percy was summoned to Windsor by Henry to answer for his refusal in surrending the prisoners taken at the battle of Holmedon.

Wye. III. i. 65.

> Three times hath Henry Bolingbroke made head
> Against my power; thrice from the banks of Wye
> And sandy-bottom'd Severn have I sent him
> Bootless home and weather-beaten back,
> [III. i. 64–67.]

See Henry Bolingbroke.

Yedward. I. ii. 134.

A dialectal form of Edward—Poins' christian name—probably Kentish.

York. I. iii. 245.

The reference is to Edmund, Duke of York, fifth son of Edward III., and uncle to Henry IV. He was Regent of England during Richard II's absence in Ireland in 1399 and opposed Bolingbroke on his landing at Ravenspurgh.

York. I. iii. 280.

> And then the power of Scotland and of York,
> To join with Mortimer, ha? [I. iii. 280–281.]

= the Archbishop of York.

York. V. v. 36.

> You, son John, and my cousin Westmoreland
> Towards York shall bend you with your dearest speed,
> [V. v. 35–36.]

= City of York.

York. The Archbishop's Palace.

The Scene of Act IV., Scene iv. The Archbishop of York—one of the conspirators—has misgivings as to the success of the rebellion. He therefore writes letters which he hands to Sir Michael—probably his chaplain—with instructions for them to be delivered without delay.

APPENDIX I.

EXTRACTS FROM HOLINSHED[1] THAT ILLUSTRATE THE *First Part of King Henry the Fourth.*

1. Owen Glendouer, according to his accustomed manner, robbing and spoiling within the English borders, caused all the forces of the shire of Hereford to assemble togither against them, vnder the conduct of Edmund Mortimer, earle of March.[2] But, comming to trie the matter by battell, whether by treason or otherwise, so it fortuned, that the English power was discomfited, the earle taken prisoner, and aboue a thousand of his people slaine in the place. The shameful villanie vsed by the Welshwomen towards the dead carcasses, was such as honest eares would be ashamed to heare, and continent toongs to speake thereof. The dead bodies might not be buried, without great summes of monie for libertie to conueie them awaie.

[A Scottish army having been defeated on June 22, 1402,[3] while returning from a border foray,] Archembald, earle Dowglas, sore displeased in his mind for this ouerthrow, procured a commission to inuade England, and that to his cost, as ye may likewise read in the Scottish histories. For, at a place called Homildon, they were so fiercelie assailed by the Englishmen, uvder the leading of the lord Persie, surnamed Henrie Hotspur, and George earle of March,[4] that with violence of the English shot they were quite vanquished and put to flight, on the Rood daie in haruest, with a great slaughter made by the Englishmen. . . . There were slaine . . . three and twentie knights, besides ten thousand of the commons ; and of prisoners among other were these : Mordacke earle of Fife, son to the gouernour, Archembald earle Dowglas, (which in the fight lost one of his eies,) Thomas erle of Murrey, George earle of Angus, and (as some writers haue) the earles of Atholl & Menteith ; with fiue hundred other of meaner degrees.

2. Henrie, earle of Northumberland, with his brother Thomas, earle of Worcester, and his sonne the lord Henrie Persie, surnamed Hotspur, which were to king Henrie, in the beginning of his reigne, both faithfull freends, and earnest aiders, began now to enuie his wealth and felicitie ; and especiallie they were greeued, bicause the king demanded of the earle and his sonne such Scotish prisoners as were taken at Homeldon and Nesbit : for, of all the captiues which were taken in the conflicts foughten in those two places, there was deliuered to the kings possession onelie Mordake earl of Fife, the duke of Albanies sonne ; though the king did diuers and sundrie times require deliuerance of the residue, and that with with great threatnings : wherewith the Persies being sore offended, (for that they claimed them as their owne proper prisoners, and their peculiar preies,) by the counsell of the lord Thomas Persie, earle of Worcester, whose studie was euer (as some write) to procure malice, and set things in a broile, came to the king vnto Windsore, (vpon a purpose to prooue him,) and there required of him, that either by ransome or otherwise, he would cause to be deliuered out of prison Edmund Mortimer earle of March, their cousine germane,[4] whom (as they reported) Owen Glendower kept in filthie prison, shakled with irons ; onelie for that he tooke his part, and was to him faithfull and true.

The king began not a little to muse at this request, and not without cause : for in deed it touched him somewhat neere, sith this Edmund was sonne to Roger earle of March, sonne to the ladie Philip, daughter of Lionell duke of Clarence, the third sonne of king Edward the third ; which Edmund, at king Richards going into Ireland, was proclaimed heire apparant to the crowne and realme ; whose aunt, called Elianor, the lord Henrie Persie had married ; and therefore king Henrie could not well beare, that anie man should be earnest about the aduancement of that linage. The king, when he had studied on the matter, made answer, that the earle of March was not taken prisoner for his cause, nor in his seruice, but willinglie suffered himselfe to be taken, bicause he would not withstand the attempts of Owen Glendouer, and his complices ; & therefore he would neither ransome him, nor releeue him.

1. Shakespeare's Holinshed, by W. G. Boswell-Stone.

2. In 1402, Edmund Mortimer, fifth Earl of March, being a minor, was Henry's ward.—Glendower's prisoner was Sir Edmund Mortimer, brother to Roger Mortimer, fourth Earl of March, and uncle to the fifth Earl.

3. They were defeated at Nisbet, Roxburghshire.

4. Shakspere's "Lord Mortimer of Scotland."

4. Henry IV. and Hotspur were cousins, Henry's grandfather, Henry Plantagenet Duke of Lancaster, being brother german to Mary, Hotspur's grandmother.

The Persies with this answer and fraudulent excuse were not a little fumed, insomuch that Henrie Hotspur said openlie: "Behold, the heire of the relme is robbed of his right, and yet the robber with his owne will not redeeme him!" So in this furie the Persies departed, minding nothing more than to depose king Henrie from the high type of his roialtie, and to place in his seat their cousine Edmund earle of March, whom they did not onelie deliuer out of captiuitie, but also (to the high displeasure of king Henrie) entered in league with the foresaid Owen Glendouer. . . .

King Henrie, not knowing of this new confederacie, and nothing lesse minding than that which after happened, gathered a great armie to go againe into Wales; whereof the earle of Northumberland and his sonne were aduertised by the earle of Worcester, and with all diligence raised all the power they could make, and sent to the Scots, which before were taken prisoners at Homeldon, for aid of men: promising to the earle of Dowglas the towne of Berwike, and a part of Northumberland, and, to other Scotish lords, great lordships and seigniories, if they obteined the vpper hand. The Scots, in hope of gaine, and desirous to be reuenged of their old greefes, came to the earle with a great companie well appointed.

The Persies, to make their part seeme good, deuised certeine articles, by the aduise of Richard Scroope, archbishop of Yorke, brother to the lord Scroope, whome king Henrie had caused to be beheaded at Bristow.

Edmund Mortimer, earle of March, prisoner with Owen Glendouer, whether for irkesomnesse of cruell captiuitie, or feare of death, or for what other cause, it is vncerteine, agreed to take part with Owen against the king of England; and tooke to wife the daughter of the said Owen.

The king was not hastie to purchase the deliuerance of the earle March, bicause his title to the crowne was well inough knowen, and therefore suffered him to remaine in miserable prison; wishing both the said earle, and all other of his linage, out of this life, with God and his saincts in heauen, so they had beene out of the waie, for then all had beene well inough as he thought.

3. These articles being shewed to diuerse noblemen, and other states of the realme, mooued them to fauour their purpose, in so much that manie of them did not onlie promise to the Persies aid and succour by words, but also by their writings and seales confirmed the same. Howbeit, when the matter came to triall, the most part of the confederates abandoned them, and at the daie of the conflict left them alone.

4. Thus, after that the conspirators had discouered themselues, the lord Henrie Persie, desirous to proceed in the enterprise, vpon trust to be assisted by Owen Glendouer, the earle of March [*i.e.* Sir Edmund Mortimer], & other, assembled an armie of men of armes and archers foorth of Cheshire and Wales.

His vncle Thomas Persie, earle of Worcester, that had the gouernement of the Prince of Wales, who as then laie at London, in secret manner conueied himselfe out of the princes house; and comming to Stafford (where he met his nephue) they increased their power by all waies and meanes they could deuise.

5. Strange wonders happened (as men reported) at the natiuitie of this man, for, the same night he was borne, all his fathers horsses in the stable were found to stand in bloud vp to the bellies.

In the moneth of March [1402] appeared a blasing starre, first betweene the east part of the firmament and the north, flashing foorth fire and flames about it, and, lastlie, shooting foorth fierie beams towards the north; foreshewing (as was thought) the great effusion of bloud that followed, about the parts of Wales and Northumberland. For much about the same time, Owen Glendouer (with his Welshmen) fought with the lord Greie of Ruthen, comming foorth to defend his possessions, which the said Owen wasted and destroied; and, as the fortune of that daies worke fell out, the lord Greie was taken prisoner, and manie of his men were slaine. This hap lifted the Welshmen into high pride, and increased meruelouslie their wicked and presumptuous attempts.

About mid of August [1402], the king, to chastise the presumptuous attempts of the Welshmen, went with a great power of men into Wales, to pursue the capteine of the Welsh rebels, Owen Glendouer; but in effect he lost his labor, for Owen coueied himselfe out of the waie into his knowen lurking places, and (as was thought) through art magike, he caused such foule weather of winds, tempest, raine, snow, and haile to be raised, for the annoiance of the kings armie, that the like had not beene heard of: in such sort, that the king was constreined to returne home, hauing caused his people yet to spoile and burne first a great part of the countrie.

[Henry] tooke his iournie [1405] directlie into Wales, where he found fortune nothing fauourable vnto him, for all his attempts had euill successe; in somuch that, losing fiftie of his cariages through abundance of raine and waters, he returned,

[According to Holinshed, Northumberland, Hotspur and Glendower,] by their deputies, in the house of the archdeacon of Bangor, diuided the realme amongst them ; causing a tripartite indenture to be made and sealed with their seales, by the couenants, whereof, all England from Seuerne and Trent, south and eastward, was assigned to the earle of March : all Wales & the lands beyond Seuerne westward, were appointed to Owen Glendouer : and all the remnant from Trent northwards, to the lord Persie.

This was doone (as some haue said) through a foolish credit giuen to a vaine prophesie, as though king Henrie was *the moldwarpe*, cursed of Gods owne mouth, and they three were the *dragon*, the *lion*, and the woolfe, which should diuide this realme betweene them.

6. Lord Henrie, prince of Wales, eldest sonne to king Henrie, got knowledge that certeine of his fathers seruants were busie to giue informations against him, whereby discord might arise betwixt him and his father : for they put into the kings head, not onelie what euill rule (according to the course of youth) the prince kept to the offense of manie, but also what great resort of people came to his house ; so that the court was nothing furnished with such a traine as dailie followed the prince. These tales brought no small suspicion into the kings head, least his sonne would presume to vsurpe the crowne, he being yet aliue ; through which suspicious gelousie, it was perceiued that he fauoured not his sonne, as in times past he had doone.

The prince (sore offended with such persons as, by slanderous reports, southy not onelie to spot his good name abrode in the realme, but to sowe discord also betwixt him and his father) wrote his letters into euerie part of the realme, to reprooue all such slanderous deuises of those that sought his discredit. And to cleare himselfe the better, (that the world might vnderstand what wrong he had to be slandered in such wise,) about the feast of Peter and Paule, to wit, the nine and twentith daie of June, he came to the court with such a number of noble men and other his freends that wished him well, as the like traine had beene sildome seene repairing to the court at any one time in those daies.

Thus were the father and the sonne reconciled, betwixt whom the said *pickthanks* had sowne diuision, insomuch that the sonne, vpon a vehement conceit of vnkindnesse sproong in the father, was in the waie to be worne out of fauour. Which was the more likelie to come to passe, by their informations that priuilie charged him with riot and other vnciuill demeanor vnseemelie for a prince. Indeed he was youthfullie giuen, growne to audacitie, and had chosen him companions agreeable to his age ; with whome he spent the time in such recreations, exercises, and delights as he fansied. But yet (it should seeme by the report of some writers) that his behauiour was not offensiue or at least tending to the damage of anie bodie ; sith he had a care to auoid dooing of wrong, and to tedder his affections within the tract of vertue ; whereby he opened vnto himselfe a redie passage of good liking among the prudent sort, and was beloued of such as could discerne his disposition, which was in no degree so excessive, as that he deserued in such vehement maner to be suspected.

The king after expelled him out of his priuie councell, banisht him the court, and made the duke of Clarence (his yoonger brother) president of councell in his steed.

King Henrie, aduertised of the proceedings of the Persies, foorthwith gathered about him such power as he might make, and, being earnestlie called vpon by the Scot, the earle of March, to make hast and giue battell to his enimies, before their power by delaieng of time should still too much increase, he passed forward with such speed, that he was in sight of his enimies, lieng in campe neere to Shrewesburie, before they were in doubt of anie such thing ; for the Persies thought that he would haue staied at Burton vpon Trent, till his councell had come thither to him to giue their aduise what he were best to doo. But herein the enimie was deceiued of his expectation, sith the king had great regard of expedition and making speed for the safetie of his owne person ; wherevnto the earle of March incited him, considering that in delaie is danger, & losse in lingering.

7. The earle of Northumberland himselfe was not with them, but, being sicke, had promised vpon his amendement to repaire vnto them (as some write) with all conuenient speed.

8. Vnderstanding that the duke of Glocester, and manie other noblemen would see the muster of his men, vsed all diligence, and spared for no costs, to haue the most choisest and pikedst fellowes that might be gotten ; not following the euill example of others in times past, which receiued tag and rag to fill vp their numbers, whom they hired for small wages, and reserued the residue to their pursses.

9. The next daie in the morning earlie, being the euen of Marie Magdalene, they set their battels in order on both sides, and now, whilest the warriors looked when the token of battell should be giuen, the abbat of Shrewesburie, and one of the clearks of the priuie seale, were sent from the king vnto the Persies, to offer them pardon, if they would come to any reasonable agree-

ment. By their persuasions, the lord Henrie Persie began to giue eare vnto the kings offers, & so sent with them his vncle the earle of Worcester, to declare vnto the king the causes of those troubles, and to require some effectuall reformation in the same.

Now when the two armies were incamped, the one against the other, the earle of Worcester and the lord Persie with their complices sent the articles (whereof I spake before), by Thomas Caiton, and Roger Saluain, esquiers, to king Henrie, vnder their hands and seales ; which articles in effect charged him with manifest periurie, in that (contrarie to his oth receiued vpon the euangelists at Doncaster, when he first entred the realme after his exile) he had taken vpon him the crowne and roiall dignitie, imprisoned king Richard, caused him to resigne his title, and finallie to be murthered. Diuerse other matters they laid to his charge, as leuieng of taxes and tallages, contrarie to his promise, infringing of lawes & customes of the realme, and suffering the earle of March to remaine in prison, without trauelling to haue him deliuered. All which things they, as procurors & protectors of the common-wealth, tooke vpon them to prooue against him, as they protested vnto the whole world.

10. King Henrie, after he had read their articles, with the defiance which they annexed to the same, answered the esquiers, that he was readie with dint of sword and fierce battell to prooue their quarrell false, and nothing else than a forged matter ; not doubting, but that God would aid and assist him in his righteous cause, against the disloiall and false forsworne traitors.

11. It was reported for a truth, that now when the king had condescended vnto all that was resonable at his hands to be required, and seemed to humble himselfe more than was meet for his estate, the earle of Worcester (vpon his returne to his nephue) made relation cleane contrarie to that the king had said, in such sort that he set his nephues hart more in displeasure towards the king, than euer it was before ; driuing him by that meanes to fight whether he would or not ; . . . then suddenlie blew the trumpets, the kings part crieng, " S. George ! vpon them ! " the aduersaries cried, " *Esperance ! Persie !* " and so the two armies furiouslie ioined. The archers on both sides shot for the best game, laieng on such load with arrowes, that manie died, and were driuen downe that never rose againe.

12. The Scots (as some write), which had the fore ward on the Persies side, intending to be reuenged of their old displeasures doone to them by the English nation, set so fiercelie on the kings fore ward, led by the earle of Stafford, that they made the same draw backe, and had almost broken their aduersaries arraie. The Welshmen also, which before had laine lurking in the woods, mounteines, and marishes, hearing of this battell toward, came to the aid of the Persies, and refreshed the wearied people with new succours. The king perceiuing that his men were thus put to distresse, what with the violent impression of the Scots, and the tempestuous stormes of arrowes, that his aduersaries discharged freely against him and his people,—it was no need to will him to stirre : for suddenlie, with his fresh battell, he approached and relieued his men ; so that the battell began more fierce than before. Here the lord Henrie Persie, and the earle Dowglas, a right stout and hardie capteine, not regarding the shot of the kings battell, nor the close order of the ranks, pressing forward togither, bent their whole forces towards the kings person ; comming vpon him with speares and swords so fiercelie, that the earle of March, the Scot, perceiuing their purpose, withdrew the king from that side of the field (as some write) for his great benefit and safegard (as it appeared) ; for they gaue such a violent onset vpon them that stood about the kings standard, that, slaieng his standard-bearer sir Walter Blunt, and ouerthrowing the standard, they made slaughter of all those that stood about it ; as the earle of Stafford, that daie made by the king constable of the realme, and diuerse other.

13. The prince that daie holpe his father like a lustie yoong gentleman ; for although he was hurt in the face with an arrow, so that diuerse noble men, that were about him, would haue conueied him foorth of the field, yet he would not suffer them so to doo, least his departure from amongst his men might happilie haue stricken some feare into their harts : and so, without regard of his hurt, he continued with his men, & neuer ceassed either to fight where the battell was most hot, or to incourage his men when it seemed most need. This battell lasted three long houres, with indifferent fortune on both parts, till at length, the kind, crieng, " saint George ! victorie ! " brake the arraie of his enimies ; and aduentured so farre, that (as some write) the earle Dowglas strake him downe, & at that instant slue sir Walter Blunt, and three other, apparelled in the kings sute and clothing, saieng : " I maruell to see so many kings thus suddenlie arise one in the necke " of an other." The king, in deed, was raised, & did that daie manie a noble feat of armes, for, as it is written, he slue that daie with his owne hands six and thirtie persons of his enimies. The other on his part, incouraged by his dooings, fought valiantlie, and slue the lord Persie, called sir Henrie Hotspurre.

14. There was also taken the earle of Worcester, the procuror and setter foorth of all this mischeefe, sir Richard Vernon, and . . . diuerse other. There were slaine vpon the kings part, beside the earle of Stafford, . . . sir Hugh Shorlie, sir Iohn Clifton, . . . sir Robert Gausell, sir Walter Blunt, . . . There died in all vpon the kings side sixteene hundred, and foure thousand were greeuouslie wounded. On the contrarie side were slaine, besides the lord Persie, the most part of the knights and esquiers of the countie of Chester, to the number of two hundred, besides yeomen and footmen: in all there died of those that fought on the Persies side, about fiue thousand. This battell was fought on Marie Magdalene euen, being saturdaie. Upon the mondaie folowing, the earle of Worcester, . . . and sir Richard Vernon . . . were condemned and beheaded. The earles head was sent to London, there to be set on the bridge.

To conclude, the kings enimies were vanquished, and put to flight; in which flight, the earle of Dowglas, for hast, falling from the crag of an hie mounteine, brake one of his cullions, and was taken, and for his valiantnesse, of the king frankelie and freelie deliuered.

APPENDIX II.

EXTRACTS FROM *The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth, conteining the Honorable Battell of Agincourt*, THAT ILLUSTRATE THE COMIC SCENES IN THE *First Part of King Henry the Fourth*.[1]

1. THE HIGHWAY ROBBERY SCENE.

Enter the yoong Prince, Ned, and Tom.

Hen. Come away Ned and Tom.
Both. Here my Lord.
Hen. V. Come away my Lads:
Tell me sirs, how much gold haue you got?
Ned. Faith my Lord, I haue got fiue hundred pound.
Hen. V. But tell me, Tom, how much hast thou got?
Tom. Faith my Lord, some foure hundred pound.
Hen. V. Foure hundred pounds, brauely spoken Lads.
But tell me sirs, thinke you not that it was a villainous part of me to rob my fathers Receuers?
Ned. Why no my Lord, it was a tricke of youth.
Hen. V. Faith Ned, thou sayest true.
But tell me sirs, whereabouts are we?
Tom. My Lord, we are now about a mile off *London*.
Hen. V. But sirs, I maruell that sir Iohn Old-Castle
Comes not away: Sounds see where he comes.

Enters Iockey.

How now Iockey, what newes with thée?
Iockey. Faith my Lord, such newes as passeth,
For the Towne of Detfort is risen,
With hue and crie after your man,
Which parted from vs the last night,
And has set vpon, and hath robd a poore Carrier.
Hen. V. Sownes, the vilaine that was wont to spie
Out our booties.

1. Shakespeare's Library, edited by Hazlitt,

Iock. I my Lord, euen the very same.
Hen. V. Now baseminded rascal to rob a poore carrier,
Wel it skils not, ile saue the base vilaines life :
I, I may : but tel me Iockey, wherabout be the Receiuers ?
Iock. Faith my Lord, they are hard by,
But the best is, we are a horse backe and they be a foote,
So we may escape them.
Hen. V. Wel, I the vilaines come, let me alone with them.
But tel me Iockey, how much gots thou from the knaues ?
For I am sure I got something, for one of the vilaines
So belamd me about the shoulders,
As I shal féele it this moneth.
Iock Faith my Lord, I haue got a hundred pound.
Hen V. A hundred pound, now bravely spoken Iockey :
But come sirs, laie al your money before me,
Now by heauen here is a braue shewe :
But as I am true Gentleman, I wil haue the halfe
Of this spent to night, but sirs take vp your bags,
Here comes the Receiuers, let me alone.

Enters two Receiuers.

One. Alas good fellow, what shal we do ?
I dare neuer go home to the Court, for I shall be hangd.
But looke, here is the yong Prince, what shal we doo ?
Hen. V. How now you vilaines, what are you ?
One Recei. Speake you to him.
Other. No I pray, speake you to him.
Hen. V. Why how now you rascals, why speak you not ?
One. Forsooth we be. Pray speake you to him.
Hen. V. Sowns, vilains speak, or il cut off your heads.
Other. Forsooth he can tel the tale better than I.
One. Forsooth we be your fathers Receiuers.
Hen. V. Are you my fathers Receiuers ?
Then I hope ye haue brought me some money.
One. Money, Alas sir wee be robd.
Hen. V. Robd, how many were there of them ?
One. Marry sir, there were foure of them :
And one of them had sir Iohn Old-Castles bay Hobbie,
And your blacke Nag.
Hen. V. Gogs wounds how like you this Iockey ?
Blood you vilaines : my father robd of his money abroad,
And we robd in our stables.
But tell me, how many were there of them ?
One Recei. If it please you, there were foure of them,
And there was one about the bignesse of you :
But I am sure I so belambd him about the shoulders,
That he wil féele it this month.
Hen. V. Gogs wound you lamd them faierly,
So that they haue carried away your money.
But come sirs, what shall we do with the vilaines ?
Both Recei. I beséech your grace, be good to vs.
Ned. I pray you my Lord forgiue them this once.
Well stand vp and get you gone,
And looke that you speake not a word of it,
For if there be, sownes ile hang you and all your kin.
[*Exit Purseuant.*
Hen. V. Now sirs, how like you this ?
Was not this brauely done ?
For now the vilaines dare not speake a word of it,
I haue so feared them with words.
Now whither shall we goe ?
All. Why my Lord, you know our old hostes at Feuersham

Hen. V. Our hostes at Feuersham, blood what shal we do there ?
We haue a thousand pound about vs,
And we shall go to a pettie Ale-house.
No, no : you know the olde Tauerne in Eastcheape,
There is good wine : besides, there is a prettie wench
That can talke well, for I delight as much in their tongies,
As any part about them.
All. We are readie to waite vpon your grace.
Hen. V. Gogs wounds wait, we will go altogither,
We are all fellowes, I tell you sirs, and the King
My father were dead, we would be all Kings,
Therefore come away.
Ned. Gogs wounds, brauely spoken Harry.

2. THE TAVERN SCENE.

Enter Dericke and Iohn Cobler.

Der. Sownds maisters, heres adoo,
When Princes must go to prison :
Why Iohn, didst euer sée the like ?
Iohn. O Dericke, trust me, I neuer saw the like.
Der. Why Iohn thou maist sée what princes be in choller,
A Iudge a boxe on the eare, Ile tel thée Iohn, O Iohn,
I would not haue done it for twentie shillings.
Iohn. No nor I, there had bene no way but one for vs,
We should haue been hangde.
Der. Faith Iohn, Ile tel thée what, thou shalt be my Lord
chiefe Iustice, and thou shalt sit in the chaire,
And ile be the yong Prince, and hit thée a box on the eare,
And then thou shalt say, to teach you what prerogatiues
meane, I commit you to the Fléete.
Iohn. Come on, Ile be your Iudge,
But thou shalt not hid me hard.
Der. No, no.
Iohn. What hath he done ?
Der. Marry he hath robd Dericke.
Iohn. Why then I cannot let him goe.
Der. I must néeds haue my man.
Iohn. You shall not haue him.
Der. Shall I not haue my man, say no and you dare :
How say you, shall I not haue my man ?
Iohn. No marry shall you not.
Der. Shall I not Iohn ?
Iohn. No Dericke.
Der. Why then take you that till more come,
Sownes, shall I not haue him ?
Iohn. Well I am content to take this at your hand,
But I pray you who am I ?
Der. Who art thou, Sownds, doost not know thy selfe ?
Iohn. No.
Der. Now away simple fellow,
Why man, thou art Iohn the Cobler.
Iohn. No, I am my Lord chiefe Iustice of England.
Der. Oh Iohn, Masse thou saist true, thou art indéed.
Iohn. Why then to teach you what prerogatiues mean I commit
you to the Fléete.
Der. Wel I wil go, but yfaith you gray beard knaue, Ile course you.
[*Exit. And straight enters again.*
Oh Iohn, Come, come out of thy chaire, why what a clown
weart thou, to let me hit thée a box on the eare, and now
thou seest they will not take me to the Fléete, I thinke
that thou art one of these Worenday Clownes.
Iohn. But I maruell what will become of thée ?

3. JUSTICE WHEN THE PRINCE IS KING.

Hen. V. But Ned, so soone as I am King, the first thing I wil do, shal be to put my Lord chief Iustice out of office. And thou shalt be my Lord chiefe Iustice of England.

Ned. Shall I be Lord chiefe Iustice ?
By gogs wounds Ile be the brauest Lord chiefe Iustice That euer was in England.

Hen. V. Then Ned, Ile turne all these prisons into Fence Schooles, and I will endue thée with them, with landes to maintaine them withall : then I wil haue a bout with my Lord chiefe Iustice, thou shalt hang none but picke purses, and horse stealers, and such base minded villaines, but that fellow that wil stand by the highway side couragiously with his sword and buckler and take a purse, that fellow giue him commendations, beside that, send him to me, and I will giue him an anuall pension out of my Exchequer, to maintaine him all the dayes of his life.

Ioh. Nobly spoken Harry, we shall neuer haue a mery world til the old king be dead.

Ned. But whither are ye going now ?

Hen. V. To the Court, for I heare say, my father lies verie sicke.

Tom. But I doubt he wil not die.

Hen. V. Yet will I goe thither, for the breath shal be no sooner out of his mouth, but I wil clap the Crowne on my head.

4. THE INTERVIEW BETWEEN THE PRINCE AND HIS FATHER.

Enters the Prince with a dagger in his hand.

Hen. IV. Come my sonne, come on a God's name,
I know wherefore thy comming is,
Oh my sonne, my sonne, what cause hath euer bene,
That thou shouldst forsake me, and follow this vilde and Reprobate company, which abuseth youth so manifestly :
Oh my sonne, thou knowest that these thy doings
Wil end thy fathers dayes. *He weeps.*
I so, so, my sonne, thou fearest not to approach the presence of thy sick father, in that disguised sort, I tel thée my sonne, that there is neuer a néedle in thy cloke, but it is a prick to my heart, & neuer an ilat-hole, but it is a hole to my soule ; and wherefore thou bringest that dagger in thy hande I know not, but by coniecture. *He weeps.*

Hen. V. My conscience accuseth me, most soueraign Lord, and welbeloued father, to answere first to the last point, That is, whereas you coniecture that this hand and this dagger shall be armde against your life : no, know my beloued father, far be the thoughts of your sonne, sonne said I, an vnworthie sonne for so good a father : but farre be the thoughts of any such pretended mischiefe : and I most humble render it to your Maiesties hand, and liue my Lord and soueraigne for euer : and with your dagger arme show like vengeance vpon the bodie of your sonne, I was about say and dare not, ah woe is me therefore, that your wilde slaue, tis not the Crowne that I come for, sweet father, because I am vnworthie, and those wilde & reprobate company I abandon, & vtterly abolish their company for euer. Pardon sweete father, pardon : the least thing and most desire : and this ruffianly cloake, I here teare from my backe, and sacrifice it to

Hen. V. (*contd.*) the diuel, which is maister of al mischiefe : Pardon me, swéet father, pardō me : good my Lord of Exeter, speak for me : pardon me, pardō good father, not a word : ah he wil not speak one word : A Harry, now thrice vnhappie Harry. But what shal I do ? I wil go take me into some solitarie place, and there lament my sinfull life, and when I haue done, I wil lay me downe and die. [*Exit.*

Hen. IV Call him againe, call my sonne againe.

Hen. V. And doth my father call me againe ? now Harry, Happie be the time that thy father calleth thée againe.

Hen. IV. Stand vp my son, and do not think thy father, But at the request of thée my sonne, I wil pardon thée, And God blesse thée, and make thée his seruant.

Hen. V. Thanks good my Lord, & no doubt but this day, Euen this day, I am borne new againe.

Hen. IV. Come my son and Lords, take me by the hands. [*Exeunt omnes.*

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THE

Second Part of King Henry the Fourth

Written. 1598–1599. Mention is made of *King Henry the Fourth* by Meres in his *Palladis Tamia, Wit's Treasury* in 1598, but the reference is considered to be to the *First Part of King Henry the Fourth.* From this inference it is assumed that the *Second Part* was not written earlier than 1598.

Ben Jonson in his *Every Man out of His Humour*, published in 1599, alludes to Justice Silence, one of the characters in the *Second Part of King Henry the Fourth*, this evidence fixing the date of composition not later than 1599.

A Passage in the Epilogue of the Play, " and make you merry with fair Katharine of France " : refers to King Henry the Fifth, and as the play of that name was known to have been written in the year 1599, this passage is in agreement with the later date of composition, *i.e.* 1599.

Published. Entered in the Stationers' Register under date 23rd of August, 1600, and bears the following title : " THE | Second part of Henrie | the fourth, continuing to his death, | *and coronation of Henrie* | the fift. | With the humours of sir Iohn Fal- | *staffe, and swaggering* | Pistoll. | *As it hath been sundrie times publikely* | acted by the right honourable, the Lord | Chamberlaine his seruants. | *Written by William Shakespeare.* | LONDON | Printed by V. S. for Andrew Wise, and | William Aspley. | 1600."

Source of the Plot. As in the case of the *First Part of King Henry the Fourth*, the materials for the plot are mainly taken from Holinshed's *Chronicles*,[1] and the old play *The Famous Victories of Henry V., containing the honourable battle of Agincourt.*[2]

Outline of the Play. The *Second Part of King Henry the Fourth* continues the story of the First Part, but is more pathetic and less humorous in character.

The action dates from the battle of Shrewsbury on the 21st July, 1403, in which battle Hotspur is killed, to the death of King Henry the Fourth and the accession of King Henry the Fifth.

The play opens with an Induction in which the Goddess of Rumour, " painted full of tongues," appears before the castle of Warkworth, and bids all :

> Open your ears ; for which of you will stop
> The vent of hearing when loud Rumour speaks ?
> I, from the orient to the drooping west,
> Making the wind my post-horse, still unfold
> The acts commenced on this ball of earth :
> Upon my tongues continual slanders ride,
> The which in every language I pronounce,
> Stuffing the ears of men with false reports,

1. *See* Appendix I. 2. *See* Appendix II.

for

> Rumour is a pipe
> Blown by surmises, jealousies, conjectures,
> And of so easy and so plain a stop
> That the blunt monster with uncounted heads,
> The still-discordant wavering multitude,
> Can play upon it.

She tells of King Henry's victory over Hotspur :

> Why is Rumour here ?
> I run before King Harry's victory ;
> Who in a bloody field by Shrewsbury
> Hath beaten down young Hotspur and his troops,
> Quenching the flame of bold rebellion
> Even with the rebels' blood.

But, she continues, why speak the truth ? for her first office is to spread false news, indeed through all the " peasant towns " from the battle-field of Shrewsbury to the castle of Warkworth, where Northumberland is lying " crafty-sick," she has proclaimed that Hotspur has defeated the royal forces :

> But what mean I
> To speak so true at first ? my office is
> To noise abroad that Harry Monmouth fell
> Under the wrath of noble Hotspur's sword,
> And that the king before the Douglas' rage
> Stoop'd his anointed head as low as death.
> This have I rumour'd through the peasant towns
> Between that royal field of Shrewsbury
> And this worm-eaten hold of ragged stone,
> Where Hotspur's father, old Northumberland,
> Lies crafty-sick : the posts come tiring on,
> And not a man of them brings other news
> Than they have learn'd of me : from Rumour's tongues
> They bring smooth comforts false, worse than true wrongs.

We are still before Warkworth Castle when the First Act opens. Having spread her direful tidings, Rumour withdraws from the scene, as Lord Bardolph rides in haste to the gates of the fortress, eager to impart to the Earl—who is anxiously waiting news of the battle—tidings of a " glorious victory." " Who keeps the gate here, ho ! " demands Bardolph, and on the Porter opening the gate and asking : " What shall I say you are ? " Bardolph answers : " Tell thou the earl That the Lord Bardolph doth attend him here." " His lordship is walk'd forth into the orchard : Please it your honour, knock but at the gate, And he himself will answer," replies the Porter. Presently Northumberland appears, and addressing Bardolph :

> What news, Lord Bardolph ? every minute now
> Should be the father of some stratagem :
> The times are wild ; contention, like a horse
> Full of high feeding, madly hath broke loose
> And beard down all before him.

to which Bardolph replies :

> As good as heart can wish :
> The king is almost wounded to the death ;
> And, in the fortune of my lord your son,
> Prince Harry slain outright ; and both the Blunts
> Kill'd by the hand of Douglas ; young Prince John
> And Westmoreland and Stafford fled the field ;
> And Harry Monmouth's brawn, the bulk Sir John,
> Is prisoner to your son : O, such a day,
> So fought, so follow'd and so fairly won,
> Came not till now to dignify the times,
> Since Cæsar's fortunes !

But Northumberland, who is sceptical, asks : " How is this derived ? Saw you the field ? came you from Shrewsbury ? " and Bardolph admits that he has had the news from a gentleman who had come from the battle-field, " A gentleman well bred and of good name." Almost immediately, Travers—one of Northumberland's retainers—appears, and confirms the news :

North. Now, Travers, what good tidings comes with you ?
Tra. My lord, Sir John Umfrevile turn'd me back
With joyful tidings ; and, being better horsed
Out-rode me,

but at the same time he has heard contradictory reports from a royal messenger :

After him came spurring hard
A gentleman, almost forspent with speed,
That stopp'd by me to breathe his bloodied horse.
He ask'd the way to Chester ; and of him
I did demand what news from Shrewsbury :
He told me that rebellion had bad luck,
And that young Harry Percy's spur was cold,

after which, " bending forward " he " gave his able horse the head " and striking his spurs " Against the panting sides of his poor jade Up to the rowel-head," dashed away at a furious speed. " Ha ! Again " : exclaims Northumberland, " Said he young Harry Percy's spur was cold ? " This causes Lord Bardolph to remark that if Hotspur has not won the day he is prepared to surrender his barony for a " silken point." " Why should that gentleman that rode by Travers, give them such instances of loss ? " queries Northumberland and Bardolph describes him as " some hilding fellow that had stolen the horse he rode on, and . . . spoke at a venture." As they are in conversation, a third horseman spurs across the plain. It is Morton—another of Northumberland's retainers—who has ridden in hot-haste from the battle-field. A glance at his face tells Northumberland that he is the bearer of ill tidings :

Yea, this man's brow, like to a title-leaf,
Foretells the nature of a tragic volume :
. . . . . .
Say, Morton, didst thou come from Shrewsbury ?
. . . . . .
How doth my son and brother ?
Thou tremblest ; and the whiteness in thy cheek
Is apter than thy tongue to tell thy errand.

" I ran from Shrewsbury, my noble lord : where hateful death put on his ugliest mask to fright our party, . . . Douglas is living, and your brother, yet ; But, for my lord your son,—" began Morton, " Why, he is dead. See what a ready tongue suspicion hath ! . . . I see a strange confession in thine eye : Yet, for all this, say not that Percy's dead. Thou shakest thy head, and hold'st it fear or sin To speak a truth. If he be slain, say so " ; ejaculates Northumberland, to which Bardolph adds : " I cannot think, my lord, your son is dead." But Morton can but answer that the terrible news is only too true—that Hotspur is dead, slain by Prince Henry, Worcester and " that furious Scot, the bloody Douglas "—who, " Had three times slain the appearance of the king "—taken prisoner, the army utterly routed, and further, that a powerful force under Prince John of Lancaster and the Earl of Westmoreland has been despatched by the king against Northumberland and the Archbishop of York. " This is the news at full," adds the fatigued Morton. Stunned by the heavy tidings, Northumberland, as he paces up and down, exclaims that he will " have time enough to mourn," declaring that if he had been well " the news

would have made him sick," but " being sick " the news has " in some measure made him well," and although " weaken'd with grief," he must now exchange his " crutch " for " a scaly gauntlet with joints of steel." Northumberland is reminded by Morton that many lives depend upon him : " The lives of all your loving complices Lean on your health " ; and further, that the Archbishop will prove a powerful ally : " 'Tis more than time : and, my most noble lord, I hear for certain, and do speak the truth, The gentle Archbishop of York is up With well-appointed powers " : adding, that as the Archbishop, being " sincere and holy in his thoughts," had turned " insurrection to religion,"—and had gathered around him a large force in consequence—the rebellion, hallowed as it is " with the blood Of fair King Richard, scraped from Pomfret stones " ; would ultimately succeed. Encouraged by these words, Northumberland invites them into his castle, to confer together

> The aptest way for safety and revenge :
> Get posts and letters, and make friends with speed :
> Never so few, and never yet more need.

The second scene is a Street in London. Falstaff enters, accompanied by a boy as his page—a gift from the prince—bearing his sword and buckler. The boy is Falstaff's *general factotum*. Having inquired of the boy as to the answer he brings from the doctor, Falstaff remarks : " Men of all sorts take a pride to gird at me " : and " What said Master Dumbleton about the satin for my short cloak and my slops ? " asks Falstaff, to which the page replies that his tailor had demanded " better assurance than Bardolph : he would not take his band and yours ; he liked not the security." " Let him be damned, like the glutton ! pray God his tongue be hotter ! A whoreson Achitophel ! a rascally yea-forsooth knave ! " but " where 's Bardolph ? " to which the page answers " He 's gone to Smithfield to buy your worship a horse."

At this point the Lord Chief Justice—who had committed the Prince of Wales for contempt of court—enters, accompanied by a servant. The page warns Falstaff of the Chief Justice's approach : " Sir, here comes the nobleman that committed the prince for striking him about Bardolph." Falstaff pretends not to see the Chief Justice, but is recognised by the latter's servant, and on the Chief Justice asking : " He that was in question for the robbery ? " the servant replies : " He, my lord " ; adding, that he " hath since done good service at Shrewsbury ; and, as I hear, is now going with some charge to the Lord John of Lancaster." Falstaff had, before the battle of Shrewsbury been sent for by the Chief Justice in connection with the robbery at Gadshill, but had managed to keep out of the way, and knowing that Falstaff was presently to accompany Lord John of Lancaster to York, the Judge tells his servant to call him, as he wishes to have a few words with him before departing. " Sir John Falstaff," cries the servant, and Falstaff pretending to be deaf, whispers to the page : " Boy, tell him I am deaf," to which the Judge observes : I am sure he is, to the hearing of any thing good." Telling his servant " Go, pluck him by the elbow ; I must speak with him," Falstaff rebukes the servant for begging :

> What ! a young knave, and begging ! Is there not
> wars ? is there not employment ? doth not the king
> lack subjects ? do not the rebels need soldiers ?
> Though it be a shame to be on any side but one, it
> is worse shame to beg than to be on the worst side,
> were it worse than the name of rebellion can tell
> how to make it.

but when the servant tells Falstaff " You mistake me, sir," an argument ensues between them. The Chief Justice, however, insists on speaking with Falstaff : " Sir John Falstaff, a word with you," and finding himself cornered, Falstaff, with

the intention of evading awkward questions, greets the judge with a fluency of speech. "Sir John, I sent for you before your expedition to Shrewsbury," says the Judge, and Falstaff replies: "An 't please your lordship, I hear his majesty is returned with some discomfort from Wales, . . . fallen into a whoreson apoplexy . . . a kind of lethargy, brought on by study and perturbation of the brain: I have read the cause of its effects in Galen: it is a kind of deafness," to which the Chief Justice very cogently and coldly remarks: "I think you are fallen into the disease." His evasions, however, prove utterly futile, for the Lord Chief Justice tells him "the truth is, Sir John, you live in great infamy," for "You have misled the youthful prince," to which Falstaff retorts "The young prince hath misled me:" But, adds the Judge: "I am loath to gall a new-healed wound": and Falstaff's services at the battle of Shrewsbury had "gilded over his night's exploit on Gadshill," and he could only "thank the unquiet time" that the matter had been overlooked.

On Falstaff referring to himself as a young man, the Chief Justice smilingly asks: "Do you set down your name in the scroll of youth, that are written down old with all the characters of age? Have you not a moist eye? a dry hand? a yellow cheek? a white beard? a decreasing leg? an increasing belly? is not your voice broken? your wind short? your chin double? your wit single? and every part about you blasted with antiquity? and will you yet call yourself young? Fie, fie, fie, Sir John!" and the wily knight replies: "My lord, I was born about three of the clock in the afternoon, with a white head and something a round belly. For my voice, I have lost it with halloing and singing of anthems. To approve my youth further, I will not: the truth is, I am only old in judgement and understanding; and he that will caper with me for a thousand marks, let him lend me the money, and have at him. For the box of the ear that the prince gave you, he gave it like a rude prince, and you took it like a sensible lord. I have checked him for it, and the young lion repents; marry, not in ashes and sackcloth, but in new silk and old sack."

Expressing a hope that God would send the prince a better companion than Falstaff, the Chief Justice remarks: "I hear you are going with Lord John of Lancaster against the Archbishop and the Earl of Northumberland," and Falstaff remarks he wishes that his "name was not so terrible to the enemy as it is: I were better to be eaten to death with a rust than to be scoured to nothing with perpetual motion." After the Judge has wished the expedition every success: "Well, be honest, be honest; and God bless your expedition!" the fat knight suavily asks him for the loan of a thousand pounds to buy equipment for the campaign. "Not a penny, not a penny; you are too impatient to bear crosses. Fare you well: commend me to my cousin Westmoreland," replies the Chief Justice, and departs forthwith. The Judge gone, Falstaff inquires as to the amount of money he possesses, and the page answering that he has only "Seven groats and two pence," Falstaff remarks: "there is no remedy against this consumption of the purse: borrowing only lingers and lingers it out, but the disease is incurable," and forthwith despatches his page with four letters: "this letter to my Lord of Lancaster; this to the prince; this to the Earl of Westmoreland; and this to old Mistress Ursula, whom I have weekly sworn to marry since I perceived the first white hair on my chin." The page having gone, the scene closes with Falstaff complaining that the gout "plays the rogue with his great toe," but "'Tis no matter if I do halt; I 'll make the wars an excuse to get a big pension," for "A good wit will make use of any thing," even to making a profit out of diseases.

The Archbishop's palace at York supplies the next scene, where we find the prelate in consultation with the Lords Hastings, Mowbray and Bardolph as to the

prospects of their enterprise. It opens with the archbishop reminding them tha they are already aware of their cause and know their means, and invites them t speak plainly their opinion as to their prospects. Mowbray replies that he is quit satisfied as to the reason they have taken up arms, but he would be more satisfied i their power was much larger. Hastings exclaims that they have but twenty-fiv thousand men at their command :

> Our present musters grow upon the file
> To five and twenty thousand men of choice ;
> And our supplies live largely in the hope
> Of great Northumberland, whose bosom burns
> With an incensed fire of injuries.

Then the point to be considered—observes Lord Bardolph, who counsels caution— is, whether such a small force can be successful without the aid of Northumberland

> The question then, Lord Hastings, standeth thus ;
> Whether our present five and twenty thousand
> May hold up head without Northumberland ?

to which Hastings replies : " With him, we may." To this Lord Bardolph enjoins that without Northumberland's aid their chances of success are very remote :

> Yea, marry, there 's the point :
> But if without him we be thought too feeble,
> My judgement is, we should not step too far
> Till we had his assistance by the hand ;
> For in a theme so bloody-faced as this
> Conjecture, expectation, and surmise
> Of aids incertain should not be admitted ;

and with this the archbishop agrees : " 'Tis very true, Lord Bardolph ; for indeed It was young Hotspur's case at Shrewsbury." This causes Lord Bardolph to add that as they had in hand a bold and warlike enterprise " Which is almost to pluck a kingdom down And set another up," they must proceed very cautiously, otherwise they would court disaster, and reminds them that an architect before he commences to build, first draws a plan, and afterwards counts the cost of the projected erection :

> When we mean to build,
> We first survey the plot, then draw the model ;
> And when we see the figure of the house,
> Then must we rate the cost of the erection ;
> Which if we find outweighs ability,
> What do we then but draw anew the model
> In fewer offices, or at least desist
> To build at all ?

therefore they should consider the matter very carefully, and satisfy themselves that their power was strong enough to carry them through, otherwise they would be " Like one that draws the model of a house Beyond his power to build it ; who, half through, Gives o'er and leaves his part-erected cost A naked subject to the weeping clouds, And waste for churlish winter's tyranny." Lord Hastings, on the other hand is more sanguine of success, for " we are a body strong enough, Even as we are, to equal with the king." " What, is the king but five and twenty thousand ? " queries Lord Bardolph, and Hastings replies " To us no more ; nay, not so much, Lord Bardolph," for his forces are divided, one part against the French who have landed a large army in Wales, and another against Glendower, in consequence of which they have only to count on meeting a third of the royal forces : " one power against the French, And one against Glendower ; perforce a third Must take us up : so is the infirm king In thee divided." But Lord Bardolph is not satisfied, and asks who is

in command of the forces sent against them, and Hastings replies the Duke of Lancaster and Westmoreland, while the king and the prince are in command of the force sent against Glendower and the Welsh, but as to who is in charge of the army against the French "I have no certain notice." On hearing this the archbishop decides for prompt action: "Let us on, And publish the occasion of our arms," for the "commonwealth is sick of their own choice"; in accepting Bolingbroke in the place of Richard. To this they all agree, and decide to hasten away and assemble their forces:

Mowb. Shall we go draw our numbers, and set on?

to which Hastings replies:

We are time's subjects, and time bids be gone.

We are in a London Street at the opening of the second Act. It opens with Mistress Quickly inquiring of Fang and Snare—two Sheriff's officers—if they have entered the action against Falstaff for the recovery of the money he owes her. Being assured by Fang that "It is entered," she warns them to beware of Falstaff as he "cares not what mischief he does, if his weapon be out: he will foin like any devil; he will spare neither man, woman, or child." Promising to be "at their elbow," if assistance should be required, she enjoins upon them to "hold him sure: . . . let him not scape," for "A hundred mark is a long one for a poor lone woman to bear: and I have borne, and borne, and borne; and have been fubbed off, and fubbed off, and fubbed off, from this day to that day, that it is a shame to be thought on. There is no honesty in such dealing; unless a woman should be made an ass and a beast, to bear every knave's wrong. Yonder he comes; and that arrant malmsey-nose knave, Bardolph, with him." On Falstaff appearing in company with his page and Bardolph, he enquires: "How now! whose mare's dead? what 's the matter?" and is at once arrested by Fang: "Sir John, I arrest you at the suit of Mistress Quickly."

Falstaff calls upon Bardolph to draw his sword and strike the officer, and throw the hostess into the ditch: "Away, varlets! Draw, Bardolph: cut me off the villain's head: throw the quean in the channel," to which Mistress Quickly replies: "Throw me in the channel! I 'll throw thee in the channel. Wilt thou? wilt thou? thou bastardly rogue! Murder, murder! Ah, thou honey-suckle villain! wilt thou kill God's officers and the king's? Ah, thou honey-seed rogue! thou art a honey-seed, a man-queller, and a woman-queller." During the scuffle Fang appeals for assistance: "A rescue! a rescue!" "Good people, bring a rescue or two," shouts the hostess, only to be pushed on one side by Falstaff's page, with the remark: "Away, you scullion! you rampallian! you fustilarian!"

At this point the Lord Chief Justice appears and orders them to keep the peace. Telling Falstaff that he ought to "have been on his way to York and not brawling here," he demands to know the reason for his arrest. "O my most worshipful lord, an' please your grace, I am a poor widow of Eastcheap, and he is arrested at my suit," answers Mistress Quickly. "Forwhat sum?" asks the Chief Justice, to which the hostess replies: "It is more than for some, my lord, it is for all, all I have. He hath eaten me out of house and home." Being told by the Judge that he ought to be ashamed of himself, Falstaff inquires the gross amount he owes her, only to be told that he owes her marriage as well as money: "Marry, if thou wert an honest man, thyself and the money too. Thou didst swear to me upon a parcel-gilt goblet, sitting in my Dolphin-chamber, at the round table, by a sea-coal fire, upon Wednesday in Wheeson week, when the prince broke thy head for liking his father to a singing-

man of Windsor, thou didst swear to me then, as I was washing thy wound, to marry me and make me my lady thy wife. Canst thou deny it? . . . And didst thou not kiss me and bid me fetch thee thirty shillings? I put thee now to thy book-oath: deny it, if thou canst." "My lord, this is a poor mad soul; and she says up and down the town that her eldest son is like you: she hath been in good case, and the truth is, poverty hath distracted her," is Falstaff's remark to the Judge, but the Chief Justice tells him that he is "well acquainted with his manner of wrenching the true cause the false way," but neither his "confident brow" nor his "impudent sauciness" will alter his opinion, for he "had practised upon the easy-yielding spirit of this woman, and made her serve his uses both in purse and in person," and orders him to "Pay her the debt you owe her, and unpay the villainy you have done her: the one you may do with sterling money, and the other with current repentance." To this Falstaff replies that he will not let this reprimand go unanswered: "You call honourable boldness impudent sauciness: if a man will make courtesy and say nothing, he is virtuous; no, my lord, my humble duty remembered, I will not be your suitor. I say to you, I do desire deliverance from these officers, being upon hasty employment in the king's affairs."

At this point a gentleman of the court—Gower—enters and reports that the king and the Prince of Wales are at hand, at the same time handing the Chief Justice a letter. While the judge is perusing the letter, Falstaff prevails upon the hostess, not only to withdraw her action, but also to lend him ten pounds: "Let it be ten pound, if thou canst. Come, an 'twere not for thy humours, there 's not a better wench in England. Go, wash thy face, and draw the action. Come, thou must not be in this humour with me; dost not know me? come, come, I know thou wast set on to this," after which she actually invites Falstaff to supper at the Boar's Head tavern, when "You 'll pay me all together" adding "Will you have Doll Tearsheet meet you at supper?" "No more words; let 's have her," is Falstaff's reply. As Dame Quickly hurries away, Falstaff turns to the Chief Justice: "What 's the news, my lord?" but as the judge pretends not to hear him, Falstaff turns to Gower, and inquires: "Where lay the king to-night?" "At Basingstoke, my lord," is Gower's reply. "I hope, my lord, all 's well: what is the news, my lord?" Falstaff asks again, but still the judge pays no heed. Turning to Gower, the Chief Justice inquires whether the king is returning with all his forces, to which Gower replies: "No; fifteen hundred foot, five hundred horse, Are march'd up to my Lord of Lancaster, Against Northumberland and the Archbishop." "Come, go along with me, good Master Gower, You shall have letters of me presently," adds the judge, and as he and Gower are on the point of leaving, Falstaff invites the latter to dine with him at the Boar's Head tavern. Gower thanks Falstaff for the invitation which he is unable to accept as he has to wait on the Chief Justice, who, turning to Falstaff tells him: "Sir John, you loiter here too long, seeing you are to take soldiers up in counties as you go," and on Falstaff repeating the invitation to Gower, the judge sharply rebukes him with the words: "What foolish master taught you these manners, Sir John?" "Master Gower, if they become me not, he was a fool that taught them me. This is the right fencing grace, my lord; tap for tap, and so part fair," answers Falstaff, only to receive from the judge the caustic remark: "Now the Lord lighten thee! thou art a great fool."

The next scene is enacted in another Street in London, where we meet the prince and Poins, the former acknowledging himself to be "exceeding weary," and desiring —although it makes him blush—a drink of "small beer," which he considers not very fitting for a prince. Being so familiar with Poins—which he declares is a

disgrace to him—the prince proceeds to enumerate the articles in his wardrobe, but Poins tells him that he should not talk so idly, particularly as his father is lying ill, to which the prince retorts that although his "heart bleeds inwardly that his father is so sick," the fact of "keeping such vile company as his hath in reason taken from him all ostentation of sorrow." At this point Bardolph enters, accompanied by Falstaff's page, and the prince makes comments on the fantastic livery the page is wearing, averring that when he gave him to Falstaff he was a Christian. The page then alludes to Bardolph's red nose, and Bardolph angrily retorts "Away, you whoreson upright rabbit, away!" to which the page replies: "Away, you rascally Althæa's dream, away!" "Instruct us, boy; what dream, boy?" enjoins the prince, and the page goes on to confound Althæa's fire-brand, which was real, with Hecuba, who dreamed she was delivered of a fire-brand which was to be the cause of the destruction of Troy. The prince considers his "interpretation" is worth a crown, but gives him sixpence to "preserve him." The prince next inquires about Falstaff, and Bardolph replies that having heard of the prince's coming to town, Sir John has entrusted him with a letter, which he hands to the prince. The letter which is read aloud by Poins—who makes comments upon it as he reads it—ran:

> "Sir John Falstaff, knight, to the son of the king, nearest his father, Harry Prince of Wales, greeting." ["Why, this is a certificate," observes Poins. "Peace!" requests the prince.] "I will imitate the honourable Romans in brevity": ["He sure means brevity in breath, short-winded," is Poins' comment.] "I commend me to thee, I commend thee, and I leave thee. Be not too familiar with Poins; for he misuses thy favours so much, that he swears thou art to marry his sister Nell. Repent at idle times as thou mayest; and so, farewell.
>
> "Thine, by yea and no, which is as much as to say, as thou usest him, JACK FALSTAFF with my familiars, JOHN with my brothers and sisters, and SIR JOHN with all Europe."

"My lord, I 'll steep this letter in sack, and make him eat it," enjoins Poins. "Must I marry your sister?" asks the prince, and Poins replies: "God send the wench no worse fortune! But I never said so," to which the prince adds: "Well, thus we play the fools with the time; and the spirits of the wise sit in the clouds and mock us." Being told by Bardolph that Falstaff is supping at the "old place in East-cheap," to which the page adds, with "Ephesians, my lord, of the old church," and with Mistress Quickly and Mistress Doll Tearsheet, the prince decides to pay them a surprise visit, and Bardolph and the page having gone, Poins procures a couple of "leathern jerkins and aprons," with which they purpose disguising themselves in order to appear in the capacity of "drawers" at Falstaff's table, the prince humorously exclaiming that even the great god Jove assumed disguises:

> From a god to a bull? a heavy descension! it was Jove's case. From a prince to a prentice? a low transformation! that shall be mine; for in every thing the purpose must weigh with the folly. Follow me, Ned.

We are transferred to Warkworth Castle in the next scene, where we find Northumberland in conversation with his wife and widowed daughter-in-law, Lady Percy. It opens with Northumberland entreating his wife and daughter-in-law not to oppose the stern course he intends to pursue:

> I pray thee, loving wife, and gentle daughter,
> Give even way unto my rough affairs:

averring that, his "honour is in pawn." Then "I will speak no more: Do what you will; your wisdom be your guide," replies his wife. His daughter-in-law then tries to persuade him not to "go to these wars!" and reminds him that he has already "broken his word," and that at the time "When he was more endear'd to it than now; When his own Percy, when her heart's dear Harry, Threw many a northward look to see his father Bring up his powers; but he did long in vain," and asks him "Who then persuaded him to stay at home," and goes on to compare her late husband—Hotspur—as the "mark and glass, copy and book, That fashion'd others," adding that if he had had the support at the battle of Shrewsbury which was promised him, he would not have been defeated:

> Had my sweet Harry had but half their numbers,
> To-day might I, hanging on Hotspur's neck,
> Have talk'd of Monmouth's grave.

Northumberland bids her "Beshrew her heart": "Fair daughter, you do draw my spirits from me With new lamenting ancient oversights," adding that he must "go and meet with danger" otherwise "it will seek him out in another place And find him worse provided." His wife entreats him to "fly to Scotland," until a sufficient army can be mobilised to meet his needs, in which she is supported by Lady Percy, and Northumberland decides to take their advice:

> I will resolve for Scotland: there am I,
> Till time and vantage crave my company.

In the next scene we are at the Boar's Head Tavern in Eastcheap. Two drawers enter, and proceed to prepare the supper: *First Draw.* "What the devil hast thou brought there? apple-johns? thou knowest Sir John cannot endure an apple-john." *Sec. Draw.* "Mass, thou sayest true. The prince once set a dish of apple-johns before him, and told him there were five more Sir Johns; and, putting off his hat, said, 'I will now take my leave of these six dry, round, old, withered knights.'" One of the drawers mentions that music is to animate the feast, while the other adds that the prince and Poins are to disguise themselves and take their places as servers, but Falstaff is not to know it, hence there will be "rare sport."

Mistress Quickly and Doll Tearsheet enter, and addressing the latter, Mistress Quickly, endeavouring to assume an air of gentility, causes great amusement by her misapplication of language: "I' faith, sweatheart, methinks now you are in an excellent good temperality: your pulsidge beats as extraordinarily as heart would desire; and your colour, I warrant you, is as red as any rose, in good truth, la! But, i' faith, you have drunk too much canaries; and that 's a marvellous searching wine, and it perfumes the blood ere one can say 'What 's this?' How do you now?" Almost immediately, Falstaff appears, singing—at the same time calling for sack—"When Arthur first in court"—Empty the jordan. [*Exit First Drawer*]—[*Singing*] "And was a worthy king," "How now, Mistress Doll!" High words ensue between him and Doll, the latter describing Falstaff as a "muddy rascal" and a "muddy conger," telling him to go and hang himself. To prevent a quarrel between them Mistress Quickly intervenes: "By my troth, this is the old fashion; you two never meet but you fall to some discord: you are both, i' good truth, as rheumatic as two dry toasts; you cannot one bear with another's confirmities." Eventually they agree to be friends as it is doubtful whether they will meet again, as Falstaff is to accompany Lord John of Lancaster to York: "Come, I 'll be friends with thee, Jack; thou art going to the wars; and whether I shall ever see thee again or no, there is nobody cares." The first drawer re-enters, and announces that Pistol—Falstaff's lieutenant—wishes to see him. Doll Tearsheet objects, and denounces

Pistol as a " swaggering rascal," and the " foul-mouthedst rogue in England," which makes the hostess declare she will not allow him to enter her house : " If he swagger, let him not come here : no, by my faith ; I must live among my neighbours ; I 'll no swaggerers : I am in good name and fame with the very best : shut the door ; there comes no swaggerers here : I have not lived all this while, to have swaggerers now ; shut the door, I pray you." But Falstaff protests and assures Mistress Quickly that Pistol—whom he calls his ' ancient '—is no swaggerer. " Pray ye, pacify yourself, Sir John : there comes no swaggerers here," enjoins the hostess, adding that on " Wednesday last Master Tisick, the debuty " told her to receive in her house only " those that are civil " for she was an " honest woman, and well thought on ; therefore take heed what guests you receive : receive," said he, " no swaggering companions." Falstaff again avers that Pistol is no swaggerer, but a " tame cheater, i' faith, you may stroke him as gently as a puppy greyhound," and turns to the drawer with the remark : " Call him up, drawer." Pistol enters, accompanied by Bardolph and the page, while the two women protest against his admittance. A lively passage follows in which Doll Tearsheet denounces Pistol as a " scurvy companion . . . a base, rascally, cheating, lack-linen mate ! . . . a mouldy rogue, . . . a cut-purse rascal ! . . . a bottle-ale rascal ! . . . a basket-hilt stale juggler, . . . an abominable damned cheater, who ought to be ashamed to be called ' captain,' and one who lives upon mouldy stewed prunes and dried cakes," at the same time threatening to " thrust her knife into his mouldy chaps." Pistol calls for a drink and lays down his sword with the remark : " Give me some sack : and, sweetheart, lie thou there," but Doll Tearsheet is not to be quietened and calls for Pistol's exclusion : " For God's sake, thrust him down stairs," for she " cannot endure such a fustian rascal," which remark makes Pistol so angry that he draws his sword. Falstaff declares he will have no brawling, and drawing his sword chases Pistol out of the room, which causes such a tumult that the hostess declares she is prepared to " forswear keeping house, afore I 'll be in these tirrits and frights." Assuring themselves that Falstaff has not been hurt in the fraças, Bardolph re-enters and reports that Pistol—who is drunk—has been wounded in the shoulder. Falstaff describes him as a " rascal ! to brave him ! " while Doll declares that Falstaff is as " valorous as Hector of Troy, worth five of Agamemnon, and ten times better than the Nine Worthies." Proud of the part he has played, for the " rogue fled from him like quicksilver," Falstaff invites Doll Tearsheet to sit upon his knee while they listen to " Sneak's string-band." At this point the prince and Poins enter, disguised as waiters, and listen to the conversation between Doll and Falstaff, the latter describing Poins as a " baboon " who's " wits are as thick as Tewkesbury mustard," asserting that the " Prince himself is such another," for they are so similar in size that the " weight of a hair will turn the scales between their avoirdupois," remarks that so annoy the prince and Poins, that the latter suggests giving him a good thrashing. Both the prince and Poins are highly amused as Falstaff kisses and dallies with Doll, who declares—when Falstaff tells her he is an old man—that she loves him more " than I love e'er a scurvy young boy of them all," and Falstaff is so flattered that he promises to buy her a new dress : " What stuff wilt have a kirtle of ? I shall receive money o' Thursday," but Doll tells him she will not " dress handsome " until he returns from the war. On Falstaff calling for some sack, the prince and Poins draw near with the words " Anon, anon, sir," and are immediately recognised. The prince demands to know the meaning of " speaking so vilely about him " before this " honest, virtuous, civil gentlewoman ! " to which Falstaff replies that he " dispraised him before the wicked, that the wicked might not fall in love with him ; in which doing, he had done the part of a careful friend and a true subject,

and his father ought to give him thanks for it. No abuse, Hal: none, Ned, none: no, faith, boys, none." The conversation is interrupted by a loud knocking at the door, and Peto enters and informs the prince that "The king your father is at Westminster," as there is stirring news from the north, and that as he journeyed hither "he met and overtook a dozen captains, Bare-headed, sweating, knocking at the taverns, And asking every one for Sir John Falstaff." Calling for his sword and cloak, the prince declares that it is a time for action and not for drunken revelry, and hurriedly takes his departure, accompanied by Poins, Peto and Bardolph:

> By heavens, Poins, I feel me much to blame,
> So idly to profane the precious time;
> When tempest of commotion, like the south
> Borne with black vapour, doth begin to melt,
> And drop upon our bare unarmed heads.
> Give me my sword and cloak. Falstaff, good night.

Immediately they are gone more knocking is heard at the door, and Bardolph re-enters and tells Falstaff that a dozen captains are at the door waiting to accompany him to court. Leaving his page to pay the musicians, Falstaff bids the hostess and Doll Tearsheet farewell: "Farewell, hostess; farewell, Doll. You see, my good wenches, how men of merit are sought after: the undeserver may sleep, when the man of action is called on. Farewell, good wenches": and departs in company with Bardolph, while Dame Quickly extols his excellency of character: "Well, fare thee well: I have known thee these twenty nine years, come peascod-time; but an honester and truer-hearted man,—well, fare thee well," and Doll Tearsheet gives vent to tears. "O, run, Doll, run; run, good Doll: come. [*She comes blubbered.*] Yea, will you come, Doll!"

The third Act opens in the palace at Westminster. It is one o'clock a.m., and the king, unable to sleep, enters in his nightgown, and bids a page call the Earls of Surrey and of Warwick, who are to "o'er-read—and well consider—the letters which he sends them":

> Go call the Earls of Surrey and of Warwick;
> But, ere they come, bid them o'er-read these letters,
> And well consider of them: make good speed.

The page gone, the king, who is suffering from melancholia, and fearing retribution for the indirect way in which he has gained the crown, soliloquises on sleep—"Nature's soft nurse"—which is denied him, while those who "liest in smoky cribs" and the "wet seaboy on the boisterous ocean" can indulge in peaceful repose. This soliloquy is considered to be one of the finest passages in the play, ending as it does with the well-known and often-quoted line: "Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown":

> How many thousand of my poorest subjects
> Are at this hour asleep! O sleep, O gentle sleep,
> Nature's soft nurse, how have I frighted thee,
> That thou no more wilt weigh my eyelids down,
> And steep my senses in forgetfulness?
> Why rather, sleep, liest thou in smoky cribs,
> Upon uneasy pallets stretching thee,
> And hush'd with buzzing night-flies to thy slumber,
> Than in the perfumed chambers of the great,
> Under the canopies of costly state,
> And lull'd with sound of sweetest melody?
> O thou dull god, why liest thou with the vile
> In loathsome beds, and leavest the kingly couch
> A watch-case or a common 'larum-bell?

Wilt thou upon the high and giddy mast
Seal up the ship-boy's eyes, and rock his brains
In cradle of the rude imperious surge,
And in the visitation of the winds,
Who take the ruffian billows by the top,
Curling their monstrous heads, and hanging them
With deafening clamour in the slippery clouds,
That, with the hurly, death itself awakes ?
Canst thou, O partial sleep, give thy repose
To the wet sea-boy in an hour so rude ;
And in the calmest and most stillest night,
With all appliances and means to boot,
Deny it to a king ? Then happy low, lie down !
Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown.

The Earls of Surrey and of Warwick enter, and after ascertaining that they have read the letters he has sent them, the king tells them that they will see from those letters how " Foul the body of the kingdom is ; what rank diseases grow, And with what danger, near the heart of it," but Warwick considers that with " good advice and little medicine " the trouble will soon be " cool'd." But Henry—who was wont to " read the book of fate " :

O God ! that one might read the book of fate,
And see the revolution of the times
Make mountains level, and the continent,
Weary of solid firmness, melt itself
Into the sea ! and, other times, to see
The beachy girdle of the ocean
Too wide for Neptune's hips ; how chances mock,
And changes fill the cup of alteration
With divers liquors ! O, if this were seen,
The happiest youth, viewing his progress through,
What perils past, what crosses to ensue,
Would shut the book, and sit him down and die,

remembers the prophecy of King Richard, that Northumberland—the ladder by which he (Henry) had ascended the throne—would prove a fatal enemy to him, and reminds them that it is only " eight years since This Percy was the man nearest his soul," and now he is in rebellion ; and then turning to Warwick, says :

But which of you was by—
You, cousin Nevil, as I may remember—[*To Warwick.*
When Richard, with his eye brimful of tears,
Then check'd and rated by Northumberland,
Did speak these words, now proved a prophecy ?
" Northumberland, thou ladder by the which
My cousin Bolingbroke ascends my throne " ;
Though then, God knows, I had no such intent,
But that necessity so bow'd the state,
That I and greatness were compell'd to kiss :
' The time shall come,' thus did he follow it,
' The time will come, that foul sin, gathering head,
Shall break into corruption ' : so went on,
Foretelling this same time's condition,
And the division of our amity.

The lords try to cheer him, Warwick exclaiming—when Henry tells them that the forces under the command of the archbishop and Northumberland are fifty thousand strong—that like " Rumour that doubles " and the " voice that echoes " the number has been greatly overestimated. Advising the king to go to bed : " Your majesty hath been this fortnight ill ; And these unseason'd hours perforce must add Unto your sickness," they assure Henry that the royal forces sent against the archbishop and Northumberland will prove victorious, and, to comfort the king further, tell him

that news has been received that Glendower is dead. "I will take your counsel" is the king's answer, and taking leave of the two lords, repeats his intentions that when the strife at home is concluded, he will pay a visit to the Holy Land:

> And were these inward wars once out of hand,
> We would, dear lords, unto the Holy Land.

We are before Justice Shallow's house in Gloucestershire in the second scene. Shallow, a Justice of the Peace, and Silence, another Justice and cousin to Shallow, enter, and Shallow, who is a very self-important and talkative person, welcomes his relative in a very pompous manner, making searching inquiries as to the health of the wife and daughter of Silence, and then proceeds to speak of his schoolboy days, when Falstaff—now Sir John—was a boy and page to Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk. Bardolph and "one with him" enter, and Bardolph inquires for Justice Shallow, whereupon Shallow very ostentatiously introduces himself: "I am Robert Shallow, sir; a poor esquire of this county, and one of the king's justices of the peace." Bardolph delivers Falstaff's compliments. They are indulging in witticisms when Falstaff enters, and is greeted by Shallow: "Give me your good hand, give me your worship's good hand: by my troth, you like well and bear your years very well: welcome, good Sir John." "I am glad to see you well, good Master Robert Shallow" replies Falstaff, and then referring to Silence, says: "Master Surecard, as I think?" "No, Sir John, rejoins Shallow, "It is my cousin Silence, in commission with me," to which Falstaff observes: "Good Master Silence, it well befits you should be of the peace." Falstaff then inquires whether Shallow has "provided him with half a dozen sufficient men?" Requesting Falstaff to take a seat, Shallow produces the roll, and summons the six recruits one by one for Falstaff's inspection. They are rustics of a grotesque type, and Falstaff makes great fun of their names, appearances, and their answers. The first to appear is Ralph Mouldy. "Is thy name Mouldy?" asks Falstaff. "Yea, an 't please you," is Mouldy's reply. "'Tis the more time thou wert used," is Falstaff's retort. "Ha ha, ha! most excellent, i' faith; things that are mouldy lack use: very singular good! in faith, well said, Sir John; very well said." "Prick him," says Falstaff. "There are other men fitter to go out than I," replies Mouldy, "I was pricked well enough before, an you could have let me alone: my old dame will be undone now, for one to do her husbandry and her drudgery." "Peace, fellow, peace"; demands Shallow, "stand aside: know you where you are?" The second to appear is Simon Shadow. "Shadow, whose son art thou?" asks Falstaff. "My mother's son, sir," replies Shadow. "Thy mother's son! like enough, and thy father's shadow, prick him, he will serve for summer, for we have a number of shadows to fill up the muster-book." The next is Thomas Wart. "Is thy name Wart?" "Yea, sir," replies Wart. "Thou art a very ragged wart," is Falstaff's comment. "Shall I prick him, Sir John?" asks Shallow, but Falstaff considers he is not worth troubling about as "his apparel is built upon his back, and his whole frame stands upon pins. "Ha, ha, ha! you can do it, sir; you can do it: I commend you well," is Shallow's comment. Francis Feeble is the next recruit. "What trade art thou, Feeble? is the question. "A woman's tailor, sir." "Shall I prick him," asks Shallow, to which Falstaff makes answer: "You may: but if he had been a man's tailor, he 'ld ha' pricked you. Wilt thou make as many holes in an enemy's battle as thou hast done in a woman's petticoat?" "I will do my good will, sir: you can have no more," says Feeble, to which Falstaff replies "Well said, good woman's tailor! well said, courageous Feeble! thou wilt be as valiant as the wrathful dove or most magnanimous mouse. Prick the woman's tailor: well, Master Shallow; deep,

Master Shallow." "I would Wart might have gone, sir," adds Feeble, to which Falstaff remarks: "I would thou wert a man's tailor, that thou mightst mend him and make him fit to go. I cannot put him to a private soldier, that is the leader of so many thousands: let that suffice, most forcible Feeble," and who is the next? "Peter Bullcalf o' the green." On Bullcalf appearing Falstaff remarks: "Fore God, a likely fellow! Come, prick me Bullcalf till he roar again." But Bullcalf considers he ought to be excused as he is troubled with a "whoreson cold, sir, a cough, sir, which I caught with ringing in the king's affairs upon his coronation-day, sir," but Falstaff tells him he shall go to the wars in a gown to keep him warm, "we will have away thy cold; and I will take such order that thy friends shall ring for thee." "Is here all?" asks Falstaff. "There is two more called than your number, you must have but four here, sir," remarks Shallow, so "I pray you, go in with me to dinner." While Falstaff is dining, two of the recruits—Bullcalf and Mouldy—bribe Bardolph to excuse them from service, but the others being unable to pay are compelled to serve in Falstaff's company. To Bardolph, Bullcalf says: "Good master corporate Bardolph, stand my friend; and here 's four Harry ten shillings in French crowns for you," to which Bardolph replies: "Go to; stand aside." "And, good master corporal captain, for my old dame's sake, stand my friend: she has nobody to do anything about her when I am gone; and she is old, and cannot help herself: you shall have forty, sir," says Mouldy, only to receive the same answer as Bullcalf. But Feeble, for his part is ready to go. "By my troth, I care not; a man can die but once: . . . and let it go which way it will, he that dies this year is quit for the next," to which Bardolph makes answer: "Well said; thou 'rt a good fellow." On Falstaff and the two Justices re-appearing, Bardolph whispers to Falstaff: "I have three pound to free Mouldy and Bullcalf," therefore, to Shallow's surprise, Falstaff rejects the two most serviceable recruits. Addressing Mouldy and Bullcalf, Falstaff says: "Mouldy and Bullcalf: for you, Mouldy, stay at home till you are past service: and for your part, Bullcalf, grow till you come unto it: I will none of you," but Shallow tells him he "wrongs himself as they are his likeliest men," and Falstaff asks Shallow if he wants to instruct him how to choose a man, adding, that he prefers "spare men . . . with spirit," who "present no mark to the enemy," to those "big of limb and tall of stature." Commanding Bardolph to provide the men with soldiers' coats, Falstaff bids them farewell, promising on his return again to accept the hospitality of Justice Shallow.

The fourth Act opens in Gaultree Forest in Yorkshire, where the forces of the archbishop, Mowbray and Hastings are assembled. After inquiring the name of the Forest, the archbishop suggests that "discoverers be sent forth to know the numbers of their enemies." A scout is therefore sent out to ascertain the strength of the king's troops. In the meantime the archbishop reports that he has received "New-dated letters from Northumberland," stating that he has been unable to levy troops, in consequence of which he has retired to Scotland:

> My friends and brethren in these great affairs,
> I must acquaint you that I have received
> New-dated letters from Northumberland;
> Their cold intent, tenour and substance, thus;
> Here doth he wish his person, with such powers
> As might hold sortance with his quality,
> The which he could not levy; whereupon
> He is retired, to ripe his growing fortunes,
> To Scotland: and concludes in hearty prayers
> That your attempts may overlive the hazard
> And fearful meeting of their opposite,

to which Mowbray enjoins that the "hopes" they had in Northumberland, had "touched ground And dashed themselves to pieces."

The scout returns with the news that the king's forces are scarcely a mile to the west of the forest, and "by the ground they hide" he estimates them to number about thirty thousand, and Mowbray, who mentions that was the number they judged the king's forces to be, suggests that they press forward and meet them face to face on the field. The scout has scarcely delivered his message, when the Earl of Westmoreland appears with greetings from Prince John: "Health and fair greeting from our general, The prince, Lord John and Duke of Lancaster," and being asked what brings him hither, Westmoreland inquires of the archbishop why he has placed himself at the head of this insurrection, seeing that his See is by "civil peace maintain'd," and "Whose learning and good letters peace hath tutor'd, Whose white investments figure innocence, The dove and very blessed spirit of peace." To this the archbishop replies that he does not profess to be a physician, nor does his presence at the head of a "Troop of military men" necessarily imply that he is an enemy of peace, but to speak plainly he has "weigh'd in equal balance What wrongs their arms will do, what wrongs they suffer," and has "found their griefs heavier than their offences," in consequence of which they were compelled to take up arms to secure their just rights. "When ever yet was your appeal denied?" inquires Westmoreland, and the archbishop replies that it is with the general misgovernment of the realm, and the execution of his brother that he makes his "quarrel in particular," and Westmoreland retorts by telling him that it is no concern of his. "Why not to him in part, and to us all That feel the bruises of the days before, And suffer the condition of these times To lay a heavy and unequal hand Upon our honours?" enjoins Mowbray, and Westmoreland reminds him that he has been restored to all the "Duke of Norfolk's signories, Your noble and right well remember'd father's." After the parley has proceeded for some time, in which Westmoreland tells Mowbray that he is too confident of defeating the king and compelling him to concede all their demands, he points out that the king's offer "comes from mercy, not from fear": as the royal army outnumber, and are "more perfect in the use of arms" than the forces under the command of the archbishop. Hastings then inquires whether Prince John has full powers granted to him by his father the king to come to an agreement, and Westmoreland replying in the affirmative, the archbishop hands to him a schedule setting forth their "general grievances" which Westmoreland undertakes to submit to Prince John, and forthwith departs. Immediately he has gone, Mowbray exclaims he has a presentiment that the terms offered by Prince John will not stand:

> There is a thing within my bosom tells me
> That no conditions of our peace can stand,

an opinion with which Hastings does not agree:

> Fear you not that: if we can make our peace
> Upon such large terms and so absolute
> As our conditions shall consist upon,
> Our peace shall stand as firm as rocky mountains.

But if terms of peace were concluded they would always be subject to suspicion, enjoins Mowbray, an opinion the archbishop does not share, because the king, on account of his illness, would be only too glad to see peace restored in the realm, and therefore suggests a treaty, in which he is supported by Mowbray. Presently Westmoreland re-appears and announces that Prince John will meet and consult with

them midway between their respective forces, and they forthwith depart to partake in this all-important parley :

West. The prince is here at hand : pleaseth your lordship
To meet his grace just distance 'tween our armies.
Mowb. Your grace of York, in God's name, then, set forward.
Arch. Before, and greet his grace : my lord, we come.

The next scene shows us another part of the Forest where Mowbray, with the archbishop, Hastings and others enter from one side, and Prince John of Lancaster and Westmoreland, officers and others from the other side. The prince with an ostentatious show of civility and politeness welcomes his opponents :

You are well encounter'd here, my cousin Mowbray :
Good day to you, gentle lord archbishop ;
And so to you, Lord Hastings, and to all.

and then addressing the archbishop tells him it would look better of him if he assembled his flock and expounded to them the " holy text " than being in armour, and " Cheering a rout of rebels with his drum, Turning the word to sword and life to death," for a man in his exalted position who possesses his sovereign's confidence, should not abuse the king's favour, having under the " counterfeited zeal of God," taken up arms against the " peace of heaven and the king."

My Lord of York, it better show'd with you
When that your flock, assembled by the bell,
Encircled you to hear with reverence
Your exposition on the holy text,
Than now to see you here an iron man,
Cheering a rout of rebels with your drum,
Turning the word to sword and life to death.
That man that sits within a monarch's heart
And ripens in the sunshine of his favour,
Would he abuse the countenance of the king,
. . . . . .
You have ta'en up,
Under the counterfeited zeal of God,
The subjects of his substitute, my father,
And both against the peace of heaven and him
Have here up-swarm'd them.

To this the archbishop replies that they have not taken up arms against the king, but merely to obtain their " just and right desires," to which Mowbray adds that if their grievances are not remedied they will fight to the last man. Hastings enjoins that if they are defeated others will take their places and so " success of mischief shall be born, And heir from heir shall hold this quarrel up, Whiles England shall have generation." Lancaster considers Hastings is " too shallow, much too shallow," to speak of what will happen in the future, and being asked by Westmoreland whether he approves of the articles in the schedule submitted by the rebels, the prince undertakes that all their grievances shall be redressed : " I like them all, and do allow them well ; And swear here, by the honour of my blood, My father's purposes have been mistook ; And some about him have too lavishly Wrested his meaning and authority. My lord, these griefs shall be with speed redress'd ; Upon my soul, they shall," an assurance which the archbishop accepts : " I take your princely word for these redresses," to which Prince John adds : " I give it you, and will maintain my word : And thereupon I drink unto your grace." Terms of peace having been concluded, Hastings forthwith pays and disbands his army : " Go, captain, and deliver

to the army This news of peace : let them have pay, and part : I know it will well please them. Hie thee, captain," and the captain forthwith departs. While they are " toasting " the cheers of the forces are heard welcoming news of peace :

Lan. The word of peace is render'd : hark, how they shout !
Mowb. This had been cheerful after victory.
Arch. A peace is of the nature of a conquest ;
For then both parties nobly are subdued,
And neither party loser.

The prince then gives orders for the royal forces to be disbanded, and Westmoreland departs to put the order into execution : " Go, my lord, And let our army be discharged too." Westmoreland having gone, Prince John cunningly suggests that their respective armies shall march past, in order that each can observe what opposition they would have had to encounter had there been a recourse to arms, a suggestion with which the archbishop concurs. A moment later, Westmoreland re-enters, with the news that the leaders of the royal forces, having had direct orders from the prince to keep their positions, refuse to be disbanded without the prince's direct command, to which the latter observes : " They know their duties." Learning from Hastings—who now re-enters—that the rebel army has rapidly dispersed : " My lord, our army is dispersed already : Like youthful steers unyoked, they take their courses East, west, north, south ; or, like a school broke up, Each hurries toward his home and sporting-place," the prince orders their leaders' arrest on the charge of high treason :

Good tidings, my Lord Hastings ; for the which
I do arrest thee, traitor, of high treason :
And you, lord Archbishop, and you, Lord Mowbray,
Of capital treason I attach you both.

" Is this proceeding just and honourable ? " asks Mowbray, to which Westmoreland retorts : " Is your assembly so ? " " Will you thus break your faith ? " demands the archbishop, only to receive the dishonourable reply : " I pawn'd thee none : I promised you redress of these same grievances Whereof you did complain ; which, by mine honour, I will perform with a most Christian care." Telling them to prepare themselves for the punishment " Meet for rebellion and such acts as theirs," the prince orders the drums to be sounded for the pursuit of the rebel forces, and exclaiming " God, and not we, hath safely fought to-day," with the name of the Almighty on his lips commits an act of treachery by ordering the execution of the rebel leaders :

Some guard these traitors to the block of death,
Treason's true bed and yielder up of breath.

We are in another part of the Forest in scene three. Falstaff, who has joined in the pursuit of the disbanded rebel forces, meets Sir John Colville of the dale, whose name and place he ridicules :

Fal. What 's your name, sir ? of what condition are you, and of what place, I pray ?
Col. I am a knight, sir ; and my name is Colevile of the dale.
Fal. Well, then, Colevile is your name, a knight is your degree, and your place the dale : Colevile shall be still your name, a traitor your degree, and the dungeon your place, a place deep enough ; so shall you be still Colevile of the dale.

Falstaff demands his surrender: "Do ye yield, sir? or shall I sweat for you? If I do sweat, they are the drops of thy lovers, and they weep for thy death: therefore rouse up fear and trembling, and do observance to my mercy," to which Colville replies: "I think you are Sir John Falstaff, and in that thought yield me," and Falstaff observes that he has a "whole school of tongues" and they all speak no other word than his own name. Prince John enters, and ordering the trumpet to sound "cease pursuit," chastises Falstaff for disobeying orders: "Now, Falstaff, where have you been all this while? When every thing is ended, then you come: These tardy tricks of yours will, on my life, One time or other break some gallows' back," and Falstaff begins to brag of having captured in his "pure and immaculate valour, . . . a most furious knight and valorous enemy," and requests the prince that the deed be recorded, or he will have a ballad specially composed with his own "picture on the top on 't, Colevile kissing his foot." After telling Colville that he is a "famous rebel," to which Falstaff ejaculates "And a famous true subject took him," the prince orders Colville to be sent to York to be executed: "Send Colevile with his confederates To York, to present execution": after which the news of their triumph is dispatched to the king: "And now dispatch we toward the court, my lords: I hear the king my father is sore sick: Our news shall go before us to his majesty, Which, cousin, you shall bear to comfort him; And we with sober speed will follow you." After Falstaff has asked and been granted permission to leave:

Fal. My lord, I beseech you, give me leave to go
Through Gloucestershire: and, when you come to court,
Stand my good lord, pray, in your good report.
Lan. Fare you well, Falstaff: I, in my condition,
Shall better speak of you than you deserve,

all depart with the exception of Sir John, who muses on the serious mindedness of the prince: "Good faith, this same young sober-blooded boy doth not love me; nor a man cannot make him laugh; but that 's no marvel, he drinks no wine," asserting that none of these "demure boys" ever prove their worth, for as they drink only "thin drink" which so "over-cools their blood," and eat such an amount of fish, that they "fall into a kind of male green-sickness," and proceeds to comment on the excellency of sherry, how it enters the brain, and dries up all the "foolish and dull and crudy vapours which environ it; makes it apprehensive, quick, forgetive, full of nimble, fiery and delectable shapes; which, delivered o'er to the voice, the tongue, which is the birth, becomes excellent wit," how it "warms the blood" and "illuminates the face," and finally it passes to the heart, "who, great and puffed up with this retinue, doth any deed of courage; and this valour comes of sherris." Bardolph enters, and informs Falstaff that the "army is discharged all and gone," and remarking "Let them go," Falstaff departs intending to pay a visit to Justice Shallow—whom he declares he has already between his finger and his thumb—on his way through Gloucestershire, and invites Bardolph to accompany him, which invitation Bardolph accepts.

The fourth scene opens in the Jerusalem chamber at Westminster, where we find Henry announcing to the lords assembled that should "God give successful end to this debate that bleedeth at our doors," he will go on a crusade to the Holy Land. The king then inquires for two of his sons, Prince Henry and Thomas Duke of Clarence. The former is hunting at Windsor, but the latter being present, the king entreats him to foster the company of the Prince of Wales, for although "thou dost neglect him, Thomas; Thou hast a better place in his affection Than all thy brothers: cherish it, my boy, And noble offices thou mayst effect Of meditation, after I am

dead, Between his greatness and thy other brethren : Therefore omit him not." Being of a gracious turn of mind he hath a " tear for pity, and a hand Open as day for melting charity " : yet when roused he is as hard as flint, " As humorous as winter, and as sudden As flaws congealed in the spring of day." Observe him well and " Chide him for faults, and do it reverently," and when he is in an angry frame of mind give him time and scope Till that his passions exhaust themselves. " Learn this, Thomas, And thou shalt prove a shelter to thy friends, A hoop of gold to bind thy brothers in," and Clarence faithfully promises to " observe his brother with all care and love." He then tells his father that Prince Henry is dining in London with " Poins, and other his continual followers," which makes the king regret that his heir should frequent such inordinate company. But Warwick tells Henry that the prince " but studies his companions Like a strange tongue, wherein to gain the language," and will in the " perfectness of time Cast off all these undesirable followers ; and their memory Shall as a pattern or a measure live, By which his grace must mete the lives of others, Turning past evils to advantages," to which the king makes the cogent comment : " 'Tis seldom when the bee doth leave her comb In the dead carrion."

Westmoreland now appears and announces Prince John's bloodless victory over the rebel forces, and the arrest and execution of the rebel leaders : " Mowbray, the Bishop Scroop, Hastings and all Are brought to the correction of your law ; There is not now a rebel's sword unsheathed, But Peace puts forth her olive every where." This welcome news is followed by the entry of Harcourt who announces that Northumberland and Lord Bardolph with their Scotch allies have been defeated by the sheriff of Yorkshire. But the king, who is feeling faint calls for assistance : " And now my sight fails, and my brain is giddy : O me ! come near me ; now I am much ill," and his two sons, with Westmoreland and Warwick rush to his assistance. On his showing signs of recovery, Warwick requests those present to " Speak lower, princes, for the king recovers," and at Henry's request they tenderly bear him away into an adjoining chamber :

> I pray you, take me up, and bear me hence
> Into some other chamber : softly, pray.

The final scene of this Act shows us the royal sick-room. The king, lying on a bed, requests that " there be no noise made " unless it is sweet music to cheer up his " weary spirit." Warwick therefore calls for the musicians to play softly in the adjoining room, and the king requests that his crown be placed on his pillow, while Clarence makes comments on his changed appearance. Prince Henry enters and inquires for the king, and being told he is " exceedingly ill " suggests that his father be informed of the good news from the north, and being told that it was the joyful tidings that brought on the present attack, exclaims : " If he be sick with joy, he 'll recover without physic." " Not so much noise, my lords : sweet prince, speak low : The king your father is disposed to sleep," exclaims Warwick, while Clarence suggests withdrawing to the next room, but the Prince of Wales decides to remain at the royal bedside : " No ; I will sit and watch here by the king." After they have left, the prince's eyes light upon the crown : " Why doth the crown lie there upon his pillow, Being so troublesome a bedfellow ? O polish'd perturbation ! golden care ! That keep'st the ports of slumber open wide To many a watchful night ! " Taking the crown in his hands and with the words : " sleep with it now ! Yet not so sound and half so deeply sweet As he whose brow with homely biggen bound Snores out the watch of night. O majesty ! When thou dost pinch thy bearer, thou dost sit Like a rich armour worn in heat of day, That scalds with safety," he lays it down again.

As he does so he notices that a " downy feather " lies close to the king's lips. Bending over his father, he perceives that the feather " stirs not," and concludes the king has passed away. Dropping on his knees by the bedside, the prince exclaims : " My gracious lord ! my father ! This sleep is sound indeed ; this is a sleep, That from this golden rigol hath divorced So many English kings." Taking the crown again from the pillow and holding it above his head, he proceeds : " Thy due from me Is tears and heavy sorrows of the blood, Which nature, love, and filial tenderness, Shall, O dear father, pay thee plenteously : My due from thee is this imperial crown," and placing the diadem upon his head, remarks : " Lo, here it sits, Which God shall guard : and put the world's whole strength Into one giant arm, it shall not force This lineal honour from me : this from thee Will I to mine leave, as 'tis left to me," and then casting a hasty glance at the king withdraws silently from the room. Immediately he has gone the king arouses from his slumber, and seeing no one in the room, calls out : " Warwick ! Gloucester ! Clarence ! " As they hasten to his bedside the king inquires : " Why did you leave me here alone, my lords ? " to which Clarence answers that they left the Prince of Wales to watch over him. " The Prince of Wales ! exclaims the king, " Where is he ? let me see him " : and then noticing that the crown is missing calls out : " Where is the crown ? who took it from my pillow ? " to which Warwick replies : " When we withdrew, my liege, we left it here." " The prince hath ta'en it hence " : continues the king, " go, seek him out. Is he so hasty that he doth suppose My sleep my death ? Find him, my Lord of Warwick ; chide him hither," and Warwick leaves the room in search of the prince. The prince is found in an adjoining room overcome with grief at the supposed death of his father : " My lord, I found the prince in the next room, Washing with kindly tears his gentle cheeks, With such a deep demeanour in great sorrow, That tyranny, which never quaff'd but blood, Would, by beholding him, have wash'd his knife With gentle eye-drops," exclaims Warwick, and the prince being told the king is still alive hastens to his bedside. Wishing to be alone with his son, the king dismisses the others. " I never thought to hear you speak again," is the prince's remark after they have left, but his father tells him that the wish was father to the thought, for " I stay too long for thee, I weary thee. Dost thou so hunger for mine empty chair That thou wilt needs invest thee with my honours Before thy hour is ripe ? O foolish youth ! Thou seek'st the greatness that will overwhelm thee." With bitterness Henry adds that he foresees he will soon be forgotten, and that under his son's régime England " will be a wilderness again, Peopled with wolves, thy old inhabitants ! The prince, overcome with emotion asks pardon of his father [IV. v. 138–176] and handing back the crown, remarks : " There is your crown ; And He that wears the crown immortally Long guard it yours ! " The king is greatly pleased at his son's words, and requesting the prince to sit by his bed while he gives him the " very latest counsel That ever I shall breathe," charges him to keep giddy minds busy with foreign wars, and prays that God will forgive his usurpation of the crown, and " grant it may with thee in true peace live ! " " My gracious liege," answers the prince, " You won it, wore it, kept it, gave it me ; Then plain and right must my possession be : Which I with more than with a common pain 'Gainst all the world will rightfully maintain." This conversation between the king and his eldest son is interrupted by the entry of Prince John. " Health, peace, and happiness to my royal father," exclaims the prince, but the king, whose life is slowly ebbing, can only feebly answer : " Thou bring'st me happiness and peace, son John ; But health, alack, with youthful wings is flown From this bare wither'd trunk " : for all my " worldly business " is drawing to a close. Calling for Warwick, the king asks him whether there is any particular name for the chamber in which he first swooned, and being told it is called

" Jerusalem," exclaims that the prophecy shall be fulfilled, and that " In that Jerusalem shall Harry die " :

> Laud be to God ! even there my life must end.
> It hath been prophesied to me many years,
> I should not die but in Jerusalem ;
> Which vainly I supposed the Holy Land :
> But bear me to that chamber ; there I 'll lie ;
> In that Jerusalem shall Harry die.

With reverent and filial obedience the nobles carry the king into the " Jerusalem " chamber, and a few hours later the troubled spirit of Henry passed beyond the veil, and so Prince Hal ascended the throne as King Henry the Fifth.

The fifth Act opens in the house of Justice Shallow in Gloucestershire. Falstaff —accompanied by his page and Bardolph—is, according to promise, revisiting Shallow on his way back from the wars. The visit is intended to be a very short one as Falstaff is anxious to get back to London, but his host tells him he will not excuse him : " I will not excuse you ; you shall not be excused ; excuses shall not be admitted ; there is no excuse shall serve ; you shall not be excused." Shallow then calls his servant Davy, and gives him orders to prepare food for the guests : " Some pigeons, Davy, a couple of short-legged hens, a joint of mutton, and any pretty tiny kickshaws, tell William cook." " Doth the man of war stay all night, sir," asks Davy, to which Shallow answers : " Yea, Davy, I will use him well : a friend i' the court is better than a penny in purse. Use his men well, Davy ; for they are arrant knaves, and will backbite." " No worse than they are backbitten, sir ; for they have marvellous foul linen," retorts Davy, but Shallow, who considers Davy very witty, orders him to get about his business. Inquiring for Falstaff Shallow tells them to remove his boots, and then welcomes Bardolph and " my tall fellow " [the page]. Giving Bardolph and the page instructions to attend to their horses, Falstaff muses to himself that " If he were sawed into quantities, he would make four dozen of such bearded hermits' staves as Master Shallow," and proceeds to ridicule the servants in their apeing of their master's mannerisms : " It is a wonderful thing to see the semblable coherence of his men's spirits and his : they, by observing of him, do bear themselves like foolish justices ; he, by conversing with them, is turned into a justice-like serving-man : their spirits are so married in conjunction with the participation of society that they flock together in consent, like so many wild-geese," and declares he will from his visit, invent sufficient comic matter out of Shallow, that will keep Prince Harry in " continual laughter " until " his face be like a wet cloak laid up ! "

The next scene is enacted in the palace at Westminster. It opens with the Lord Chief Justice inquiring : " How doth the king ? " to which Warwick replies : " Exceeding well ; his cares are now all ended." " I hope, not dead," is the Chief Justice's next question, only to receive the answer : " He 's walk'd the way of nature ; And to our purposes he lives no more." " I would his majesty had call'd me with him," adds the Chief Justice, because the " service which I had rendered the late king leaves me open to all injuries," a statement in which Warwick acquiesces : " Indeed I think the young king loves you not." On the entry of Lancaster, Clarence, Gloucester, Westmoreland and others, Warwick regrets that the worst of the late king's sons should succeed to the throne, to which the Chief Justice enjoins : " O God, I fear all will be overturn'd ! " Gloucester expresses sympathy with the Chief Justice in having lost a friend in the person of the late king, while Clarence suggests that he gain the favour of Falstaff " who swims against your stream of quality."

But the Chief Justice merely replies that he has done what he considers his duty, and if " truth and upright innocency is denied him he will follow his dead master, and tell him who hath sent him after him."

At this point the new king enters and remarks : " This new and gorgeous garment, majesty, sits not so easy on me as you think," and then turning to his brothers, observes : " Brothers, you mix your sadness with some fear : This is the English, not the Turkish court ; Not Amurath an Amurath succeeds, But Harry Harry." After imploring their aid he asks why " they look so strangely on him : You are, I think, assured I love you not," to which the Chief Justice replies : " That his majesty hath no just cause to hate him," and the new king then reminds him that he once committed him to prison, an indignity which is not soon forgotten :

> How might a prince of my great hopes forget
> So great indignities you laid upon me ?
> What ! rate, rebuke, and roughly send to prison
> The immediate heir of England ? Was this easy ?
> May this be wash'd in Lethe, and forgotten ?

and the Chief Justice in very quiet and dignified language reminds the new king that he had to execute the laws with impartial justice, and asks him whether he would like to see his " decrees set at nought," and " Justice plucked down from his awful bench, To trip the course of law and blunt the sword That guards the peace and safety of his person." Henry is so struck with the Lord Chief Justice's speech [V. ii. 73–101] that he confers upon him the same office he had held under Henry the Fourth, and bids him continue to be the same " bold, just, and impartial judge," at the same time beseeching his aid and advice [V. ii. 102–145]. After declaring his willingness to devote all his energies—with the aid of his Parliament—to the good government of the realm, the scene closes with the king invoking the aid of God in all his good intentions, so that :

> No prince nor peer shall have just cause to say,
> God shorten Harry's happy life one day !

In the next scene we behold Falstaff and his friends in Justice Shallow's orchard. They are in merry mood, having feasted well and drunk liberally of sack. Shallow is very anxious for his guests to view his orchard of which he is very proud, and conducts them to an arbour in the orchard where dessert is provided in the shape of " last year's pippin of Shallow's own grafting, with a dish of caraways, and so forth." As they sit within the arbour drinking merrily, Silence breaks out in song :

> Do nothing but eat and make good cheer,
> And praise God for the merry year ;
> When flesh is cheap and females dear,
> And lusty lads roam here and there
> So merrily,
> And ever among so merrily.

" There 's a merry heart ! Good Master Silence, I 'll give you a health for that anon," observes Falstaff. Davy leaves for the purpose of fetching wine and Silence again breaks out in song :

> Be merry, be merry, my wife has all ;
> For women are shrews, both short and tall :
> 'Tis merry in hall when beards wag all,
> And welcome merry Shrove-tide.
> Be merry, be merry.

" I did not think Master Silence had been a man of this mettle," observes Falstaff, to which Silence retorts : " Who, I ? I have been merry twice and once ere now."

Davy now re-enters bringing with him a " dish of leather-coats," and Bardolph calls for a cup of wine. This causes Silence to break out into song once more :

A cup of wine that 's brisk and fine,
And drink unto the leman mine ;
And a merry heart lives long-a.
Fill the cup, and let it come ;
I 'll pledge you a mile to the bottom.

As the merriment proceeds, a loud knocking is heard, and Davy hurries away to answer the call, and returning presently, announces that " Pistol has come from the court with news." " From the court," observes Falstaff, " let him come in," and on the entrance of Pistol, Falstaff remarks : " What wind blew you hither, Pistol ? " " Not the ill wind which blows no man to good. Sweet knight, thou art now one of the greatest men in this realm," is Pistol's reply, to which Silence enjoins : " By 'r lady, I think a' be, but goodman Puff of Barson." " Puff ! " retorts Pistol, " Puff in thy teeth, most recreant coward base," and then turning to Falstaff says : " Sir John, I am thy Pistol and thy friend, And helter-skelter have I rode to thee, And tidings do I bring and lucky joys And golden times and happy news of price," adding, that King Henry the Fourth is dead, and that Prince Hal has ascended the throne as King Henry the Fifth. Falstaff is inclined to disbelieve the news at first, but being assured by Pistol that the old king is dead " as nail in door : the things I speak are just," Falstaff orders his horse to be saddled, and turning to Shallow, says : " Master Robert Shallow, choose what office thou wilt in the land, 'tis thine," while he promises Pistol to " double-charge him with dignities." " O joyful day ! I would not take knighthood for my fortune," observes Bardolph. " Carry Master Silence to bed. Master Shallow, my Lord Shallow,—be what thou wilt ; I am fortune's steward," excitedly exclaims Falstaff, " get on thy boots : we 'll ride all night. O sweet Pistol ! Away, Bardolph ! Come, Pistol, utter more to me ; and withal devise something to do thyself good. Boot, boot, Master Shallow ! I know the young king is sick for me," and shouting in an ecstasy of joy the " laws of England are at my commandment. Blessed are they that have been my friends ; and woe to my lord chief justice," leaves for London forthwith.

A London Street supplies the next scene. Mistress Quickly and Doll Tearsheet are arrested by Beadles, who threaten to give Doll a severe whipping for causing disturbances in which several men have lost their lives : " The constables have delivered her over to me " ; remarks the first Beadle, " and she shall have whipping-cheer enough, I warrant her : there hath been a man or two lately killed about her." The women cause a great deal of commotion, and Doll calls the Beadle foul and coarse names as : " nut-hook, nut-hook, . . . thou damned tripe-visaged rascal, . . . thou paper-faced villain, . . . you blue-bottle rogue, you filthy famished correctioner," and uses other similar epithets.

The final scene of this Act is a public place near Westminster Abbey. It is the day fixed for the coronation of the new king. The trumpets sound heralding the approach of the coronation procession, and two grooms enter and strew the ground with rushes. Falstaff, Shallow, Pistol, Bardolph and page now appear. Falstaff pushes himself to the front, and requests Shallow to stand beside him, remarking : " I will make the king do you grace : I will leer upon him as a' comes by ; and do but mark the countenance that he will give me." Turning to Pistol he says : " Come here, Pistol ; stand beside me," wishing there had been time to have bought new liveries in which case he would have spent the thousand pounds he borrowed of him. As they wait, Pistol tells Falstaff that Doll Tearsheet has been committed to prison :

" My knight, I will inflame thy noble liver, And make thee rage. Thy Doll, and Helen of thy noble thoughts, Is in base durance and contagious prison " ; but Falstaff replies : " I will deliver her." There are shouts, and Heralds announce the approach of the king, and the new monarch and his train, accompanied by the Lord Chief Justice enter. " God save thy grace, King Hal ! my royal Hal ! " shouts Falstaff, to which Pistol adds : " The heavens thee guard and keep, most royal imp of fame ! " " God save thee, my sweet boy ! " again shouts Falstaff. " My lord chief justice, speak to that vain man," is the king's command. " Have you your wits ? know you what 'tis you speak ? " chides the justice, but Falstaff pays no heed to his rebukes, and pushing his way to the king, says : " My king ! my Jove ! I speak to thee, my heart ! " The king halts, and addressing Falstaff in distinct and cold words tells him " I know thee not, old man : fall to thy prayers ; How ill white hairs become a fool and jester ! " adding " For God doth know, so shall the world perceive, That I have turn'd away my former self ; So will I those that kept me company," who will have to keep " ten miles away from my person " until they " reform themselves." Giving orders for the procession to proceed, King Henry passes on. Falstaff, on whose face there is sadness, tells Shallow not to " grieve " for the king only disowned him under a pretence, and will " send for him in private," and invites Pistol and Bardolph to dine with him : " Fear no colours : go with me to dinner : come, Lieutenant Pistol ; come, Bardolph : I shall be sent for soon at night." But even this hope is short-lived, for Prince John and the Lord Chief Justice, accompanied by officers, appear, and orders are given for the arrest of Falstaff and his companions :

> Go, carry Sir John Falstaff to the Fleet :
> Take all his company along with him.

" My lord, my lord,"—stammers Falstaff, but the Chief Justice curtly replies : " I cannot now speak : I will hear you soon. Take them away," while Pistol mutters the philosophic Latin phrase : " Si fortuna me tormenta, spero contenta."

The scene is brought to a close by Prince John announcing that Henry has summoned Parliament, for he has a suspicion that before the year expires there will be war between England and France :

> I will lay odds that, ere this year expire,
> We bear our civil swords and native fire
> As far as France : I heard a bird so sing,
> Whose music, to my thinking, pleased the king.
> Come, will you hence.

The Play closes with an Epilogue spoken by a dancer, who after saluting the audience with a curtsy, expresses a hope that " their patience has not been tried at such a displeasing play," in which case he craves pardon : " First my fear ; then my curtsy ; last my speech. My fear is, your displeasure ; my curtsy, my duty ; and my speech, to beg your pardons." If however his " tongue cannot acquit him " he will try to win favour by dancing, but a " good conscience will make any possible satisfaction, and so would I," for " All the gentlewomen here have forgiven me : if the gentlemen will not, then the gentlemen do not agree with the gentlewomen, which was never seen before in such an assembly." He then promises to continue the story " If you be not too much cloyed with fat meat," with " Sir John in it, and make you merry with fair Katharine of France : where, for any thing I know, Falstaff shall die of a sweat, unless already a' be killed with your hard opinions." But the dancer's " tongue is weary " and his " legs too," so bidding all good-night, he kneels down and prays for the queen, as the curtain slowly falls upon the scene.

Scene : England

CHARACTERS, PLACE-NAMES, ETC.

Achitophel. I. ii. 34.

> A whoreson Achitophel! a rascally
> yea-forsooth knave! [I. ii. 34–35.]

Achitophel or Ahithophel was a Gilonite who deserted David for Absalom, hence a treacherous friend. He was David's counsellor, whose advice was deemed infallible. "And the counsel of Ahithophel, which he counselled in those days, was if a man had enquired at the oracle of God: so was all the counsel of Ahithophel both with David and with Absalom."—2 *Samuel* xvi. 23. Being Bathsheba's grandfather he became alienated by David's conduct, and sought to slay him, but being thwarted committed suicide.

Africa. V. iii. 99.

> I speak of Africa and golden joys. [V. iii. 99.]

An allusion to the fabled wealth of Africa.

Agamemnon. II. iv. 216.

King of Mycenæ and leader of the Grecian expedition against Troy.

Alecto's snake. V. v. 37.

One of the three Greek goddesses of vengeance, represented as having her head covered with serpents.

Althæa's dream. II. ii. 82, 84.

The page's mistake. It was Hecuba, queen of Troy who dreamed that she was delivered of a brand that was to consume the city of Troy.

Althæa was the daughter of Thestius, and wife of Œneus, king of Calydon, and mother of Meleager. When the latter was born, the Fates placed a log of wood on the fire and said that Meleager would live just as long as it was preserved. The mother contrived to keep the log unconsumed for many years, but when Meleager killed Althæa's two brothers, to revenge their death, angrily threw the log into the fire where it was quickly consumed, Meleager expiring at the same time.

Amurath. V. ii. 48.

> This is the English, not the Turkish court;
> Not Amurath an Amurath succeeds,
> But Harry Harry. [V. ii. 47–49.]

Amurath the Third, sixth sultan of the Turks (1574–1595). His first act on ascending the throne was to invite all his brothers to a banquet and strangle them.

Ancient Pistol. II. iv. 68, 110.

= Ensign Pistol. Falstaff was captain, Peto lieutenant and Pistol ensign or ancient. 'Ancient' is a corruption of 'ensign.'

Arthur. II. iv. 33.

> "When Arthur first in court." [II. iv. 33.]

From an old ballad (Sir Launcelot du Lake) printed in Percy's *Reliques of English Poetry*. A stanza is repeated by the Fool in *King Lear* I. iv. 192–195.

Arthur's show. III. ii. 276.

Probably an interlude or masque, which actually existed, and was very popular in Shakespeare's age. It seems to have been compiled from Malory's *Morte d'Arthur, or the History of King Arthur*. *Malone.*

Cowl says: "An exhibition of archery by a society called 'The Auncient Order, Society, and Unitie laudable of Prince Arthure and his Knightly Armory of the Round Table.' The society consisted of fifty-eight members who took the names of knights in the *Morte Arthur*, and its meeting place was Mile-end Green."

Asia. II. iv. 161.

> And hollow pamper'd jades of Asia.
> Which cannot go but thirty mile a day,
> [II. iv. 161–162.]

These lines are in part a quotation out of an old absurd fustian play, entitled *Tamburlaine's Conquests; or, The Scythian Shepherds*, 1590, by C. Marlow. The lines are addressed by Tamburlaine to the captive princes who draw his chariot:

> Holla, you pamper'd jades of Asia,
> What! can you draw but twenty miles a day?

Atropos. II. iv. 195.

One of the three Greek goddesses of vengeance, who severs the thread of human existence.

Attendants.

Bardolph. I. ii. 31, 47, 54; II. i. 38, p.41, 44, 52; II. ii. 65, p.66, 70, 93, 155; II. iv. 18, p.109, 150, 188, p.208, 322, 325, p.362; III. ii. p.55, 216, 266, 285, 294; IV. iii. p.126, 126; V. i. p.1, 54, 56, 60; V. iii. p.1, 25, 30, 54, 57, 62, 121, 130; V. v. p.5, 90.

One of Falstaff's companions. Mistress Quickly has evidently not a very good opinion of him for she refers to him as an "arrant malmsey-nose knave."

He accompanies Sir John on all occasions, and generally acts as messenger for him.

[According to Halliwell-Phillipps, 'the names of Bardoulf and Pistail are found in the muster-roll of artillerymen serving under Humphrey Fitz-Allan, Earl of Arundel, at the siege of St. Laurens des Mortiers, November 11, 1435.' French, however, says that this nobleman was only seven years old in 1435. *Irving edition.*]

[Bardolph also appears in *The Life of King Henry the Fifth.* (q.v.)]

Barson. V. iii. 88.

A corruption of Barston, a village in Warwickshire.

Bartholomew boar-pig. II. iv. 226.

Refers to the sale of pigs at St. Bartholomew's fair. These pigs were roasted and sold piping hot. "Bartholomew Faire begins on the twenty-fourth day of August, and is then of so vast an extent, that it is contained in no less than four several parishes, namely Christ Church, Great and Little St. Bartholomew, and St. Sepulchres. Hither resort people of all sorts and conditions. Christ Church cloisters are now hung full of pictures. It is remarkable and worth your observation to beholde and heare the strange sights and confused noise in the faire. Here, a knave in a fooles coate, with a trumpet sounding, or on a drumme beating, invites you to see his puppets; there, a rogue like a wild woodman, or in an antick shape like an Incubus, desires your company to view his motion: on the other side, hocus pocus, with three yards of tape, or ribbin, in's hand, showing his art of legerdemaine, to the admiration and astonishment of a company of cockoloaches." And Sir John Bramston, in his *Autobiography*, 1688, refers to the annual custom by which the Lord Mayor proclaimed St. Bartholomew Fair on that Saint's Eve, and riding past Newgate was accustomed to receive from the keeper or governor a cup of sack. In *Wit and Drollery*, 1682, we have:

> Now London Mayor, in Saddle new:
> Rides into fair of Bartholomew:
> He twirles his Chain, and looketh big,
> As he would fright the head of Pig:
> Which gaping lies on greasy stall—

Basingstoke. II. i. 165.

A town in Hampshire.

Beadles. V. iv. p.1.

Inferior officers who could arrest persons, and punish petty offences.

Besonian. V. iii. 112.

= a worthless fellow; a soldier of low military rank.

Blunt. IV. iii. p.24, 74.

Only appears on one occasion, during the expedition against Northumberland, Scroop and the other rebels.

[Blunt, who is a *persona muta* in the play, is probably Sir John Blunt, a son of Sir Walter Blunt in the *First Part* . . . In 1412 being besieged in a fortress in Guienne by the Lord of Helie one of the marshals of France with a large army, Blunt, with a few hundred men defeated the assailants and captured the marshal. Blunt served at Harfleur with Henry V., in 1415, was made a K.G. in 1417, and died in 1418.]

Blunts. I. i. 16.

and both the Blunts
Kill'd by the hand of Douglas ; [I. i. 16–17.]

In the *First Part of King Henry the Fourth*, Act V., Scene iii., one of the Blunts (Sir Walter Blunt) is killed by Douglas.

Bolingbroke. I. i. 208 ; I. iii. 92.

Henry Bolingbroke, Duke of Hereford, afterwards King Henry the Fourth.

Bolingbroke. I. iii. 105.

Thou, that threw'st dust upon his goodly head
When through proud London he came sighing on
After the admired heels of Bolingbroke,
[I. iii. 103–105.]

" when at the heels of the admired Bolingbroke he rode in such plight through London, then rejoicing at his downfall." *Deighton.*

Bolingbroke. III. i. 71.

Northumberland, thou ladder by the which
My cousin Bolingbroke ascends my throne :
[II. i. 70–71.]

See *The Tragedy of King Richard the Second*, V. i. 55–70.

Bourdeaux. II. iv. 63.

there 's a whole merchant's venture of
Bourdeaux stuff in him. [II. iv. 62–63.]

= a whole consignment of wines from Bourdeaux.

Boy. II. i. p.1.

Fang, the Sheriff's officer's boy.

Bullcalf. III. ii. p.1, 168, 169, 171, 240, 244, 245, 247.

One of the six " recruits " brought before Falstaff to be his bodyguard.

Bullcalf is one of the two who bribe Bardolph to excuse them from service.

Good master corporate Bardolph, stand my friend ; and here 's four Harry ten shillings in French crowns for you. In very truth, sir, I had as lieve be hanged, sir, as go : and yet, for mine own part, sir, I do not care ; but rather, because I am unwilling, and, for mine own part, have a desire to stay with my friends else, sir, I did not care, for mine own part, so much.
[III. ii. 216–222.]

Cæsars. II. iv. 163.

Cain. I. i. 157.

An allusion to Cain who murdered his brother Abel.

Calipolis. II. iv. 175.

Then feed, and be fat, my fair Calipolis.
[II. iv. 175.]

An allusion to the wife of Muley Mahamet in *The Battle of Alcazar*, a drama by George Peele, 1582. During a famine her husband presents her with a bit of meat stolen from a lioness with the words : " Feed then, and faint not, fair *Calypolis*."

Cannibals. II. iv. 163.

Pistol's blunder for Hannibal.

Captain Pistol. II. iv. 135.

Host. No, good Captain Pistol ; not here, sweet captain.
Dol. Captain ! thou abominable damned cheater, art thou not ashamed to be called captain ? [II. iv. 135–137.]

Malone says : " Pistol's character seems to have been a common one on the stage in the time of Shakspeare." In *A Woman's a Weather-*

cock, by N. Field, 1612, there is a personage of the same stamp, who is thus described :

> Thou unspeakable rascal, thou a soldier !
> That with thy slops and cat-a-mountain face,
> Thy blather chaps, and thy robustious words,
> Fright'st the poor whore, and terribly doth exact
> A weekly subsidy, twelve pence a piece,
> Whereon thou livest : and on my conscience,
> Thou snap'st besides with cheats and cut-purses.

Cerberus. II. iv. 165.

In Mythology a dog with fifty heads which guarded the entrance to hell.

Chester. I. i. 39.

Clement Perkes o' the hill. V. i. 37.

Probably suggested by a name common in Warwickshire. " Edward Perkes " occurs among the baptisms registered at Stratford-upon-Avon, 1603, born at Shottery, Ann Hathaway's own hamlet : and the family of Perkes was connected with that of Shakespeare.

Clement's Inn. III. ii. 14, 204, 275, 303.

An Inn of Court at the entrance to Wych Street. It was originally intended for the use of patients who came to use the so-called miraculous waters of St. Clement's Well.

Corporal Bardolph. II. iv. 150.

Bardolph, one of Falstaff's companions. He helps to eject Pistol from the Boar's Head Tavern.

Cotswold. III. ii. 21.

= The Cotswold Hills in Gloucestershire. " The games at Cotswold were, in the time of our author, very famous. Of these I have seen accounts in several old pamphlets ; and Shallow, by distinguishing Will Squele as a Cotswold man, meant to have him understood as one who was well versed in manly exercises, and consequently of a daring spirit, and an athletic constitution." *Steevens.*

Coventry. IV. i. 135.

> He ne'er had borne it out of Coventry : [IV. i. 135.]

" he would never have escaped from Coventry (where the lists were held) with his life." *Deighton.*

Dancer, Speaker of the Epilogue. Epilogue p.1.

Who, after making the usual apologies and expressing the hope that the play has met with the approval of the audience, informs them that the play shall be continued " with Sir John in it, and make you merry with fair Katharine of France."

Davy, Servant to Shallow. V. i. 2, 6, p.7, 8, 9, 15, 25, 29, 31, 35, 38, 52 ; V. iii. p.1, 8, 9, 10, 25, p.41, 42, 60, p.79.

On being told to prepare food for Falstaff and his men, Davy makes some ado, but is ordered by Shallow to go about his business.

He informs the others when in Shallow's garden of the arrival of Pistol with news from London.

Doll. II. iv. 45, 223, 229, 257, 366, 382, 383 ; V. v. 33, 38.

= Doll Tearsheet (q.v.).

Doll Tearsheet. II. i. 160 ; II. ii. 146, 161 ; II. iv. 11, p.22, 35, 41, 45, 119, 124, 149, 223, 229, 257, 366, 378, 380, 382, 383 ; V. iv. p.1.

First appears at the Boar's Head Tavern with Mistress Quickly and indulges in a series of witty remarks with Falstaff.

Her character is finely drawn, and we see, that in spite of her morals, she has a sense of dignity, for although she likes Falstaff a great deal, he is not allowed to treat her too lightly, neither will she stand the insults of Pistol, whom she upbraids in no uncertain words.

We last see her being arrested by beadles for being the cause of many quarrels among men, and Doll in her anger hurls abuse at the men as they haul her to prison.

Dolphin-chamber. II. i. 84.

The name of a room in the tavern. In the time of Shakespeare it was customary to give particular names to dining-rooms in inns and taverns.

Double. III. ii. 41, 53.

An acquaintance of Justice Shallow's. Double was an archer and could 'draw a good bow.'

Douglas. I. i. 17, 77, 82.

= Archibald, Earl of Douglas. See the *First Part of King Henry the Fourth.*

Douglas. I. i. 127.

and that furious Scot,
The bloody Douglas, whose well-labouring sword
Had three times slain the appearance of the king,
[I. i. 126–12.]

Archibald, Earl of Douglas. Cf. *First Part of Henry the Fourth,* V. iii. 25–28 :

Hot. The king hath many marching in his coats.
Doug. Now, by my sword, I will kill all his coats ;
I 'll murder all his wardrobe, piece by piece,
Until I meet the king.

Douglas' rage. Induction 31.

And that the king before the Douglas' rage
Stoop 'd his anointed head as low as death.
[Induction 31–32.]

Douglas had killed several knights who were wearing a dress similar to that of the king.

Drawers. II. iv. p.1, p.68.

Waiters at the Boar's Head Tavern.

Duke of Norfolk's signories. IV. i. 111.

were you not restored
To all the Duke of Norfolk's signories,
[IV. i. 110–111.]

" The rights and possessions belonging to his title as Duke of Norfolk." *Deighton.*

Earl of Hereford. IV. i. 131.

The Earl of Hereford was reputed then
In England the most valiant gentleman :
[IV. i. 131–132.]

= Bolingbroke, who was Duke of Hereford.

Earl of Northumberland. Induction 36 ; I. i. p.7, 152 ; I. ii. 201 ; I. ii. 13, 17 ; II. i. 171 ; II. iii. p.1 ; III. i. 44, 58, 68, 70, 89, 95 ; IV. i. 8 ; IV. iv. 97.

The unscrupulous leader of the rebels against Henry the Fourth has nothing admirable in his character.

He appears in the first scene, and learns of the defeat of his forces, which news causes him to be very grieved, and in a passionate outburst talks of all that he will do in revenge, but later we find that he decides to go to Scotland, and avoid the danger of the second rebellion, leaving others to carry it out. Thus the meanness and selfishness of his character are shown.

He helped Bolingbroke to get the throne, and now wants to take it from him, and adopts the lowest methods of achieving his object, using his followers as pawns to work for him while he stays in the background, ready to step forward and receive the spoils.

Commenting on this character, Hudson says : " Northumberland makes good his character as found in history. Evermore talking big and doing nothing ; full of verbal tempest and practical impotence ; and still ruining his friends, and at last himself, between " I would " and " I dare not " ; he lives without our respect, and dies unpitied of us ; while his daughter-in-law's remembrance of her noble husband kindles a sharp resentment of his mean-spirited backwardness, and a hearty scorn of his blustering verbiage."

[Sir Henry Percy, son of Henry Lord Percy and Mary his wife, sister of Henry Duke of Lancaster. Created first Earl of Northumberland at the coronation of King Richard the Second in 1377, but becoming alienated to Richard joined Henry of Lancaster ; revolted against Henry, but after the battle of Shrewsbury submitted and was pardoned ; conspired with Owen Glendower and Sir Edmund Mortimer and was declared a traitor. In company with Lords Bardolph and Mowbray, and Archbishop Scroop he took up arms in 1405. Mowbray and the Archbishop paid for their precipitancy with their heads, and Northumberland thereupon fled to Scotland, whence, through fear of treachery, he and Bardolph afterwards betook themselves to Wales. In 1408 he made another rebellious

inroad into Yorkshire, and at Bramham Moor, near Tadcaster on the 18th of February of that year was encountered by Thomas Rokeby, Sheriff of Yorkshire, the earl being defeated and slain.]

Earl of Surrey. III. i. 1, p.32.

One of the nobles of the king's party, who appears with the Earl of Warwick when the king is troubled and unable to sleep for the cares of state, and the fear of further insurrection by Northumberland.

[Thomas, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, born 1381. Created by Henry IV., one of the first knights of the Bath ; procured the execution of Archbishop Scroop and Lord Mowbray in 1405 and was made Lord Treasurer and Warden of the Cinque Ports by Henry V., 1413, and two years later took part in the siege of Harfleur. He died in 1415 of dysentery.]

Earl of Warwick. III. i. 1, p.32 ; IV. iv. p.1 ; V. v. p.1, 47, 62, p.80, 231, p.232 ; V. ii. p.1, 20.

A noble of the king's party, who, with the Earl of Surrey is summoned to the king's chamber to talk over the affairs of state.

On being asked his opinion as to the state of the country he remarks :

> It is but as a body yet distemper'd ;
> Which to his former strength may be restored
> With good advice and little medicine :
> My Lord Northumberland will soon be cool'd.
> [III. i. 41–44.]

He endeavours to ease the king's mind by telling him that the rumours current as to the strength of the rebels are grossly exaggerated.

At another point Warwick defends Prince Henry in his choice of companions, reminding the king that he does so to gain experience :

> The prince but studies his companions
> Like a strange tongue, wherein, to gain the language,
> 'Tis needful that the most immodest word
> Be look'd upon and learn'd ; which once attained,
> Your highness knows, comes to no further use
> But to be known and hated. So, like gross terms,
> The prince will in the perfectness of time
> Cast off his followers ; and their memory
> Shall as a pattern or a measure live,
> By which his grace must mete the lives of others,
> Turning past evils to advantages. [IV. iv. 68–78.

Shakespeare is under a mistake as to the identity of this character, when he makes the king address him, in Act III., Scene i :

> ' You, cousin Nevil, as I may remember ' ;—

but the title at the time was held by Richard Beauchamp, fifth Earl of Warwick of his name. His youngest daughter, Anne Beauchamp, married Richard Nevill, the famous ' king-maker,' who became Earl of Warwick, but not until the reign of Henry VI., and hence the mistake of the poet as to surname. The illustrious Warwick of this play, born in 1381, descended from Hugh de Beauchamp, who had large grants from the Conqueror, and received his name from his sponsors, King Richard II., and Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York. Like his ancestors, he was a famous warrior ; he behaved with great valour against Glendower, whose person he nearly captured, taking his standard ; and at Shrewsbury, ' he notably and manly behaved himself to his great laud and worship.' In 9 Henry IV. he made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and during his progress displayed the highest accomplishments of chivalry at different tournaments, wherein he had no superior for courtesy and valour. Southey alludes to his fame in his poem, *Joan of Arc*,—

> ' Warwick, he whose wide renown,
> Greece knew, and Antioch, and the holy soil
> Of Palestine, since there in arms he went
> On gallant pilgrimage.

In the last year of Henry IV. he was sent to Scotland to treat of peace with the Regent Albany. At the coronation of Henry V., with which this play concludes, April 9, 1413, the Earl of Warwick acted as Lord High Steward of England. *French.*

[Warwick is also a character in the *Life of King Henry the Fifth.* (q.v.)]

Earl of Westmoreland. I. i. 18, 135 ; I. ii. 224, 237 ; I. iii. 82 ; IV. i. p.26, 26, 29, 59, 168, 224, p.225 ; IV. ii. p.1, 32, 72, p.98 ; IV. iii. p.24, 25, p.70 ; IV. iv. p.80, 80, 91 ; V. ii. p.14.

A noble of the king's party, who first appears in the fourth act of the play, before the rebel leaders in a forest in Yorkshire as a messenger from the king.

It is his duty to endeavour to persuade the rebels to disband their forces, but to this they will not agree, and having told Westmoreland of their grievances he leaves them and returns to Prince John, who is in command of the royal forces.

A little later he re-appears with the news that the prince will meet the rebel leaders between their respective camps to discuss terms of peace.

Later Westmoreland appears at Westminster to inform the king of the happenings in Yorkshire.

This nobleman, the Ralph Nevill of the *First Part*, is an important character in this play, . . . He was amply rewarded for his great services by Henry IV., who gave him the county of Richmond for life, made him Earl Marshal, Governor of Carlisle, Warden of the West Marches towards Scotland, Governor of Roxburgh Castle, and a K.G.

By his two wives he had twenty-two children ; many of the sons were eminent characters in history, whilst the marriages of his daughters increased the influence of the Nevills. His first wife was Margaret Stafford, daughter of Hugh, second Earl of Stafford, K.G., by whom he had two sons and seven daughters ; the eldest son, John Lord Nevill, died before his father, leaving a son, Ralph, who succeeded his grandfather as second 'Earl of Westmoreland,' under which title he is a character in the *Third Part of King Henry VI.*

The earl's second wife was the Lady Joan Beaufort, only daughter of John of *Gaunt* and Catherine Swynford ; the issue of this marriage were eight sons and five daughters. Of the former,—1. Richard Nevill is the 'Earl of Salisbury' in the *Second Part of King Henry VI.* ; 2. William Nevill became Lord Fauconberg, and a K.G. ; 3. George Nevill became Lord Latimer ; 4. Edward Nevill was summoned to Parliament, *jure uxoris*, as Baron Bergavenny ; 5. Robert Nevill was Bishop of Durham ; 6, 7, 8. Cuthbert, Henry, and Thomas, died without issue. Of the daughters, the youngest Cicely Nevill, called the 'Rose of Raby,' by her marriage with Richard Plantagenet, the 'Duke of York' in *King Henry VI.*, was mother of two kings, Edward IV. and Richard III. *French.*

[Westmoreland is also a character in *The Life of King Henry the Fifth.* (q.v.)]

Eastcheap. II. i. 67 ; II. ii. 142.

See *First Part of King Henry the Fourth*, pag 516.

Edward. IV. iv. 128.

> The river hath thrice flow'd, no ebb between
> And the old folk, time's doting chronicles,
> Say it did so a little time before
> That our great-grandsire, Edward, sick'd and died.
> [IV. iv. 125-128.

The prodigies that preceded the king's death are recorded by Holinshed : "In this year (1412) and upon the 12th day of October, were three floods in the Thames, the one following upon the other, and no ebbing between, which thing no man living could remember the like to be seen." Similar portents are said to have preceded the death of King Edward the Third.

Ellen. III. ii. 7.

Daughter of Justice Silence, and god-daughter of Justice Shallow.

England. II. i. 146, 20 ; II. iv. 71 ; IV. i. 132 ; IV. ii. 49 ; IV. v. 128, 129 ; V. ii. 71 ; V. iii. 134.

Ephesians. II. ii. 144.

> Ephesians, my lord, of the old church. [II. ii. 144.]

Ephesians = At the period a cant term for a boon-companion. *Old Church* = companions of the old sort.

Epilogue. Spoken by a Dancer.

The closing of the play in which a dancer speaks to the audience, craving their pardon if they have been bored, and promising to continue the story, and make them merry with Fair Katharine of France.

Erebus. II. iv. 154.

See Pluto's damned lake.

Europe. II. ii. 128 ; IV. iii. 22.

Fang, Sheriff's officer. II. i. p.1, 1, 23, 39.

An officer commissioned with Snare to arrest Falstaff at the suit of Mistress Quickly who alleges that the fat knight owes her " a hundred mark."

Feeble. III. ii. p.1, 147, 149, 158, 165, 167, 244, 263.

One of the rustics picked out to be in Falstaff's bodyguard.

Fleet. V. v. 92.

An ancient prison in London standing on the eastern side of the Fleet river from which it derived its name. It was destroyed in the Great Fire and rebuilt, but demolished in 1846.

France. V. v. 108.

> I will lay odds, that, ere this year expire,
> We bear our civil swords and native fire
> As far as France : I heard a bird so sing,
> Whose music, to my thinking, pleased the king.
> [V. v. 106–109.]

An allusion to an old adage, that a bird from its vantage-point in the air spied out all secret things and imparted them to such as could understand. The phrase occurs in the ancient Ballad of *The Rising in the North :*

> I heare a bird sing in mine eare,
> That I must either fight or flee.

According to the Koran, Solomon was informed by a lapwing of all the doings of the Queen of Sheba. Mahomet was informed by a dove which whispered in his ear.

In *Princess Chery* the Little Green Bird could reveal every secret and impart information of events, past, present, or to come.

Literature abounds with allusions of the spying habits of birds. " None sees me but the bird that flieth by " is a well-known Greek proverb, and in the *Nibelungen Lied* we have : " No one hears us but God and the forest bird."

Cf. Webster and Rowley : *A Cure for a Cuckold,* V. i. : " I heard A bird sing lately, you are the only cause Works the division," and Chapman : *The Widow's Tears,* I. i. : " I have a little bird in a cage here that Sings me better comfort."

Francis. II. iv. 275, 345.

The name by which Falstaff addresses Prince Hal when the latter assumes the disguise of a waiter at the Boar's Head Tavern in Eastcheap.

Francis Pickbone. III. ii. 20.

A former acquaintance of Justice Shallow's at Clement's Inn.

Furies' lap. V. iii. 105.

Gadshill. I. ii. 146 ; II. iv. 300.

See *First Part of King Henry the Fourth,* page 518.

Galen. I. ii. 115.

An allusion to a celebrated Greek physician named Claudius Galenus of Pergamos. He went to Rome, where he gained great renown in the medical profession, and undertook scientific journeys through Greece and Asia. He was a great writer, being author of some 300 volumes, and his writings, which left no branch of medicine untouched, formed for many centuries the chief text-books for physicians and doctors.

Galloway nags. II. iv. 186.

= common hacknies. A small breed of horses called Galway Nagges from Galloway in Scotland.

Gaultree Forest. IV. i. 2.

An extensive forest, called the Forest of Gaultries, once existed in the centre of Yorkshire, and came up close to the walls of York. Portions of it yet remain, but enclosed, and out of the jurisdiction of the crown. It was formerly a favourite hunting-ground of the clergy ; and the following quaint story is as quaintly told of one of the Bishops of Durham while out hunting there : " Sir Anthon Bek, Busshop of Dureme in the tyme of King Eduarde, the son of King Henry, was the maist prowd and masterfull busshopp in all England, and it was comonly said that he was the prowdest lord in Christienty. It chaunced that emong other lewd persons, this Sir Anthon entertained at his court one Hugh

de Pountchardon, that for his evill deeds and manifold robberies had been driven out of the Inglische Courte, and had come from the southe to seek a little bread and to live by stalynge. And to this Hughe, whom also he imployed to good purpose in the warr in Scotland, the busshop gave the lande of Thikley, since of him caullid Thikley-Puntchardon, and also made him his chiefe huntsman. And after, this blake Hugh dyed afore the busshop, and efter that the busshop chasid the wild hart in Galtres forest, and sodainly ther met with him Hugh de Pontchardin that was afore deid, on a wythe [white] horse ; and the said Hugh loked earnestly on the busshop, and the busshop said unto him, ' Hughe, what maketh thee here ? ' and he spake never word, but lifte up his cloke, and then he shewed Sir Anton his ribbes set with bones, and nothing more ; and none other of the varlets saw him, but the busshop only ; and ye said Hugh went his way, and Sir Anton toke corage, and cheered the dogges, and shortly efter he was made Patriarque of Hierusalem, and he saw nothing no moe : and this Hugh is him that the silly people in Galtres doe call Le Gros Veneur, and he was seen twice efter that by simple folk, afore yat the forest was felled in the tyme of Henry, father of Henry yat now ys."

George Barnes. III. ii. 20.

Barnes was a former acquaintance of Justice Shallow's at Clement's Inn.

Glendower. I. iii. 72.

> For his divisions, as the times do brawl,
> Are in three heads : one power against the French,
> And one against Glendower ; [I. iii. 70–72.]

During the rebellion of Northumberland and the Archbishop, a French army of twelve thousand men under Marshal Montmerancie landed at Milford Haven for the aid of Glendower. Cf. *Extract* 2 from Holinshed.

Glendower. III. i. 103.

> I have received
> A certain instance that Glendower is dead.
> [III. i. 102–103.]

Glendower did not die until after Henry the Fourth. Shakespeare was misled by Holinshed who places Glendower's death in the tenth year of Henry's reign. See *Extract* 4 from Holinshed.

Gloucestershire. IV. iii. 81, 128.

Gloucestershire. Before Justice Shallow's house.

The Scene of Act III., Scene ii. Shallow welcomes Falstaff and Bardolph. Shallow presents some recruits to Falstaff, who interviews them. Shallow invites Falstaff to dinner, who later, having commanded Bardolph to equip the recruits with soldiers' coats, takes leave of Justice Shallow, promising to accept the latter's hospitality again.

Gloucestershire. Shallow's house.

The Scene of Act V., Scene i. Falstaff and his friends have called on Shallow, who insists—in spite of their protests—that they accept his hospitality, and orders them to make themselves comfortable.

Gloucestershire. Shallow's orchard.

The Scene of Act V., Scene iii. Justice Shallow is entertaining Falstaff and his friends in his orchard. Pistol enters with the news that Henry the Fourth has passed away, and that Prince Hal has succeeded to the crown. On hearing this Falstaff announces his intention to depart for London forthwith.

Gower. II. i. p.131, 131, 174, 177, 182, 185.

Appears with a message for the Lord Chief Justice from the king, relative to the progress of the preparations to meet the rebellious nobles.

[The person intended may, French thinks, be Thomas Gower, son of Sir Thomas Gower, of Stitenham, Yorkshire. He was one of the commissioners of assay in the North Riding of Yorkshire under Henry IV., and afterwards served with Henry V., of France, where he was made governor of Mans. *Irving edition.*]

Gray's Inn. III. ii. 33.

One of the London Inns of Court situated in Holborn. It was once the head of the Inns, but now is the fourth in importance and size. It derived its name from the family of Gray of Wilton, whose residence it originally was.

Grooms. V. v. p.1.

When trumpets herald the approach of the coronation procession of King Henry the Fifth, the grooms enter and strew the ground with rushes.

It was customary at ceremonial entertainments, to strew the floor with rushes. Steevens observes: "Chambers, and indeed all apartments usually inhabited, were formerly strewed in this manner. As our ancestors rarely washed their floors, disguises of uncleanliness became necessary things. In the present instance, however, the rushes are supposed to be scattered on the pavement of a street, or on a platform." Cf. *Cymbeline*, II. ii. 12–14.

Hal. II. iv. 306, 309, 316.

Henry, Prince of Wales, afterwards King Henry the Fifth. (q.v.)

Hal. V. v. 41.

God save thy grace, King Hal! my royal Hal!
[V. v. 41.]

= King Henry the Fifth.

Harcourt. IV. iv. p.93.

Appears before the king at Westminster, and informs him that the rebels have been defeated in Yorkshire.

[Perhaps Sir Thomas Harcourt of Stanton, Oxfordshire, who was Sheriff of Berkshire, 9 Henry IV., 1407. He died in 1417.]

Harry. II. iii. 12, 43.

= Henry Percy, surnamed Hotspur.

Harry. IV. v. 240; V. ii. 14, 49, 59; V. iii. 113, 114.

= King Henry the Fourth.

Harry. II. i. 132; II. ii. 115; IV. v. 89, 92, 130, 181, 212; V. ii. 15.

= Henry, Prince of Wales, afterwards King Henry the Fifth. (q.v.)

Harry. V. ii. 49, 60, 145; V. iii. 114, 116.

= King Henry the Fifth.

Harry Monmouth. Induction 29; I. i. 109; I. iii. 83.

= Henry, Prince of Wales, afterwards King Henry the Fifth, so-called from the place of his birth.

Harry Monmouth's brawn. I. i. 19.

= Sir John Falstaff, so-called on account of being a clumsy and heavy man.

Harry Percy's spur. I. i. 42, 49.

He told me that rebellion had bad luck,
And that young Harry Percy's spur was cold.
[I. i. 41–42.]

= That Hotspur was cold in death.

Harry ten shillings. III. ii. 217.

and here 's four Harry ten shillings in French crowns for you. [III. ii. 217–218.]

An anachronism. There were no coins of ten shillings value in the reign of Henry the Fourth. Shakespeare's Harry ten shillings were those of Henry the Seventh. Cowl says: "At the date of the play the Harry ten shillings or demi-sovereign of Henry VII., originally worth eleven shillings and threepence, was current at five shillings, and the French crown, formerly worth six shillings, was current at four shillings. Four Harry ten shillings were therefore equivalent to five French crowns or one pound."

Hector of Troy. II. iv. 215.

i' faith, I
love thee: thou art as valorous as Hector of Troy,
[II. iv. 214–215.]

Hector was the son of Priam and Hecuba, and the chief hero among the Trojans in their defence of Troy against the Greeks.

Helen. V. v. 33.

Thy Doll, and Helen of thy noble thoughts.
[V. v. 33.]

An allusion to Helen of Troy. Deighton remarks: "She who is to you what Helen was to the Greeks of old, the type of beauty and the worthy theme of love." Cf. Beaumont and Fletcher, II. ii.: "Welcome to Troy! Come, thou shall kiss my Helen, And court her in a dance."

Helicons. V. iii. 103.

A range of mountains in Bœotia, in Greece sacred to Apollo and the Muses. Pistol supposes the Helicons to refer to certain redoubtable personages.

Henry Bolingbroke. IV. i. 117, 124, 129.

Henry Bolingbroke, Duke of Hereford, afterwards King Henry the Fourth.

Henry, Prince of Wales, afterwards King Henry V. I. i. 16; I. ii. 199, 236; II. i. 132; II. ii. p.1, 115; II. iv. p.229; IV. iii. 117; IV. v. p.8, 53; IV. v. p.89, 89, 92, 130, 181, 212; V. i. 79; V. ii. 15, p.43, 49, 60, 145; V. iii. 113, 116; V. v. p.41.

A great change makes itself apparent in the character of Prince Henry during the course of this part of the play.

When we first met him we found him a gay, irresponsible young man, eager to find entertainment in the company of Sir John Falstaff and his cronies, but now he seems to grow up and becomes more like his father in his strength of purpose, and his general outlook on life.

We were given a hint that he was not really the light-hearted, care-free man he appeared to be on the surface in the *First Part of King Henry the Fourth*, for there he says that when the time comes he will be ready to take the responsibility of government, and as this part proceeds we see a gradual change coming over him and he finally appears to us as a man fully qualified to govern the realm.

He gives up the company of Falstaff and the others; only appearing in the company of the knight in one scene, and at the end of the play in the scene where the coronation procession takes place, Falstaff is ignored, the young king saying to him when greeted in the old familiar way, "I know thee not, old man."

"I am exceeding weary," says Prince Henry, on his first appearance in this part. What a change from his demeanour in the *First Part* of the play. The knowledge of his approaching responsibilities seems to weigh heavily upon him, and this tone deepens until the time when the old king falls ill, when the Prince becomes thoroughly stabilised in his characteristics for he knows that the cares of state will fall upon his shoulders very soon.

That he has overcome his early loose habits which were the source of such anxiety to his father is shown when the old king on his deathbed gives him his last counsel, telling him how difficult it has been to hold the crown, and expressing the opinion that it will "descend with better quiet" on his head, while at the same time he must be very careful to "busy giddy minds with foreign quarrels" in order to retain his position against traitorous 'friends.'

The new king does not find his position a tranquil one from the beginning, for he says on being addressed as "your majesty" for the first time, that

> This new and gorgeous garment, majesty,
> Sits not so easy on me as you think. [V. ii. 44–45.]

and addressing his brothers, assures them

> I 'll be your father and your brother too;
> Let me but bear you love, I 'll bear your cares:
> [V. ii. 57–58.]

showing that he is determined to rule the country justly if given their allegiance and their help.

French remarks: "Stow mentions his robbing his father's receivers of rents, and he was arrested by John Hornesby, Mayor of Coventry, and placed in gaol for a riot. The prince had near that town the manor of Cheylesmore, which was the scene of frequent disturbances. His great poverty has been alleged as the cause of his excesses. The taking away of the crown by the prince, who imagines that his father is dead, is from Holinshed. The early chroniclers lead us to believe that Prince Henry and his father were not on cordial terms, and that the king's mournful reproach in the play, Act IV., Scene iv., was but too well deserved;

> 'Thy life did manifest thou lovedst me not,
> And thou wilt have me die assured of it.'

[Prince Henry—as King Henry the Fifth—is also a character in *The Life of King Henry the Fifth.* (q.v.)]

Henry the Fifth. V. ii. p.43; V. v. p.41.

Hereford. IV. i. 138.

= Henry Bolingbroke, who was Duke of Hereford.

Hinckley. V. i. 24.

A market town in Leicestershire.

Hiren. II. iv. 156, 171.

An allusion to Hiren, a strumpet in a play by George Peele entitled *The Turkish Mahomet, and Hiren the Fair Greek*. The word is a corruption of the Greek Irene, and is used to designate a swaggerer.

Holy Land. III. i. 109; IV. v. 210, 238.

> And were these inward wars once out of hand,
> We would, dear lords, unto the Holy Land.
> [III. i. 108–109.]

"Henry IV always cherished the idea of going on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land to atone for the blood of the murdered Richard." *Winstanley*.

Johnson says: "This journey to the Holy Land, of which the king very frequently revives the mention, had two motives, religion and piety. He durst not wear the ill-gotten crown without expiation, but in the act of expiation he contrives to make his wickedness successful."

Hotspur. Induction 25.

= Henry Percy, son of Henry, Earl of Northumberland. See *First Part of King Henry the Fourth*, page 520.

Hotspur. I. iii. 26.

> for indeed
> It was young Hotspur's case at Shrewsbury.
> [I. iii. 25–26.]

"this trusting to probabilities was what caused Hotspur's downfall at Shrewsbury." *Deighton*.

Hotspur Coldspur. I. i. 50.

> Said he young Harry Percy's spur was cold?
> Of Hotspur Coldspur? [I. i. 49–50.]

"did he say that from being Hotspur my son had become Coldspur?" *Deighton*.

Hotspur's loss. I. i. 121.

> all the rest
> Turn'd on themselves, like dull and heavy lead:
> And as the thing that 's heavy in itself,
> Upon enforcement flies with greatest speed,
> So did our men, heavy in Hotspur's loss,
> [I. i. 117–121.]

Winstanley says: "Hotspur's high-tempered courage seems to steel the hearts of all the rest; but, his courage being 'abated' or tamed by death, the rest become no better than lead, dull and heavy, with an edge easily turned. Moreover, they are so heavy that, the impetus of flight being once given them by their fear, they fly with the greater speed."

Hotspur's name. II. iii. 37.

> to abide a field
> Where nothing but the sound of Hotspur's name
> Did seem defensible: [II. iii. 36–38.]

Winstanley says: "Lady Percy means that only Hotspur's name made the battle of Shrewsbury seem possible at all, since the odds were so heavily against the rebels."

Hotspur's neck. II. iii. 44.

See Monmouth's grave.

Hotspur's sword. Induction 30.

Hydra. IV. ii. 38.

See *First Part of King Henry the Fourth*, page 524.

Jack. II. iv. 65, 198, 204, 372.

= Sir John Falstaff (q.v.).

Jane Nightwork. III. ii. 193.

A personal name. Mother to Robin Nightwork. Cowl says: "For the implication in the name, cf. Middleton: *A Mad World, my Masters*, I. ii., "She may make night-work on 't . . . He-cats and courtesans stroll most i' th' night."

Japhet. II. ii. 113.

> Nay, they will be kin to us, or they will fetch it
> from Japhet. [II. ii. 112–113.]

Cowl says: "Christian in *Pilgrim's Progress*, says, 'I came of the race of Japhet.'" Divines and early ethnologists traced the descent of the peoples of European stock from Japhet.

Jerusalem. IV. v. 234, 237, 240.

King. Doth any name particular belong
Unto the lodging where I first did swoon?
War. 'Tis call'd Jerusalem, my noble lord.
[IV. v. 232–234.]

The Jerusalem Chamber was built by Abbot Littlington as a guest-chamber for the Abbot's house. It was in this chamber that Henry the Fourth died of apoplexy, March 20, 1413. See *Extract* 13 from Holinshed.

Job. I. ii. 124.

I am as poor as Job, my lord, but not so patient.
[I. ii. 124.]

= A type of poverty and of patience.

John. V. iii. 102.

'Little John,' Lieutenant to Robin Hood.

John a Gaunt. II. ii. 45; III. ii. 315, 319.

Winstanley says: "John of Gaunt was always a favourite character with the Elizabethans, both because of his own valour and because the Tudor claim to the crown was derived through him."

John Doit of Staffordshire. III. ii. 19.

Evidently a former acquaintance of Justice Shallow's at Clement's Inn.

Jove. V. v. 47.

= My Lord.

Jove's case. II. ii. 169.

An allusion to Jupiter who transformed himself into a bull.

Katharine of France. Epilogue 28.

The French princess who married King Henry the Fifth.

Keech. II. i. 90.

Did not goodwife Keech, the butcher's
wife, come in then and call me gossip Quickly?
[II. i. 90–91.]

= my gossip Keech. The word means a lump of congealed fat. In *King Henry the Eighth*, I. i. 55, it is applied to Cardinal Wolsey, the butcher's son. Steevens says: "A *Keech* is the fat of an ox rolled up by the butcher into a round lump."

King Cophetua. V. iii. 101.

An imaginary king of Africa. Sitting one day at his palace window he saw a beggar maid pass, and fell in love with her and married her. Cf. *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV., i., "The magnanimous and most illustrate king Cophetua set eye upon the pernicious and indubitate beggar Zenelophon."

King Henry the Fourth. Induction 23; II. i. 132; III. i. p.1; IV. iv. p.1; IV. v. p.1, 240; V. ii. 14, 49, 59; V. iii. 113, 114.

When we first meet with the king in this part of the play we find him in a very melancholy and depressed state. He is unable to sleep, and his soliloquy ending with the words "Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown" shows how the cares of state have affected him. He remembers Richard's words that "Northumberland the ladder by the which my cousin Bolingbroke ascends the throne" should ultimately be the cause of his downfall, and broods over the future, but on being reassured by his nobles that the rebels are not so strong as has been reported, the king is now at ease, and reiterates his vow to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, as soon as the affairs at home are settled. His spirit, however, is well-nigh broken by the frequent insurrections against him, and he is, right up to the time of his death, depressed and anxious.

On being told of the rout of Northumberland in Yorkshire, the news, good as it is, causes him to swoon, after having exclaimed: "Will fortune never come with both hands full?" showing how his worries have deadened his sense of success and make him feel that even good news is not enough.

The Duke of Clarence has noticed for some time what effect the worries of the state have had upon the king, for he exclaims, when Warwick tells him that Henry's fainting attack is but transitory :

> No, no, he cannot long hold out these pangs :
> The incessant care and labour of his mind
> Hath wrought the mure, that should confine it in,
> So thin that life looks through and will break out.
> [IV. iv. 117–120.]

Prince Henry is tempted to try on the crown which is lying on his father's pillow, and takes it away into another room, when the king, awakening to find it gone, calls for Warwick and his sons, and on being told that Prince Henry has taken the crown, sends for him and upbraids him. Being touched, however, by the Prince's genuine remorse at having been so hasty he forgives him, and his mind is set at rest knowing his son is all that he could wish him to be and will rule in the same determined way as he himself has done.

The characteristic which strikes one most of all in King Henry is his fixity of purpose ; he set out to get the crown ; succeeded ; and then by sheer determination held it, although its possession did not give him the happiness and peace for which he had hoped, and finally his comfort on his death-bed is the assurance that his son will continue in the way he has set for him.

Commenting on the character of King Henry the Fourth, Hudson says : " So that, taking the whole delineation together, we have at full length and done to the life, the portrait of a man in act prompt, bold, decisive, in thought sly, subtle, far-reaching ; a character hard and cold indeed to the feelings, but written all over with success ; which has no impulsive gushes or starts, but all is study, forecast, and calm suiting of means to preappointed ends. And this perfect self-command is in great part the secret of his strange power over others, making them almost as pliant to his purposes as are the cords and muscles of his own body ; so that, as the event proves, he grows great by their feeding, till he can compass food enough without their help, and, if they go to hindering him, can eat them up. For so it turned out with the Percys ; strong sinews indeed with him for a head ; while, against him, their very strength served but to work their own overthrow. . . .

But, though policy was the leading trait of this able man, nevertheless it was not so prominent but that other and better traits were strongly visible. And even in his policy there was much of the breadth and largeness which distinguish the statesman from the politician. Besides, he was a man of prodigious spirit and courage, had a real eye to the interests of his country as well as of his family, and in his wars he was humane much beyond the custom of his time. And in the last scene of the Poet's delineation of him, where he says to the Prince,—

> ' Come hither, Harry ; sit thou by my bed,
> And hear, I think, the very latest counsel
> That ever I shall breathe ' ;

though we have indeed his subtle policy working out like a ruling passion strong in death, still its workings are suffused with gushes of right feeling, enough to show that he was not all politician ; that beneath his close-knit prudence there was a soul of moral sense, a kernel of religion. Nor must I omit how the Poet, following the leadings both of nature and history, makes him to be plagued by foes springing up in his own bosom in proportion as he ceases to be worried by external enemies ; the crown beginning to scald his brows as soon as he has crushed those who would pluck it from him."

The aspiring Bolingbroke and active general of the two preceding plays is in this drama represented in failing health and broken spirits, subject to epileptic attacks, of which the poet speaks,—

> ' these fits
> Are with his highness very ordinary ' ;

and his latter years are said to have been haunted by remorse for the ' indirect crook'd ways ' by which he obtained the crown. He was praying, ' as was his wont of late,' before the shrine of St. Edward the Confessor, in Westminster Abbey, March 20, 1413, when he was seized with his last fit, and it was supposed at first that he was dead, but being carried into the Jerusalem Chamber, and laid before a fire, he revived sufficiently to give his parting advice to his successor ; his asking the name of the apartment in which he was dying is from history. In this most interesting room, the Jerusalem Chamber, is still preserved the fine original portrait of Richard the Second, upon which his rival must have often looked in his visits to the

Abbey. English writers, as Walsingham and Hardyng, and the French historian, Mezeray, state that Henry IV. died of a dreadful leprous disease, affecting the lower part of his face. *French.*

King Richard. I. i. 205.

> And doth enlarge his rising with the blood
> Of fair King Richard, scraped from Pomfret stones.
> [I. i. 204–205.]

King Richard the Second. *See* Pomfret stones.

Lady Northumberland. II. iii. p.1.

Appears with Lady Percy and Northumberland before Warwick Castle, and entreats her husband to fly to Scotland and seek refuge there until the time is more propitious and the rebellion is more established :

> O, fly to Scotland,
> Till that the nobles and the armed commons
> Have of their puissance made a little taste.
> [II. iii. 50–52.]

[Lady Northumberland was the widow of Gilbert de Umphreville, Earl of Angus, when she was married to the earl. She was not the mother of Hotspur, being the Earl of Northumberland's second wife.]

Lady Percy. II. iii. p.1.

Daughter-in-law to the Earl of Northumberland, widow of Hotspur, who was killed at the battle of Shrewsbury.

She deeply mourns the loss of her husband, and upbraids Northumberland for not having gone to his assistance in the rebellion.

Her love for her husband was very great. She refers to him as " my heart's dear Harry " and speaks of him in the highest terms, and her grief at his death is doubled because she feels that his defeat was due to lack of support by Northumberland.

[Lady Percy was born in 1371, and was named for her grandmother, Elizabeth de Burgh, wife of Lionel of Clarence. Her father was Edmund Mortimer, third Earl of March, and her mother Philippa Plantagenet, granddaughter of Edward III. After the death of her husband Lady Percy was arrested at the order of Henry IV., and brought before him to be questioned. Of her subsequent history there is no record of any importance. *Irving edition.*]

Lethe. V. ii. 72.

> May this be wash'd in Lethe, and forgotten ?
> [V. ii. 72.]

A river of Hell, of which the souls of the departed are obliged to drink in order to forget everything that had occurred in their past lives. Cf. Milton : *Paradise Lost,* I. 582–586 :

> Far off from these, a slow and silent stream,
> Lethe, the river of oblivion, rolls
> Her watery labyrinth, whereof who drinks
> Forthwith his former state and being forgets—
> Forgets both joy and grief, pleasure and pain.

London. I. iii. 104.

See Bolingbroke, I. iii. 105.

London. V. iii. 58.

> I 'll drink to Master Bardolph, and to
> all the cavaleros about London. [V. iii. 57–58.]

Johnson remarks : " This was the term [cavaleros] by which an airy splendid irregular fellow was distinguished. The soldiers of King Charles were called Cavaliers, from the gayety which they affected in opposition to the sour faction of the parliament."

London. II. iv. 138, 163, 286 ; IV. iv. 51 ; V. iii. 59.

London. A Street.

The Scene of Act I., Scene ii. Act II., Scene i. Act V., Scene iv.

In Act I., Scene ii. we find Falstaff in conversation with his page-boy. They are interrupted by the arrival of the Lord Chief Justice. Falstaff pretends not to see the chief justice, and does all he can to evade a conversation. The Chief Justice however is determined to speak with Falstaff, and tells him that were it not for the services he had rendered at the battle of Shrewsbury he would suffer for his many misdeeds.

In Act II., Scene i. Mistress Quickly is endeavouring to effect the arrest of Falstaff for the recovery of the money he owes her. Fang—a

sheriff's officer—enters and arrests Falstaff. A scuffle ensues during which the Lord Chief Justice appears, who, on learning the cause of Falstaff's arrest severely reproves him. Gower enters with news for the Chief Justice, and hands him a letter, and whilst the latter is perusing it, Falstaff prevails upon the hostess to withdraw her action. The Chief Justice turns a deaf ear to Falstaff's enquiry for news, and sternly rebukes him for his ill-manners.

In Act V., Scene iv., Mistress Quickly and Doll Tearsheet are arrested by beadles. They cause a great commotion and call the beadles many foul names.

London. Another Street.

The Scene of Act II., Scene ii. The Prince and Poins are in conversation, when Bardolph enters with Falstaff's page. They engage in a series of witticisms, and the prince making inquiries about Falstaff, Bardolph hands him a letter from the latter, which Poins reads aloud. Being told that Falstaff is supping at the Boar's Head Tavern in Eastcheap, the prince and Poins decide to pay a surprise visit in the guise of waiters.

London. The Boar's-head Tavern in Eastcheap.

The Scene of Act II., Scene iv. Describes Falstaff's supper with Mistress Quickly and Doll Tearsheet, at which the Prince and Poins appear in the guise of waiters. Their revelry is interrupted by the appearance of Peto who tells the prince that the king is waiting for him, and the prince leaves forthwith. Bardolph enters and informs Falstaff that he is required at court, and the latter bids farewell to his friends and departs.

Lord Bardolph. I. i. p.1, 3, 7 ; I. iii. p.1, 25, 69 ; IV. iv. 97.

Appears at the beginning of the play and informs Northumberland that the battle of Shrewsbury has been entirely successful. This news is denied by Travers, and the denial is confirmed by Morton.

At the conference of the rebel leaders in the Archbishop's palace, Lord Bardolph suggesfs that action be deferred until the assistance ot the Earl of Northumberland is assured :

> My judgement is, we should not step too far
> Till we had his assistance by the hand ; [I. iii. 20–21.]

his reason being that he is anxious for their position to be made secure, but he eventually agrees to the opinions of the others that immediate action be taken.

Commenting on this character, Hudson says : " Lord Bardolph is shrewd and sensible, of a firm practical understanding, and prudent forecast ; and none the less brave, that his cool judgment puts him upon looking carefully before he leaps."

Thomas Bardolph, fifth baron ; summoned to Parliament from 1390 to 1404. His ancestor, Doun Bardolf, married Beatrice, eldest daughter and co-heir of Reginald de Warren (grandson of the Earl of Warrenne who married the Conqueror's youngest daughter Gundred), feudal lord of Wirmegay, co. Norfolk. Doun Bardolf's grandson, Hugh Bardolf, who served in the French and Scottish wars of Edward I., was summoned to Parliament from 1299 to 1302, as Baron Bardolf of Wirmegay, and his great grandson, William, was summoned as fourth baron from 1376 to 1385. His son, the character in this play, joining in the archbishop's insurrection against Henry IV., was defeated at Bramham Moor, where ' he was taken but sore wounded, so that he shortly after died of his hurts.' By his wife, Avice, daughter of Ralph, Lord Cromwell, he had two daughters, his co-heirs ; 1. Anne Bardolf, who married first Sir William Clifford, Knt. ; and secondly Sir Reginald Cobham, the third Lord Cobham of Sterborough ; 2. Joan Bardolf, who married Sir William Phelip, K.G., who is sometimes called Lord Bardolf ; he was one of the heroes of Agincourt ; his only child, Elizabeth Phelip, married John Viscount Beaumont, K.G., ancestor of the present Lord Beaumont. *French.*

Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench. I. ii. p.53 ; II. i. 59 ; V. ii. p.1, 1 ; V. iii. 136 ; V. v. p.41, 45, p.92.

Represented as a high-minded and noble official, who carries out his duties without fear

or favour, and yet is most likeable and liked by those with whom he comes in contact.

We first meet him in a street in London, when we hear that he had committed Prince Henry for contempt of court, which incident gives us an idea of the fearlessness with which he administers justice.

He approaches Falstaff to speak to him with reference to the robbery at Gadshill in which Sir John was implicated, but the knight evades his questions and a series of witty remarks pass between them, at the end of which the Chief Justice, being a man, as well as a judge, overlooks the case, and wishes Falstaff's expedition against the rebels every success.

We meet the Chief Justice again in another street in London, when Falstaff is about to be arrested by an officer at the suit of Mistress Quickly to whom he owes a sum of money, and once more a scene takes place between the two, the justice remarking to Falstaff :

> I am well acquainted with
> your manner of wrenching the true cause the false
> way. [II. i. 107–109.]

When the Chief Justice next appears he meets the young king—Henry V.—and on hearing the king's remarks on his former action in committing him, the Chief Justice in a very fine speech [Act V., Scene ii.] defends himself, and shows us in how honourable a way he does his duty, his explanation pleasing the young king who says :

> You are right, justice, and you weigh this well;
> Therefore still bear the balance and the sword :
> And I do wish your honours may increase,
> Till you do live to see a son of mine
> Offend you, and obey you, as I did.
> So shall I live to speak my father's words :
> " Happy am I, that have a man so bold,
> That dares do justice on my proper son ;
> And not less happy, having such a son,
> That would deliver up his greatness so
> Into the hands of justice." [V. ii. 102–112.]

Cf. The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth :

Enters Lord chiefe Iustice of England.

Exe. Here is the King my Lord.
Iust. God preserue your Maiestie.
Hen. V. Why how now my lord, what is the matter ?
Iust. I would it were vnknowne to your Maiestie.
Hen. V. Why what aile you ?
Iust. Your Maiestie knoweth my griefe well.
Hen. V. Oh my Lord, your remember you sent me to the Fléete, did you not ?
Iust. I trust your grace haue forgotten that,
Hen. V. I truly my Lord, and for reuengement,
I haue chosen you to be my Protector ouer my Realme
Vntil it shall please God to giue me spéedie returne
Out to France.
Iust. And if it please your Maiestie, I am far vnorthie
Of so high a dignitie.
Hen. V. Tut my Lord, you are not vnworthie,
Because I thinke you worthie
For you that would not spare me,
I thinke wil not spare another,
It must néeds be so, and therefore come,
Let vs be gone, and get our men in a readinesse.

Commenting on the character of the Chief Justice, Hudson says : " The Chief Justice, besides the noble figure he makes at the close, is, with capital dramatic effort, brought forward several times in passages at arms with Falstaff ; where his good-natured wisdom, as discovered in his suppressed enjoyment of the fat old sinner's wit, just serves to sweeten without at all diluting the reverence that waits upon his office and character."

" This was Sir William Gascoigne, born at Gawthorp, in the parish of Harewood, near Leeds, about 1350. He was appointed Chief Justice, Nov., 15, 1400. The story of Prince Henry's insolence, and his commitment to prison by the Chief Justice, rests on the authority of Sir Thomas Elyot (see below). On Henry V.'s accession Gascoigne was removed from the office of Chief Justice. The appointment of his successor, Sir William Hankford, is dated March 29, 1413. Sir William Gascoigne is buried in the parish church of Harewood, and the mutilated inscription on his monument states that he died on Sunday, the 17th of December. The year has been torn off, but it was doubtless 1419, for his will is dated December 15, 1419, and probate of it was granted at York on the 23rd of the same month." *Irving edition.*

" The retaining of Gascoigne in office has been commonly set down as a breach of history, justifiable, perhaps, dramatically, but untrue in point of fact, he having died before the King. It has been found, however, that among the persons summoned to the first Parliament of Henry V., was ' Sir William Gascoigne, Knight, Chief Justice of our Lord the King.' A royal warrant has also come to light, dated November 28, 1414, granting to ' our dear and well-beloved William Gascoigne, Knt., an allowance, during the term of his natural life, of four bucks and four does every year out of our forest of Ponti-

fract.' And Mr. Tyler has put the matter beyond question by discovering his last will and testament, which was made December 15, 1419. From all which Lord Campbell, in his *Lives of the Chief Justices*, concludes it certain that he did survive Henry IV., who died March 20, 1413, and was reappointed to the King's Bench by Henry V. So that we can take the Poet's lesson of magnanimity without any abatement on the score of history." *Windsor edition.*

The story of Prince Henry's committal by Chief Justice Gascoigne is told by Sir Thomas Elyot, Knight in *The Boke named the Governour :*

" The moste renomed prince, kynge Henry the fifte, late kynge of Englande, durynge the life of his father was noted to be fierce and of wanton courage. It hapned that one of his seruantes whom he well fauored, for felony by hym committed, was arrayned at the kynges benche ; wherof he being aduertised, and incensed by light persones aboute hym, in furious rage came hastily to the barre, where his seruant stode as a prisoner, and commaunded hym to be ungyued and sette at libertie, where at all men were abasshed, reserued the chiefe iustice, who humbly exhorted the prince to be contented that his seruant mought be ordred accordyng to the auncient lawes of this realme, or if he wolde haue hym saued from the rigour of the lawes, that he shuld optaine, if he moughte, of the kynge, his father, his gracious pardone ; wherby no lawe or iustice shulde be derogate. With whiche answere the prince nothynge appeased, but rather more inflamed, endeuored hym selfe to take away his seruant. The iuge consideringe the perilous example and inconuenience that moughte therby ensue, with a valiant spirite and courage commaunded the prince upon his alegeance to leue the prisoner and departe his waye. With which commandment the prince, being set all in a fury, all chafed, and in a terrible maner, came up to the place of iugement—men thinkyng that he wolde haue slayne the iuge, or haue done to hym some damage ; but the iuge sittyng styll, without mouynge, declarynge the maiestie of the kynges place of iugement, and with an assured and bolde countenance, hadde to the prince these words folowyng : ' Sir, remembre your selfe ; I kepe here the place of the king, your soueraigne lorde and father, to whom ye owe double obedience, wherfore, eftsones in his name, I charge you desiste of your wilfulnes and unlaufull entreprise, and from hensforth gyue good example to those whiche hereafter shall be your propre subiectes. And nowe for your contempt and disobedience, go you to the prisone of the kynges benche, where unto I committee you ; and remayne ye there prisoner untill the pleasure of the kyng, your father, be further knowen. With which wordes being abasshed, and also wondrynge at the meruailous grauitie of that worshipful Justice, the noble prince, layinge his waipon aparte, doinge reuerence, departed and wente to the kynges benche as he was commaunded. Whereat his seruants disdainying, came and shewed to the kynge all the hole affaire. Wherat he a whiles studienge, after as a man all rauisshed with gladness, holdyng his eien and handes up towarde heuen, abrayded, sayinge with a loude voice, O mercifull god, howe moche am I, aboue all other men, bounde to your infinite goodnes ; specially for that ye have gyuen me a iuge, who feareth nat to ministre iustice, and also a sonne who can suffre semblably and obey iustice ? "

See also Appendix III.

Lord Hastings. I. iii. p.1, 15 ; IV. i. p.1 ; IV. ii. p.1, 3, 50, 95, p.102, 106 ; IV. iv. 84.

A leader of the rebel forces. At a conference in the Archbishop's palace at York, Hastings informs the other nobles that the forces under their command number twenty-five thousand, and to be sure of success the assistance of the Earl of Northumberland is necessary. On discussing the situation, however, they conclude that only a third of the royal forces will be sent against them and the rebels therefore decide on immediate action.

Hastings takes part in the parley between the opposing leaders and is arrested with the other rebels, after he has brought the news that their army has dispersed.

[The person meant is Sir Ralph Hastings, who was never ' Lord Hastings,' though that is the name by which the chroniclers speak of him. He was the eldest son of Sir Ralph Hastings, Knight, by his second wife, Maud, daughter of Sir Robert de Sutton, of Sutton, co. York. . . . He was beheaded at Durham in June, 1405.]

Lord Mowbray. I. iii. p.1 ; IV. i. p.1, 103, 130, 149 ; IV. ii. p.1, 1, 78, 108 ; IV. iv. 84.

One of the leaders of the rebels against King Henry the Fourth.

We first meet him in this part of the play in the Archbishop of York's palace at York, where he is discussing with the other leaders their chances of success in their second attempt at rebellion.

They eventually decide on immediate action, and we next find Mowbray with his fellow rebels in Gaultree Forest, where they are preparing to meet the king's forces.

A parley is arranged between the opposing leaders and terms of peace settled, but Prince John commits an act of treachery by arresting Mowbray and the other leaders on a charge of high treason, as soon as their forces are disbanded.

This noble, Thomas Mowbray, eldest son of the Duke of Norfolk in *King Richard II.*, was only fourteen years old at his father's death, and never enjoyed his superior title, but held the ancient dignity of his family, and was seventh Baron Mowbray, although Holinshed, followed by Hume, calls him Earl of Nottingham, a title never held by him, but which was revived in his brother. He was also known as ' lord marshall,' and as such Shakespeare correctly makes the archbishop address him,—

> ' And first, lord marshal, what say you to it ? '

Lord Mowbray was beheaded at York, after the dispersion of the confederate forces. Having no issue by his wife, Constance Holland, daughter of John Duke of Exeter, he was succeeded by his brother, John Mowbray, as eighth Lord Mowbray, who was restored to his father's forfeited title as ' Duke of Norfolk ' ; and his grandson, John Mowbray, is the character under that style in the *Third Part of King Henry VI.* The forfeited estates of the Earl of Northumberland, the lord marshall, and Lord Bardolph, in this play, were bestowed by Henry IV. on his Queen Joanna, August 10, 1405. *French.*

Lords.

Lubber's-head. II. i. 27.

Mrs. Quickly's blunder for Libbard's-head. It was a sign adopted by silkmen.

Lucifer's privy-kitchen. II. iv. 326.

Cowl refers to : " the description of Lucifer's kitchen in the Pardoner's account of how he delivered Margery Corson from Hell in J. Heywood's *The Four P.P.*

> straight unto the master-cook
> I was had into the kitchen,
> For Margery's office was therein,
> . . . . . .
> For many a spit here hath she turned,
> And many a good spit hath she burned."

Lumbert Street. II. i. 27.

Lombard Street, London, a street where the Lombard merchants established themselves in the middle ages.

Martlemas. II. ii. 97.

A corruption of Martinmas, the feast of St. Martin, the 11th of November.

Master Dumbe. II. iv. 86.

See Tisick, the debuty.

Master Dumbleton. I. ii. 28.

> What said Master Dumbleton about the satin for my short cloak and my slops ? [I. ii. 28–29.]

Evidently Falstaff's tailor. Dumbleton is the name of a village in Gloucestershire.

Master Smooth. II. i. 28.

The silkman mentioned by Hostess Quickly.

Master Surecard. III. ii. 87.

A term for a boon companion.

Men. II. i. p.59.

Officers who accompany the Lord Chief Justice.

Messenger. IV. i. p.19.

Informs the rebel leaders of the approach of the king's forces, thirty thousand strong.

Mile-end Green. III. ii. 274.

A drill ground where London citizens were trained and exercised. It appears, however, that the pupils of this military school were but slightly thought of, for in Barnabie Riche's *Souldiers Wishe, to Britons Welfare, or Captaine Skill and Captain Pill*, 1604, we have the following: "*Skill.* God blesse me, my countrey, and frendes, from his direction that hath no better experience than what hee hath atteyned unto at the fetching home of a Maye-pole, at a Midsomer sighte, or from a *trayning at Mile-end greene. Steevens.*

Mistress Doll. II. iv. 35, 149.

= Doll Tearsheet (q.v.).

Mistress Dorothy. II. iv. 119, 124.

Doll Tearsheet (q.v.).

Mistress Quickly. II. i. p.1, 42, 91; II. ii. 146; II. iv. p.22, 86, 88; V. iv. p.1.

The hostess of the Boar's Head Tavern, frequented by Falstaff and his friends, is a character whom Shakespeare has carefully drawn, and we have in her a picture of the average type of a London hostess in the time of the dramatist.

Her character possesses a humorous trait, and the way in which she misuses long words is a noticeable feature.

Falstaff makes love to her, promising to make her his wife, but it is only to get money from her, knowing she is so susceptible to flattery.

Hudson says of this character: "We have had several glimpses of Mrs. Quickly, the Hostess of Eastcheap. She is well worth a steady looking at. One of the most characteristic passages in the play is her account of Falstaff's engagement to her; which has been aptly commented on by Coleridge as showing how her mind runs altogether in the rut of actual events. She can think of things only in the precise order of their occurrence, having no power to select such as touch her purpose, and to detach them from the circumstantial irrelevancies with which they are consorted in her memory.

In keeping with this mental peculiarity, her character savours strongly of her whereabout in life; she is plentifully trimmed with vices and vulgarities, and these all taste rankly of her place and calling, thus showing that she has as much of moral as of mental passiveness. Notwithstanding, she always has an odour of womanhood about her, even her worst features being such as none but a woman could have. Nor is her character, with all its ludicrous and censurable qualities, unrelieved, as we have seen, by traits of generosity that relish equally of her sex. It is even doubtful whether she would have entertained Sir John's proposals of marriage so favourably, but that at the time of making them he was in a condition to need her kindness. Her woman's heart could not stint itself from the plump old sinner when he had wounds to be dressed and pains to be soothed. And who but a woman could speak such words of fluttering eagerness as she speaks in urging on his arrest: 'Do your offices, do your offices, Master Fang and Master Snare; do me, do me, do me your offices'; where her heart seems palpitating with an anxious hope that her present action may make another occasion for her kind ministrations? Sometimes, indeed, she gets wrought up to a pretty high pitch of temper, but she cannot hold herself there; and between her turns of anger and her returns to sweetness there is room for more of womanly feeling than I shall venture to describe. And there is still more of the woman in the cunning simplicity—or is it simpleness?—with which she manages to keep her good opinion of Sir John; as when, on being told that at his death 'he cried out of women, and said they were devils incarnate,' she replies, 'A never could abide carnation; 't was a colour he never liked'; as if she could find no sense in his words but what would stand smooth with her interest and her affection.

It is curious to observe how Mrs. Quickly dwells on the confines of virtue and shame, and sometimes plays over the borders, ever clinging to the reputation, and perhaps to the consciousness, of the one, without foreclosing the invitations of the other. For it is very evident that even in her worst doings she hides from herself their ill-favour under a fair name; as people often paint the cheeks of their vices, and then look them sweetly in the face, though they cannot but know the paint is all that keeps them from being unsightly and loathsome. In her case, however, this may spring, in part, from a

simplicity not unlike that which sometimes causes little children to shut their eyes at what affrights them, and then think themselves safe. And yet she shows considerable knowledge of the world ; is not without shrewdness in her way ; but, in truth, the world her soul lives in, and grows intelligent of, is itself a discipline of moral obtuseness ; and this is one reason why she loves it. On the whole, therefore, Mrs. Quickly must be set down as a naughty woman ; The Poet clearly meant her so ; and, in mixing so much of good with the general preponderance of bad in her composition, he has shown a rare spirit of wisdom, such as may well remind us that ' both good men and bad men are apt to be less so than they seem.' "

[Mistress Quickly also appears in *The Life of King Henry the Fifth.* (q.v.)]

Mistress Ursula. I. ii. 238.

= Mistress Quickly whom " I have weekly sworn to marry since I perceived the first white hair on my chin."

Monmouth's grave. II. iii. 44.

To-day might I, hanging on Hotspur's neck,
Have talk'd of Monmouth's grave. [II. iii. 44–45.]

= the death of Henry, Prince of Wales.

Morton. I. i. p.60, 64, 87.

A servant to Northumberland, who confirms Travers' statement that the rebel army has been defeated at Shrewsbury.

He enters with the words :

I ran from Shrewsbury, my noble lord ;
Where hateful death put on his ugliest mask
To fright our party. [I. i. 65–67.]

and Northumberland inquires if his son Hotspur is safe only to see in Morton's face the news of his death. Morton says :

I am sorry I should force you to believe
That which I would to God I had not seen ;
But these mine eyes saw him in bloody state,
Rendering faint quittance, wearied and outbreathed,
To Harry Monmouth ; whose swift wrath beat down
The never-daunted Percy to the earth,
From whence with life he never more sprung up.
[I. i. 105–111.]

He informs Northumberland that the Archbishop of York is raising a force against the king, and Northumberland agrees to throw in his lot with Scroop.

Mouldy. III. ii. p.1, 99, 101, 105, 117, 240, 244, 245.

One of the rustics brought forward to serve in Falstaff's bodyguard. He is selected, but afterwards bribes Bardolph to excuse him :

And, good master corporal captain, for my old dame's sake, stand my friend : she has nobody to do anything about her when I am gone ; and she is old, and cannot help herself : you shall have forty, sir. [III. ii. 224–228.]

Music. II. iv. p.221.

= Musicians. Sneak's band.

Ned. II. ii. 133, 152, 172 ; II. iv. 311, 316.

= Poins.

Nell. II. ii. 123.

= Poins' sister.

Neptune's hip. III. i. 51.

to see
The beachy girdle of the ocean
Too wide for Neptune's hips ; [III. i. 49–51.]

" see how the ocean retreats, leaving a beach wider than is needed as its boundary." *Deighton.*

Nevil. III. i. 66.

You, couson Nevil, as I may remember—
[III. i. 66.]

Shakespeare has mistaken the name of the present nobleman. The earldom of Warwick was, at this time, in the family of Beauchamp, and did not come into that of the Nevils till many years after, in the latter end of the reign of King Henry VI., when it descended to Anne Beauchamp, (the daughter of the earl here introduced), who was married to Richard Nevil, Earl of Salisbury. *Steevens.*

Anne Beauchamp was the wife of that Richard Nevil, (in her right), Earl of Warwick, and son to Richard Earl of Salisbury, who makes so conspicuous a figure in our author's *Second* and *Third Parts of King Henry VI.* He succeeded to the latter title on his father's death, in 1460, but is never distinguished by it.

See under Earl of Warwick.

Nightwork. III. ii. 204.

Nine Worthies. II. iv. 217.

> and ten times better than
> the Nine Worthies: [II. iv. 216–217.]

Falstaff is ten times better than the Nine Worthies. The Nine Worthies of History were Hector, Alexander the Great, Julius Cæsar (three pagans); Joshua, David, Judas Maccabæus (three Jews); and Arthur, Charlemagne and Godfrey of Bouillon (three Christians).

Officers. IV. ii. p.1; V. v. p.92.

Oldcastle. Epilogue 31.

> for
> Oldcastle died a martyr, and this is not the man.
> [Epilogue 30–31.]

Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham. In the original draft Sir John Falstaff was called Sir John Oldcastle, but exception being taken to the character of Oldcastle being travestied after his death by the anti-Lollard party, the name was changed. Oldcastle was the famous Lollard leader and was burned to death as a heretic in 1417. Winstanley remarks: "The Epilogue was probably appended specially in order to make this retractation."

Oxford. III. ii. 10.

= Oxford University.

Page. III. i. p.1.

The boy who attends upon Henry IV., when the king, unable to sleep enters in his night-gown at one o'clock a.m. He bids the page to summon the Earls of Surrey and of Warwick:

> Go call the Earls of Surrey and of Warwick;
> But, ere they come, bid them o'er-read these letters,
> And well consider of them: make good speed.
> [III. i. 1–3.]

Page to Falstaff. I. ii. p.1; II. i. p.4; II. ii. p.66; II. iv. p.109; V. i. 1; V. iii. p.1; V. v. p.5.

Accompanies his master in practically all the scenes in which the latter appears.

He was given to Falstaff by Prince Henry, who on seeing him, remarks:

> And the boy that I gave Falstaff: a' had him
> from me Christian; and look, if the fat villain have
> not transformed him ape. [II. ii. 66–68.]

[The Page—as Boy—also appears in *The Life of King Henry the Fifth.* (q.v.)]

Paul's. I. ii. 50.

= St. Paul's Cathedral, London. Nares in his *Glossary of Words, Phrases and Allusions* says: "The body of old St. Paul's church in London was a constant place of resort for business and amusement. Advertisements were fixed up there, bargains made, servants hired, politics discussed, etc., etc." Cf. Nashe's *Fearful and lamentable Effects of Two dangerous Comets*: "*Paule's* church is in wonderfull perill thys yeare without the help of our conscionable brethren, for that day it hath not eyther broker, *maisterless serving-man*, or pennilesse companion, in the middle of it, the usurers of London have sworne to bestow a newe steeple upon it," and Lodge in his *Wit's Miserie, and the World's Madnesse*, 1596, the devil is described thus: "In *Powls* hee walketh like a gallant courtier, where if he meet some rich chuffes worth the gulling, at every word he speaketh, he maketh a mouse an elephant, and telleth them of wonders, done in Spaine by his ancestors."

Peesel. II. iv. 158.

Mistress Quickly's perversion of Pistol.

Percy. II. iii. 4; III. i. 61.

= the Earl of Northumberland (q.v.).

Percy. I. i. 93; II. iii. 12.

= Henry Percy, surnamed Hotspur.

Peto. II. iv. p.346, 346.

Peto's only appearance in this part is when he meets Prince Henry at the Boar's Head Tavern

and informs him that his father is at Westminster :

> The king your father is at Westminster ;
> And there are twenty weak and wearied posts
> Come from the north : and, as I came along,
> I met and overtook a dozen captains,
> Bare-headed, sweating, knocking at the taverns,
> And asking every one for Sir John Falstaff.
> [II. iv. 347–352.]

Pie-corner. II. i. 25.

Near Giltspur Street, afterwards famous as the point at which the Great Fire ended.

Pistol. II. iv. 68, p.109, 110, 133, 134, 135, 181 ; V. iii. 79, p.82, 82, 84, 92, 105, 117, 123, 130, 131 ; V. iv. 18 ; V. v. p.5, 10, 38, 90.

One of Falstaff's companions, a most amusing character. He is very fond of quoting snatches from various plays, showing the effect the plays of the time had on their hearers.

In this play we are first introduced to this famous 'tamecheater' and swaggering bully, 'with a killing tongue and a quiet sword,' one of the class described by Ben Jonson, in *Captain Bobadil* (*Every Man in his Humour*), followed by Congreve in his *Bluff* (*Old Bachelor*), and later still by Sir Walter Scott in his Alsatian swashbuckler, in the *Fortunes of Nigel*, Captain Colepepper. A similar character, a compound of buffoon and bully, called 'Piston,' is introduced in a play entitled *Solimen and Perseda* which was printed in 1599, a date somewhat later than that usually ascribed to this *Second Part* by Malone, Chalmers, and Drake.

Mr. J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps tells us,—'the names of Bardoulf and Pistail are found in the muster-roll of artillerymen serving under Humphrey Fitz-allan, Earl of Arundel, at the siege of St. Laurens des Mortiers, Nov. 11, 1435.' But that nobleman was only seven years old at this date, succeeding in 1434 his father, John Fitz-Alan, thirteenth earl, K.G., who was also Duke of Touraine, and had served much in France under the great Talbot. *French.*

[Pistol also appears in *The Life of King Henry the Fifth.* (q.v.)]

Pluto's damned lake. II. iv. 153.

> I 'll see her damned first ; to Pluto's damned lake,
> by this hand, to the infernal deep, with Erebus and
> tortures vile also. [II. iv. 153–155.]

These words, I believe, were intended to allude to the following passage in an old play called the *Battel of Alcazar*, 1594, from which Pistol afterwards quotes a line :

> You dastards of the night and Erebus,
> Fiends, fairies, hags, that fight in beds of steel,
> Range through this army with your iron whips ;—
> Descend and take to thy *tormenting hell*
> The mangled body of that traitor king.—
> Then let the earth discover to his ghost
> Such *tortures* as usurpers feel below.—
> *Damn'd* let him be, *damn'd* and condemn'd to bear
> All torments, *tortures*, pains and plagues of hell.
>
> *Malone.*

Poins. II. ii. p.1, 31, 122 ; II. iv. 15, p.229, 234, 278, 353 ; IV. iv. 53.

A companion of Prince Henry's. He and the prince disguise themselves as drawers and wait upon Falstaff at the Boar's Head Tavern in order to amuse themselves at his expense.

Pomfret stones. I. i. 205.

Pomfret (Pontefract) castle in Yorkshire, which Shakespeare describes as being the place of the murder of King Richard the Second. At the battle of Agincourt, Henry the Fifth, afraid of losing the battle, refers to it :

> Not to-day, O Lord !
> O ! not to-day, think not upon the fault
> My father made in compassing the crown.
> I Richard's body have interred new,
> And on it have bestow'd more contrite tears
> Than from it issued forced drops of blood.
> Five hundred poor I have in yearly pay,
> Who twice a day their wither'd hands hold up
> Toward heaven, to pardon blood ; and I have built
> Two chantries, where the sad and solemn priests
> Sing still for Richard's soul. More will I do ;
> *King Henry the Fifth.* IV. i. 298–308.]

Cowl quotes : "Some suppose that the archbishop exhibited drops of King Richard's blood as a hallowed relic."

Porter. I. i. p.2.

The man in charge of the gate of Warkworth castle, the seat of the Earl of Northumberland.

Priam's curtain. I. i. 72, 74.

> Drew Priam's curtain in the dead of night,
> And would have told him half his Troy was burnt ;
> But Priam found the fire ere he his tongue,
> [I. i. 72–74.]

Deighton says: "but Priam became aware of the fire before the messenger could bring himself to deliver his message"; *to find one's tongue*: "is a common phrase for bringing oneself to speak after continuing silent, as though the person suddenly became aware that he had a tongue and some cause to use that organ." Cf. Kyd: *Spanish Tragedy*, III., "like old Priam of Troy, Crying the houfe is on fire, the houfe is on fire."

Prince Harry. I. i. 16; I. ii. 199; IV. iii. 117; V. i. 79.

= Henry, Prince of Wales, afterwards King Henry the Fifth (q.v.).

Prince Humphrey of Gloucester. IV. iv. p.1, 12; IV. v. p.1, 47; V. ii. p.14.

Fourth and youngest son of King Henry the Fourth. He was made a K.G. by his father. Takes no part in the development of this play, being introduced towards the end, but takes an active part in the two next reigns, and is a character in the three following plays: *King Henry V* and the *First and Second Parts of King Henry VI.*

Prince John of Lancaster. I. i. 17, 134; I. ii. p.61, 200, 236; I. iii. 82; II. i. 170; IV. i. 28, 162; IV. ii. p.1, 30; IV. iii. p.24; IV. iv. 83; IV. v. p.225, 225, 227; V. ii. p.14; V. v. p.92.

Prince John, Henry the Fourth's third son is in command of the royal troops sent to meet the rebels in Yorkshire.

He, with other nobles, interviews the rebel leaders at a place midway between the camps and the rebels agree to disband on being promised redress for their grievances.

The prince now commits an unpardonable and treacherous act, for learning that the rebel army is already disbanded, forthwith orders the arrest of the leaders—Hastings, the Archbishop Scroop and Mowbray—on a charge of high treason.

This act does not reflect at all honourably on the prince however wrong the rebellion may have been, at the same time it shows his crafty disposition.

Prince John does not appear frequently and his actions do not further the plot, but we are prepared for scenes abroad in the next play when at the conclusion of this he says:

> I will lay odds that, ere this year expire,
> We bear our civil swords and native fire
> As far as France: I heard a bird so sing,
> Whose music, to my thinking, pleased the king,
> Come, will you hence? [V. v. 106–110.]

[Prince John of Lancaster—as the Duke of Bedford—is also a character in *The Life of King Henry the Fifth.* (q.v.)]

Prodigal. II. i. 142.

An allusion to the parable of the prodigal son.

Public place near Westminster Abbey.

The Scene of Act V., Scene v. Shows the coronation procession on its way to Westminster Abbey. Falstaff and his friends eagerly await the king's coming. On his approach they endeavour to speak with Henry, but the latter refuses to acknowledge them. Later Falstaff and his companions are arrested and committed to the Fleet, and the scene closes with Prince John announcing that the king has summoned a parliament as he fears a war with France.

[Johnson remarks: I do not see why Falstaff is carried to the Fleet. We have never lost sight of him since his dismission by the king; he has committed no new fault, and therefore incurred no punishment; but the different agitations of fear, anger, and surprise in him and his company, made a good scene to the eye; and our author, who wanted them no longer on the stage, was glad to find this method of sweeping them away."]

Puff of Barson. V. iii. 88, 90, 91.

An exclamation of contempt.

Richard. I. iii. 98, 101; III. i. 58, 64, 67, 88; IV. i. 58.

= King Richard the Second.

Robin Hood. V. iii. 102.

> And Robin Hood, Scarlet, and John. [V. iii. 102.]

This unconnected extract is taken from a

stanza in the old ballad of *Robin Hood and the Pindar of Wakefield*. Robin Hood was the famous outlaw.

Robin Nightwork. III. ii. 203.

Romans. II. ii. 118.

> " I will imitate the honourable
> Romans in brevity " : [II. ii. 117–118.]

Probably refers to Julius Cæsar, whose *veni, vidi vici* is evidently alluded to at the beginning of Falstaff's letter. In IV. iii. 42, Falstaff makes use of the very words of Cæsar.

Rome. IV. iii. 41.

> with the hook-nosed fellow of Rome, [IV. iii. 41.]

= Julius Cæsar.

Rumour the Presenter. Induction p.1, 2, 11, 15, 22, 39.

An allegorical personage, attired in a costume, " painted full of tongues " who speaks a Prologue or Induction to the Play. *See under* Warkworth. Before the Castle.

Saint Alban's. II. ii. 163.

In Herefordshire.

Saint George's Field. III. ii. 190.

> O, Sir John, do you remember since we lay all night
> in the windmill in Saint George's field ?
> [III. ii. 189–190.]

An open space on the Surrey side of the Thames lying between Southwark and Lambeth, and so-called from the adjoining church of St. George the Martyr in Southwark. The windmill was a place of notoriety.

Samingo. V. iii. 74.

> Do me right,
> And dub me knight :
> Samingo. [V. iii. 72–74.]

A fragment of an old drinking song. In Nashe's *Summer's last Will and Testament*, 1600, Bacchus sings the following catch :

> Monsieur Mingo for quaffing doth surpass
> In cup, in can, or glass ;
> God Bacchus, do me right,
> And dub me knight,
> Domingo,

Sampson Stockfish. III. ii. 32.

A fruiterer, with whom Justice Shallow, in his student days, fought behind Gray's Inn.

Saturn. II. iv. 258.

> Saturn and Venus this year in conjunction !
> [II. iv. 258.]

A prodigy. According to astrologers Saturn and Venus are never conjoined.

Scarlet. V. iii. 102.

One of the companions of Robin Hood.

Scotland. II. iii. 50, 67 ; IV. i. 14.

In Act II. Northumberland is entreated by his wife and daughter-in-law—Lady Percy—to seek refuge in Scotland until the strife is over.

In Act IV. the Archbishop of York reports that he has received letters from Northumberland, that owing to being unable to levy troops he has " retired to Scotland."

Scroop, Archbishop of York. I. i. 189, 200 ; I. ii. 201 ; I. iii. p.1 ; II. i. 171 ; II. iii. 65 ; III. i. 95 ; IV. i. p.1, 41, 227 ; IV. ii. p.1, 2, 4, 108 ; IV. iv. 84.

Although one of the leaders of the rebel forces against King Henry the Fourth, Scroop was not at heart such a rogue as Northumberland.

He was actuated to take part in the rebellion more from a mistaken sense of national injury, rather than for lust of power. He thinks that a wrong has been done to the people and sets out to correct it, having first weighed the facts of the case, and from this he does not waver.

On meeting the Earl of Westmoreland in Gaultree forest in Yorkshire, and being asked why he has taken up arms, replies :

> I have in equal balance justly weigh'd
> What wrongs our arms may do, what wrongs we suffer,
> And find our griefs heavier than our offences.
> [IV. i. 67–69.]

and hands a document to Westmoreland setting forth their grievances.

The emissary having departed Scroop expresses the opinion that the affair will be settled by the king, whom he thinks has had so much

rouble in the country that he will do anything o secure peace.

In another part of the forest, the Archbishop nd other rebel leaders meet Prince John and is officers. The prince promises redress of heir grievances, and the rebel army is given rders to disband, on which being done, Scroop nd the others are arrested and their execution rdered.

Commenting on this character, Hudson says: 'The Archbishop, so forthright and strong-thoughted, bold, enterprising, and resolute in action, in speech grave, moral, and sententious, forms, all together, a noble portrait."

[Richard le Scrope, Archbishop of York, son of Richard Lord Scrope of Bolton; elected Archbishop of York, 1398; supported the revolution of 1399; took up arms at York in concert with Northumberland and Bardolph, who raised the standard of rebellion beyond the Tyne; induced by treachery to surrender to Westmoreland at Shipton Moor; condemned and executed at York; popularly known in the North as 'Saint Richard Scrope.' Hume says: "On the refusal of Sir William Gascoigne to condemn him, a more compliant judge was found in Sir William Fulthorp, who without even a form of trial passed sentence of death upon him, "the first instance of capital punishment inflicted on a bishop." The pious archbishop requested the executioner to dispatch him with five blows of his sword, in allusion to the "five wounds of his Saviour," which the prelate bore on his banner.]

"Semper idem," for "obsque hoc nihil est." V. v. 28.

= "Ever the same" for "without this there is nothing."

Warburton says: "The sentence alluded to is, "Tis all in all, and all in every part," and so doubtless it should be read. 'Tis a common way of expressing one's approbation of a right measure to say, "tis all in all." To which this phantastic character adds, with some humour, and *all in every part;* which, both together, make up the philosophic sentence, and compleat the absurdity of Pistol's phraseology."

Servant to the Chief Justice, A. I. ii. p.53.

When the Lord Justice sees Sir John Falstaff in a street in London, he tells his attendant he wishes to speak to the knight, and an amusing passage of words occurs between Sir John and the attendant, the former pretending to be deaf.

Servants. III. ii. p.1.

Shadow. III. ii. p.1, 122, 125, 127, 244, 260.

Selected as one of Falstaff's bodyguard from among the six rustics presented to him.

Shallow. III. ii. p.1, 4, 8, 15, 16, 56, 57, 86, 160, 188, 191, 195, 198, 201, 209, p.237, 252, 255, 282, 291, 296; IV. iii. 129; V. i. p.1, 3, 59, 63, 71, 73, 78, 87; V. iii. p.1, 121, 127, 128, 132; V. v. p.5, 5, 74, 77.

A country justice who is of a very self-important nature, and grandiloquent in his ways.

He is a friend of Falstaff's, and the latter meets him at his house, having come to know if Shallow has found the body of men he promised to provide for him.

He once more entertains Falstaff and his men after the expedition to Yorkshire, and we meet them with Justice Silence in the garden, who entertains them with snatches of song. It is here that they learn of the death of Henry IV., and Falstaff tells Shallow he can choose whatever office he likes in the land and it shall be his.

When the coronation procession of the new king is due to pass by, Shallow and Falstaff take up their positions, and Falstaff brags about how the king will recognise them. Falstaff is ignored, and he turns to Shallow reminding him of the thousand pounds he (Falstaff) owes him, at the same time hinting that he will be able to get him a good position yet.

Shallow is not satisfied with these promises, and wants half of his money back:

Fal. fear not your advancement; I will be the man yet that shall make you great.

Shal. I cannot well perceive how, unless you should give me your doublet, and stuff me out with straw. I beseech you, good Sir John, let me have five hundred of my thousand. [V. v. 79–85.]

Commenting on the character of Shallow, Hudson says: "Aside from the humour of the characters themselves, there is great humour of art in the bringing-together of Falstaff and Shallow. Whose risibilities are not quietly shaken up to the centre, as he studies the contrast between them, and the sources of their interest in each other? Shallow is vastly proud of his acquaintance with Sir John, and runs over with consequentiality as he reflects upon it. Sir John understands this perfectly, and is drawn to him quite as much for the pleasure of making a butt of him as in the hope of currying a road to his purse.

One of the most potent spots in Justice Shallow is the exulting self-complacency with which he remembers his youthful essays in profligacy; wherein, though without suspecting it, he was the sport and byword of his companions; he having shown in them the same boobyish alacrity as he now shows in prating about them. His reminiscences in this line are superlatively diverting, partly, perhaps, as reminding us of a perpetual sort of people, not unfrequently met with in the intercourse of life.

Another choice spot in Shallow is a huge love or habit of talking on when he has nothing to say; as though his tongue were hugging and kissing his words. Thus, when Sir John asks to be excused from staying with him over night: 'I will not excuse you; you shall not be excused; excuses shall not be admitted; there is no excuse shall serve; you shall not be excused.' And he lingers upon his words and keeps rolling them over in his mouth with a still keener relish in the garden after supper. This fond caressing of his phrases springs not merely from sterility of thought, but partly also from that vivid self-appreciation which causes him to dwell with such rapture on the spirited sallies of his youth."

French says: "This worshipful gentleman may almost be treated as an historical personage, as it is quite certain that Shakespeare, under the guise of 'Robert Shallow esquire, in the county of Gloster, justice of peace, and coram,' has immortalized his early persecutor, Sir Thomas Lucy, Knight, whose seat, Charlecote, co. Warwick, is distant a few miles from Stratford-upon-Avon."

Sheriff of Yorkshire. IV. iv. 99.

> The Earl Northumberland and the Lord Bardolph,
> With a great power of English and of Scots,
> Are by the sheriff of Yorkshire overthrown:
> [IV. iv. 97–99.]

Sir Thomas Rokeby, descended from an o family, long seated at Rokeby, co. York, a pla rendered familiar by Sir Walter Scott's poem the same name. Cf. *Extract* 9 from Holinshe

Shrewsbury. Induction 24, 34; I. i. 12 24, 40, 64, 65; I. ii. 60, 100, 145 I. iii. 26.

The Battle and Battlefield of Shrewsbury See *First Part of King Henry the Fourth*, page 539

Shrove-tide. V. iii. 35.

> And welcome merry Shrove-tide. [V. iii. 35.]

A season of sport and feasting.

"Si fortuna me tormenta, spero contento." V. v. 97.

"Si fortune me tormente, sperato me contento." II. iv. 177.

= "If fortune plagues me, hope contents me." Malone says: "Sir Thomas Hanmer reads 'Si fortuna me tormenta, il sperare me contenta,' which is undoubtedly the true reading; but perhaps it was intended that Pistol should corrupt it." *Johnson.* Pistol is only a copy of Hannibal Gonsaga, who vaunted on yielding himself a prisoner, as you may read in an old collection of tales, called *Wits, Fits, and Fancies.* And Sir Richard Hawkins, in his *Voyage to the South-Sea*, 1593, throws out the same gingling distich on the loss of his pinnance." *Farmer.*

Silence. III. ii. p.1, 3, 88, 90, 206, p.237, 283; V. iii. p.1, 4, 23, 37, 48, 51, 127.

A country justice in partnership with Shallow. He entertains Shallow, Falstaff and the others with songs while they are in Shallow's garden.

Commenting on this character, Hudson says: "One would suppose the force of feebleness had done its best in Shallow, yet it is made to do several degrees better in his cousin, Justice

Silence. The tautology of the one has its counterpart in the taciturnity of the other. And Shallow's habit in this may have grown, in part, from talking to his cousin, and getting no replies; for Silence has scarce life enough to answer, unless it be to echo the question. The only faculty he seems to have is memory, and he has not force enough of his own to set even this in motion; nothing but excess of wine can make it stir. So that his taciturnity is but the proper outside of his essential vacuity, and springs from sheer dearth of soul. He is indeed a stupendous platitude of a man! The character is poetical by a sort of inversion; as extreme ugliness sometimes has the effect of beauty, and fascinates the eye.

Shakespeare evinces a peculiar delight sometimes in weaving poetical conceptions round the leanest subjects; and we have no finer instance of this than where Silence, his native sterility of brain being overcome by the working of sack on his memory, keeps pouring forth snatches from old ballads. How delicately comical the volubility with which he trundles off the fag-ends of popular ditties, when 'in the sweet of the night' his heart has grown rich with the exhilaration of wine! Who can ever forget the exquisite humour of the contrast between Silence dry and Silence drunk?

In this vocal flow of Silence we catch the right spirit and style of old English mirth. For he must have passed his life in an atmosphere of song, since it was only by dint of long custom and endless repetition that so passive a memory as his could have got stored with such matter. And the snatches he sings are fragments of old minstrelsy 'that had long been heard in the squire's hall and the yeoman's chimney-corner,' where friends and neighbours were wont to 'sing aloud old songs, the precious music of the heart.'"

Sir Dagonet. III. ii. 275.

King Arthur's Fool and a Knight of the Round Table. "And upon a day Sir Dagonet, King Arthur's fool, came into Cornwall, with two squires with him, . . . For they would not for no good that Sir Dagonet were hurt, for king Arthur loved him passing well, and made him knight with his own hands. And at every tournament he began to make king Arthur to laugh." Malory: *Morte d'Arthur*. Tennyson says that he was made a mock-knight by Gawain:

> Dagonet, the fool, whom Gawain in his mood
> Had made mock-knight of Arthur's Table
> Round
> At Camelot.

Sir John Colville. [**Colevile**]. IV. iii. p.1, 3, 5, 6, 9, 38, 48, 60, 62, 72.

Colevile is one of the rebel army who is met in Gaultree Forest by Falstaff and arrested by him.

Falstaff makes much ado of his capture, and cannot refrain from making humorous remarks about his captive's name. Being told his name is "Colevile of the dale" the fat knight remarks:

> Well, then, Colevile is your name, a knight is your degree, and your place the dale: Colevile shall be still your name, a traitor your degree, and the dungeon your place, a place deep enough; so shall you be still Colevile of the dale." [IV. iii. 5–9.]

Prince John enters and orders Colevile to be taken to York to be executed forthwith.

French observes: "In the play, Act IV., Scene iii., Prince John of Lancaster gives a direction respecting this trophy of the 'pure and immaculate valour' of Falstaff,—

> Send Colevile, with his confederates,
> To York, to present execution."

Hume says that his life was spared; if so, no doubt he was the same 'Sir John Colvyl, Knight,' who was one of the retinue of Henry V. in his expedition to France, 1415, and to whom, as security for payment of 'his wages,' the king pawned 'a large fleur-de-lys garnished with one great balays, and one other balays, one ruby, three great sapphires, and ten great pearls.'" Sir N. H. Nicholas. The prisoner to Falstaff is perhaps the same Sir John Colvill who was Governor of Wisbeach Castle in 1416, and whose grandfather of the same name served with Edward III., in his French wars,"

In a writ of 13 Henry IV., dated June 12, 1412, occurs the name of 'Johannis Colvyle, Chivaler'; and in 2 Henry V. he appears in three writs, dated June 26, 1414, joined with another person as envoys to John Duke of Bretagne, wherein they are styled,—'nos chiers and foiaulx John de Colvyle Chivaler, & Mestre Richard Hals Licentiæ as Loys.' Rymer's *Fœdera*.

Sir John Falstaff. I. i. 19 ; I. ii. p.1, 57, 63, 69, 90, 99, 134, 182 ; II. i. 8, p.41, 42, 62, 77, 107, 150, 179, 180, 184 ; II. ii. 43, 58, 66, 104, 113, 126, 127, 128, 164 ; II. iv. 2, 17, 32, p.33, 79, 82, 109, 113, 198, 204, 352, 358 ; III. ii. 25, 27, 29, 54, 61, p.82, 82, 85, 88, 103, 110, 121, 133, 142, 189, 207, 212, p.237, 242, 249, 287 ; IV. iii. p.1, 10, 16, 26, 83 ; V. i. p.1, 10, 19, 52, 58, 86 ; V. ii. 33 ; V. iii. p.1, 8, 13, 83, 92, 115 ; V. iv. 12 ; V. v. p.5, 75, 84, 88, 92 ; Epilogue 27, 29.

As in the *First Part of King Henry the Fourth* Falstaff dominates the scenes in which he appears, and to the end of the play he is continually making humour out of all his experiences, and treating everyone and everything with his characteristic buffoonery.

On his first appearance in this part of the play he meets the Lord Chief Justice who has something to say to him about the robbery committed at Gadshill. Falstaff is aware of this, and so pretends to be deaf, and in reply to all the Chief Justice's questions makes some foolish remark not bearing on the subject referred to. This ruse succeeds and Falstaff thus gets out of a difficult position by his wit. Then the impudence of Sir John is shown by the fact that no sooner has he got out of this difficulty and received the good wishes of the Justice than he asks for the loan of a thousand pounds.

We meet Falstaff next when about to be arrested by officers at the suit of Mistress Quickly to whom he owes a " hundred mark," when the Chief Justice enters and on upbraiding Sir John is met by the latter's witty remark, who, by this means once more avoids a difficult situation, and finally persuades Mistress Quickly to provide entertainment for him and his companions at the Boar's Head Tavern.

At the home of Justice Shallow, Falstaff reviews men picked out to serve as soldiers under him, and this scene brings out the humour of the fat knight in a new way. He makes fun of the men's names and their appearances, and does so in a very entertaining manner. This trait is brought out once more when Sir John meets Sir John Colevile, one of the rebel knights. He arrests him, and then proceeds to pun on his name, afterwards bragging to Prince John of his prowess in capturing such a " furious knight and valorous enemy."

Falstaff can make humour out of any situation, however serious it may really be, for he lives in an atmosphere of fun, and is always a philosopher, for on his last appearance in this play when he is ignored by the new king, and ordered to be cast into prison by the Lord Chief Justice, Falstaff is not so completely crushed as we might have expected him to be ; for he turns to Shallow with the remark :

> Master Shallow, I owe you a thousand pound.
>
> [V. v. 74.]

Commenting on the character of Falstaff, Hudson says : " Falstaff's character is more complex than can well be digested into the forms of logical statement ; which makes him a rather impracticable subject for analysis. He has so much, or is so much, that one cannot easily tell what he is. Diverse and even opposite qualities meet in him ; yet they poise so evenly, blend so happily, and work together so smoothly, that no generalities can set him off ; if we undertake to grasp him in a formal conclusion, the best part of him still escapes between the fingers ; so that the only way to give an idea of him is to take the man himself along and show him ; and who shall do this with ' plump Jack ? ' One of the wittiest of men, yet he is not a wit ; one of the most sensual of men, still he cannot with strict justice be called a sensualist ; he has a strong sense of danger and a lively regard to his own safety, a peculiar vein indeed of cowardice, or something very like it, yet he is not a coward ; he lies and brags prodigiously, still he is not a liar nor a braggart. Any such general descriptions applied to him can serve no end but to make us think we understand him when we do not.

If I were to fix upon any one thing as specially characteristic of Falstaff, I should say it is an amazing fund of good sense. His stock of this, to be sure, is pretty much all enlisted in the service of sensuality, yet nowise so but that the servant still overpeers and outshines the master. Then too his thinking has such agility, and is at the same time so pertinent, as to do the work of the most prompt and popping wit ; yet in such sort as to give the impression of something much larger and stronger than wit. For mere wit, be it ever so good, requires to be sparingly used,

and the more it tickles the sooner it tires ; like salt, it is grateful as a seasoning, but will not do as food. Hence it is that great wits, unless they have great judgment too, are so apt to be great bores. But no one ever wearies of Falstaff's talk, who has the proper sense for it ; his speech being like pure fresh water, which always tastes good because it is tasteless. The wit of other men seems to be some special faculty or mode of thought, and lies in a quick seizing of remote and fanciful affinities ; in Falstaff it lies not in any one thing more than another, for which cause it cannot be defined : and I know not how to describe it but as that roundness and evenness of mind which we call good sense, so quickened and pointed indeed as to produce the effect of wit, yet without hindrance to its own proper effect. To use a snug idiomatic phrase, what Falstaff says always *fits all round.*

And Falstaff is well aware of his power in this respect. He is vastly proud of it too ; yet his pride never shows itself in an offensive shape, his good sense having a certain instinctive delicacy that keeps him from every thing like that. In this proud consciousness of his resources he is always at ease ; hence in part the ineffable charm of his conversation. Never at a loss, and never apprehensive that he shall be at a loss, he therefore never exerts himself nor takes any concern for the result ; so that nothing is strained or far-fetched : relying calmly on his strength, he invites the toughest trials, as knowing that his powers will bring him off without any using of the whip or the spur, and by merely giving the rein to their natural briskness and celerity. Hence it is also that he so often lets go all regard to prudence of speech, and thrusts himself into tight places and predicaments : he thus makes or seeks occasions to exercise his fertility and alertness of thought, being well assured that he shall still come off uncornered, and that the greater his seeming perplexity, the greater will be his triumph. Which explains the purpose of his incomprehensible lies : he tells them, surely, not expecting them to be believed, but partly for the pleasure he takes in the excited play of his faculties, partly for the surprise he causes by his still more incomprehensible feats of dodging. . . .

I must not leave Sir John without remarking how he is a sort of public brain from which shoot forth nerves of communication through all the limbs and members of the commonwealth. The most broadly-representative, perhaps, of all ideal characters, his conversations are as diversified as his capabilities ; so that through him the vision is let forth into a long-drawn yet clear perspective of old English life and manners. What a circle of vices and obscurities and nobilities are sucked into his train ! how various in size and quality the orbs that revolve around him and shine by his light ! from the immediate heir of England and the righteous Lord Chief Justice to poor Robin Ostler who died of one idea, having ' never joy'd since the price of oats rose.' He is indeed a multitudinous man ; and can spin fun enough out of his marvellous brain to make all the world ' laugh and grow fat.' "

Sir Johns. II. iv. 6.

> The prince once set a dish of apple-johns before him, and told him there were five more Sir Johns ; [II. iv. 4–6.

apple-john = a winter apple which grew withered from keeping. Falstaff had already said of himself I am withered like an old apple-John.

Sir John Umfrevile. I. i. 34.

Mentioned by Travers as bringing tidings of the Battle of Shrewsbury. " My lord, Sir John Umfrevile turn'd me back With joyful tidings."

The families of Percy and Umfrevile were connected by marriage ; Robert Umphrevill, only son of the earl's second countess by her first husband married Margaret, daughter of Henry, Lord Percy.

Sisters Three. II. iv. 195.

> Untwine the Sisters Three ! [II. iv. 195.]

An allusion to the Fates, Clotho, Lachesis and Atropos.

Skogan. III. ii. 30.

There appears to have been two celebrated Skogans. Henry Skogan, a poet, contemporary with Chaucer, who lived in the reign of Richard

the Second and Henry the Fourth. Ben Jonson speaks of him as "a fine gentleman and master of arts." The other named John Skogan was the favourite jester of Edward the Fourth.

Smithfield. I. ii. 48, 51.

An open space in London, long famous for its market. It was to Smithfield that Bardolph went to buy Falstaff a horse.

Snare, Sheriff's Officer. II. i. p.1, 5, 6, 9, 24, 40.

An officer, who with Fang, is commissioned to arrest Falstaff at the suit of Mistress Quickly for the money he owes her.

Sneak's noise. II. iv. 11, 21.

and
see if thou canst find out Sneak's noise;
[II. iv. 10–11.]

Sneak was a street minstrel. It was customary at this period to hire musicians to entertain guests in inns and taverns.

Song.

Do me right,
And dub me knight;
Samingo. [V. iii. 72–74.]

See Samingo.

Song.

Do nothing but eat and make good cheer,
And praise God for the merry year;
When flesh is cheap and females dear,
And lusty lads roam here and there
So merrily,
And ever among so merrily. [V. iii. 17–22.]

Be merry, be merry, my wife has all;
For women are shrews, both short and tall:
'Tis merry in hall when beards wag all,
And welcome merry Shrove-tide.
Be merry, be merry. [V. iii. 32–36.]

A cup of wine that's brisk and fine,
And drink unto the leman mine;
And a merry heart lives long-a. [V. iii. 45–47.]

Fill the cup, and let it come;
I'll pledge you a mile to the bottom. [V. iii. 52–53.]

No traces have been found of these old songs sung by Silence.

Song.

When Arthur first in court— . . .
. . . . . And
was a worthy king. [II. iv. 33–35.]

See under Arthur.

Stafford. I. i. 18.

= Edmund, Earl of Stafford. He was killed at the battle of Shrewsbury, where he led the king's "vaward."

Stamford. III. ii. 39.

= Stamford St. Martin; or, Stamford Baron Parish in Northamptonshire. "This place was anciently called 'Stamford south of the Welland,' or, 'Stamford beyond the Bridge,' but obtained the name of Stamford St. Martin from the patron saint of the Parish. It received the name of Stamford Baron about the middle of the 15th century when the suffix was added, probably on account of 'its being part of those lands which the Abbot of Peterborough held *per baroniam*;' or which is still more probable, from the strong castle or baronial mansion which, according to Marianus, was built here, on the site now called the 'Nuns' Farm,' by Edward the elder, who also fortified the southern bank of the river to prevent the inroads of the Danes, who frequently occupied its northern side." Whellan's *Northamptonshire*.

Tewkesbury mustard. II. iv. 236.

A town in Gloucestershire, formerly noted for mustard-balls made there.

Thomas, Duke of Clarence. IV. iv. p.1, 16, 19, 21, 41, 50; IV. v. p.1, 8, 47; V. ii. p.14.

Second son to King Henry the Fourth, only appearing on three occasions, and taking no important part in the action of the play. The Prince of Wales holds a greater affection for Thomas than for his other brothers, and the king, knowing this, pleads with Thomas to use

is influence in keeping the prince and his rothers together, saying finally after a speech f admonition :

Learn this,
Thomas,
And thou shalt prove a shelter to thy friends,
A hoop of gold to bind thy brothers in.
[IV. iv. 41–43.]

This prince and his brother John of Lancaster, ere frequently engaged, according to the hroniclers, in uproars in the city. Stow mentions a riot on St. John's Eve, 1410, in Eastcheap, herein both these princes were foremost and iolent actors. Shakespeare does not include hem in the disorderly proceedings of their elder rother ; and Falstaff speaks of Prince John as 'a sober-blooded boy,' for which he quite ccounts,—' he drinks no wine.' Thomas Plantagenet, born in 1388, was created July 9, 1411, by his father, Earl of Albemarle and Duke of Clarence. As this prince does not figure in the succeeding plays, though he is addressed by his brother as if present at the meeting of the kings at Troyes, *King Henry V.*, Act V., Scene ii., a few words are needful in this place. He was chosen President of his father's Council when Prince Hal was in disgrace, and had been made a K.G. about the year 1400. He was sometime Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Captain of Calais, and Lieutenant-General of France and Normandy. He was a distinguished commander, and was killed at the battle of Beaugé in Anjou, March 23, 1421. The spear with which the Duke of Clarence was unhorsed by Sir John Swinton was presented by that knight's descendant to Sir Walter Scott. The Duke of Clarence married Margaret Holland, second daughter of Thomas, second Earl of Kent, but had no issue by her. *French.*

Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk. III. ii. 26.

Then
was Jack Falstaff, now Sir John, a boy, and page to Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk. [III. ii. 24–26.]

Halliwell has ascertained that Sir John Oldcastle, " the good Lord Cobham," was, in his youth, page to Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk ; and he justly argues that Oldcastle was the original name of Falstaff. *Hudson.*

Tilt-yard. III. ii. 317.

Where tournaments or tilting were held. It was in Westminster.

Tisick, the debuty. II. iv. 84.

Master Tisick, the debuty, . . . Master Dumbe our Minister.

The names are ludicrously intended to denote that the deputy was *pursy* and *short winded :* the minister one of those who did not preach sermons of his own composition, but only read the homilies set forth by authority - such clergymen being termed by the puritans, in a phrase borrowed from the prophet, *dumb dogs :* it was an opprobrious name which continued as late as the reign of Charles II., when the presbyterian ministers who were restored by the king, and did not dare to preach ' to the times ' ; *i.e.* to introduce politicks into their sermons, were called dumb dogs that could not bark. *Malone.*

Travers. I. i. 28, p.30, 33, 55.

Servant to Northumberland, who enters with news of the rebel defeat at Shrewsbury.

Northumberland inquires the nature of his tidings, only to be told that :

After him came spurring hard
A gentleman, almost forespent with speed,
That stopp'd by me to breathe his bloodied horse.
He ask'd the way to Chester ; and of him
I did demand what news from Shrewsbury :
He told me that rebellion had bad luck,
And that young Harry Percy's spur was cold.
[I. i. 36–42.]

Trigon. II. iv. 260.

And, look, whether the fiery Trigon, his man, be not lisping to his master's old tables, his note-book, his counsel-keeper. [II. iv. 260–262.]

fiery Trigon = An allusion to the astrological division of the twelve signs of the Zodiac into four trigons or triplicities ; representing three fiery, three airy, three watery and three earthy signs :

Fiery : Aries, Leo, Sagittarius.
Airy : Gemini, Libra, Aquarius.
Watery : Cancer, Scorpio, Pisces.
Earthy : Taurus, Virgo, Capricorn.

Trojan Greeks. II. iv. 164.

One of Pistol's drunken expressions.

Troy. I. i. 73.

A City of Asia Minor. It was taken and destroyed by the Greeks after a ten years' siege. The story is told by Homer.

Turnbull Street. III. ii. 300.

A notorious neighbourhood in Clerkenwell. In an old comedy entitled *Ram-Alley, or Merry Tricks*, this street is mentioned: "You swaggering, cheating, *Turnbull-street* rogue." And in *Scornful Lady*, by Beaumont and Fletcher we have: "Here has been such a hurry, such a din, such dismal drinking, swearing, etc., we have all lived in a perpetual *Turnbull-street*."

Venus. II. iv. 258.

Saturn and Venus this year in conjunction.
[II. iv. 258.]

See Saturn.

Vice's dagger. III. ii. 314.

The buffoon of the old Morality Plays. Hanmer says: "Vice was the name given to a droll figure, heretofore much shown upon our stage, and brought in to play the fool and make sport for the populace. His dress was always a long jerkin, a fool's cap with ass's ears, and a thin wooden dagger, such as is still retained in the modern figures of Harlequin and Scaramouch."

Wales. I. ii. 102; II. i. 172; II. iv. 287.

Warkworth. Before the Castle.

The Scene of the Induction. Act I., Scene i. Act II., Scene iii.

Induction. This speech of Rumour is not inelegant or unpoetical, but it is wholly useless, since we are told nothing which the first scene does not clearly and naturally discover. The only end of such prologues is to inform the audience of some facts previous to the action, of which they can have no knowledge from the persons of the drama. *Johnson.*

Painted full of tongues. This, Shakespeare probably drew from Holinshed's *Description of a Pageant*, exhibited in the court of Henry VIII. with common cost and magnificence: 'Then entered a person called *Report*, apparelled in crimson sattin, *full of toongs*, or chronicles.' *Warton.*

Stephen Hawes, in his *Pastime of Pleasure* exhibited Rumour in the same manner:

A goodly lady, envyroned about
With *tongues* of fire.—

In Act I., Scene i., Lord Bardolph arrives at Warkworth Castle with false news of victory from Shrewsbury. Travers confirms the news, but adds, that he has heard contradictory reports. Their conversation is cut short by the arrival of Morton bearing tidings of Hotspur's defeat and death.

In Act II., Scene iii., Northumberland's wife and daughter-in-law beg of him to fly to Scotland until the strife is concluded. At first the earl feebly protests, saying that he is bound by honour to remain. Seeing his indecision they redouble their efforts and Northumberland ultimately decides to take their advice.

["This scene between Northumberland, his wife, and daughter-in-law," says Courtenay, "is Shakespeare's creature, and of fair proportions. But the earl did not determine, as Shakespeare relates, to return into Scotland; he gave way to the solicitations of the females of his family, and, instead of joining the rebel force, betook himself to Wales. The reasoning of Lady Percy, plausible though fallacious, might well have prevailed with one of stouter heart."]

Wart. III. ii. p.1, 136, 139, 161, 255, 265, 267, 271.

One of six chosen as Falstaff's bodyguard, but he is rejected by the fat knight.

Westminster. II. iv. 347.

Westminster. The Jerusalem Chamber.

The Scene of Act IV., Scene iv. Henry the Fourth is present with his lords, and having announced his intention to go on a crusade to

the Holy Land should the issue of the rebellion be successful, inquires for his two sons. The king expresses his regret on hearing that Prince Henry still adheres to his base companions. The king is cheered by Westmoreland announcing Prince John's bloodless victory over the rebels, and the arrest and execution of the rebel leaders. "Nothing seems clear," says Courtenay, "but that the archbishop, Mowbray, and the others, fell into the hands of the king without any action being fought, and that they were put to death; not, however, as Shakespeare says, by the authority of Prince John, but by that of one of the king's judges. The Chief Justice Gascoyne, it is said, refused to condemn a bishop; but one Fulthorpe, or Fulford, was made a judge for the occasion, and condemned Scrope, who was beheaded without a trial, protesting loudly that he had intended no evil against the king. His admirers have not failed to describe the miracles which followed his death."] Henry is suddenly taken ill, and his courtiers bear him away to an adjoining room.

Westminster. Another Chamber.

The Scene of Act IV., Scene v. Shows the royal sick-room. Prince Henry enters. Seeing the crown on the king's pillow, and thinking his father is dead, picks up the crown and forthwith leaves the room. [This story, that the king during his last sickness caused the crown to be brought and set on a pillow at his bed's head is from Holinshed, who avowedly took it from Hall.] The king awakes, notes the absence of his crown, and finding that the prince has taken it, sends for him. The prince is over-joyed on seeing his father alive, and handing back the crown craves his father's pardon. The scene closes with the king enquiring the name of the chamber in which he first "swooned" and being told it is called "Jerusalem" recalls the prophecy that he "should depart this life in Jerusalem."

Westminster. The Palace.

The Scene of Act III., Scene i. Act V., Scene ii.

Act III., Scene i. The king sends for the Earls of Surrey and of Warwick who are to read and express their opinions on certain letters which he sends them. When they appear the king tells them that he has a presentiment of coming danger. The lords endeavour to cheer him, declaring that the royal army will prove victorious. This scene contains the king's soliloquy on sleep, considered to be one of the finest passages in the play. The mention of Glendower's death in line 103 is inaccurate as this personage lived till 1415.

Act V., Scene ii. The Chief Justice makes inquiries about the king and is told that he lives no more. The lords are expressing their regret that such an undeserving son as Prince Hal should succeed to the throne, when the latter enters and declares that it is his intention to reform and devote all his energies to the proper government of his realm and people.

Wheeson week. II. i. 86.

Mrs. Quickly's mistake for Whitsun week.

William. III. ii. 9.

A cousin of Justice Shallow's.

William. V. i. 9, 15, 22, 27.

Justice Shallow's cook.

William Visor of Woncot. V. i. 36, 39.

"Woncot has been usually identified with Wilnecote, a village near Stratford. . . . Madden, however, identifies 'Woncot' with 'Woodmancote' the name of a village in Gloucestershire, which is still pronounced as 'Woncot.' Madden mentions that a family of Visor or Vizard has been associated with Woodmancote since the sixteenth century, and that a house on the adjoining Stinchcome Hill (now as then locally known as 'The Hill') was then occupied by the family of Perkes." *Arden edition.*

Will Squele. III. ii. 21.

A former acquaintance of Justice Shallow's at Clement's Inn.

Windsor. II. i. 87 ; IV. iv. 14, 50.

Woncot. V. i. 37.

See William Visor of Woncot.

Worcester. I. i. 125.

Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, brother to the Earl of Northumberland. He was captured at the battle of Shrewsbury, and beheaded. See *First Part of King Henry the Fourth*, page 543.

York. I. ii. 62 ; II. i. 64 ; IV. iii. 73.

= City of York.

York. The Archbishop's Palace.

The Scene of Act I., Scene iii. With Lords Hastings, Mowbray, and Bardolph, the Archbishop discusses their prospects. They decide that without Northumberland's aid their chances of victory are very doubtful. Lord Hastings informs them that the king's power is divided. On hearing this the Archbishop decides on prompt action.

[During this rebellion of Northumberland and the Archbishop, a French army landed at Milford Haven in Wales, for the aid of Owen Glendower. See *Extract* 2 from Holinshed.]

Yorkshire. Gaultree Forest.

The Scene of Act IV., Scene i. Here the Archbishop's troops are mustered. A messenger enters with the news that the king's forces are near at hand. Later the Earl of Westmoreland —an embassy from Prince John—enters, and bids them disband and so avert bloodshed. The Archbishop will not come to terms but sends a list of their grievances to the prince. Westmoreland re-appears and announces that Prince John will confer with them half-way between their forces, and they forthwith depart for the interview. [The renewal of the rebellion took place in 1405, two years after the Battle of Shrewsbury.]

Yorkshire. Another part of Gaultree Forest.

The Scene of Act IV., Scenes ii and iii.

In Act IV., Scene ii., Prince John receives the rebel leaders, and promises to redress their grievances. [According to Holinshed it was the Earl of Westmoreland and not Prince John who made this solemn promise. See *Extracts* 5 and 6.] Hastings gives orders for the rebel forces to be disbanded. The prince then gives orders for the royal forces to disband, but they refuse to accept any orders except from the prince himself. Prince John then treacherously orders the arrest of the rebel leaders, and the pursuit of the rebel army. [Stubbs says : " On the 1st of March, 1405, a dispute about precedence took place in council between the earl of Warwick and the earl-marshal, the son of the king's old adversary Norfolk ; it was decided in favour of Warwick, and Mowbray left the court in anger. Whilst this was going on in the south, Northumberland and Westmoreland were preparing for war in the north. Possibly the attitude of Northumberland may have been connected with the Mortimer plot, and Mowbray was certainly cognisant of both . . . the lord Bardolf, who has opposed the king strongly in the recent councils, had joined Northumberland, and Sir William Clifford had associated himself with them. Unfortunately for himself and all concerned, the archbishop of York, Richard le Scrope, placed himself on the same side. These leaders drew up and circulated a formal indictment against the king, whom they described as Henry of Derby. Ten articles were published by the archbishop ; Henry was a usurper and a traitor to king and church ; he was a perjuror who on a false plea had raised the nation against Richard ; . . . he had connived at Richard's murder ; etc. . . . As soon as it was known that the lords were in arms Henry hastened to the north, and having reached Derby on the

28th of May, summoned his forces to meet at Pomfret. The contest was quickly decided. The earl of Westmoreland, John of Lancaster, and Thomas Beaufort, at the head of the king's forces, encountered the rebels at Shipton moor and offered a parley. The archbishop there met the earl of Westmoreland, who promised to lay before the king the articles demanded. The friendly attitude of the leaders misled the insurgent forces; they dispersed, leaving Scrope and Mowbray at the mercy of their enemies and they were immediately arrested, . . . and on the 8th of June the archbishop and the earl-marshal were beheaded. That done, the king followed the earl of Northumberland and Bardolf to the north. They fled to Scotland, and Henry, having seized the castles of the Percies, returned to the task of defence against the Welsh,"]

In Act IV., Scene iii., Falstaff, who is in pursuit of the rebels, encounters Sir John Colevile and demands his surrender. [Courtenay remarks: "I know not how Shakspeare got hold of the fact of Coleville being made prisoner after the dispersion of the rebel force." According to Holinshed, Coleville was convicted and beheaded. See *Extract* 7.] Prince John enters and upbraids Falstaff for disobeying orders. Colevile and his confederates are then sent to York for execution. Falstaff hearing that the royal army is disbanded leaves, intending on his way home to visit Justice Shallow again.

APPENDIX I.

EXTRACTS FROM HOLINSHED[1] THAT ILLUSTRATE THE *Second Part of King Henry the Fourth.*

1. The earle of Northumberland was now marching forward with great power, which he had got thither, either to aid his sonne and brother (as was thought) or at the least towards the king, to procure a peace; but the earle of Westmerland, and sir Robert Waterton, knight, had got an armie on foot, and meant to meet him. The earle of Northumberland, taking neither of them to be his freend, turned suddenlie backe, and withdrew himselfe into Warkewoorth castell.

2. [About this time] the French king had appointed one of the marshals of France, called Montmerancie, and the master of his crosbowes, with twelue thousand men, to saile into Wales to aid Owen Glendouer. They tooke shipping at Brest, and, hauing the wind prosperous, landed at Milford hauen, with an hundred and fourtie ships, as *Thomas Walsingham* saith; though *Enguerant de Monstrellet* maketh mention but of an hundred and twentie.

[Failing to capture Haverfordwest,] they departed towards the towne of Denbigh, where they found Owen Glendouer abiding for their comming, with ten thousand of his Welshmen. Here were the Frenchmen ioifullie receiued of the Welsh rebels, and so, when all things were prepared, they passed by Glamorganshire towards Worcester, and there burnt the suburbes: but, hearing of the kings approch, they suddenlie returned towards Wales.

3. [Northumberland] hearing that his counsell was bewraied, and his confederats brought to confusion, through too much hast of the archbishop of Yorke, with three hundred horsse got him to Berwike. The king comming forward quickelie, wan the castell of Warkewoorth. Wherevpon the earle of Northumberland, not thinking himselfe in suertie at Berwike, fled with the lord Berdolfe into Scotland, where they were receiued of sir Dauid Fleming.

4. The Welsh rebell Owen Glendouer made an end of his wretched life in this tenth yeare [1408–9] of king Henrie his reigne; being driuen now in his latter time (as we find recorded) to such miserie, that, in manner despairing of all comfort, he fled into desert places and solitarie caues; where, being destitute of all releefe and succour, dreading to shew his face to anie creature, and finallie lacking meat to susteine nature, for meere hunger and lacke of food, [he] miserablie pined awaie and died.

1. Shakespeare's Holinshed, by W. G. Boswell-Stone.

5. But at the same time, to his further disquieting, there was a conspiracie put in practise against him at home by the earle of Northumberland, who had conspired with Richard Scroope, archbishop of Yorke, Thomas Mowbraie, earle marshall, sonne to Thomas duke of Norfolke, (who for the quarrell betwixt him and king Henrie had beene banished, as ye haue heard,) the lords Hastings, Fauconbridge, Berdolfe, and diuerse others. It was appointed that they should meet altogither with their whole power, vpon Yorkeswold, at a daie assigned, and that the earle of Northumberland should be cheefteine; promising to bring with him a great number of Scots. The archbishop, accompanied with the earle marshall, deuised certeine articles of such matters, as it was supposed that not onelie the commonaltie of the Realme, but also the nobilitie found themselues greeued with: which articles they shewed first vnto such of their adherents as were neere about them, & after sent them abroad to their freends further off; assuring them that, for redresse of such oppressions, they would shed the *last* drop of blood in their bodies, if need were.

The archbishop, not meaning to staie after he saw himselfe accompanied with a great number of men, that came flocking to Yorke to take his part in this quarrell, foorthwith discouered his enterprise; causing the articles aforesaid to be set vp in the publike streets of the citie of Yorke, and vpon the gates of the monasteries, that ech man might vnderstand the cause that mooued him to rise in armes against the king: the reforming whereof did not yet apperteine vnto him. Herevpon, knights, esquiers, gentlemen, yeomen, and other of the commons, as well of the citie townes and countries about, being allured either for desire of change, or else for desire to see a reformation in such things as were mentioned in the articles, assembled togither in great numbers; and the archbishop, comming foorth amongst them clad in armor, incouraged, exhorted, and (by all meanes he could) pricked them foorth to take the enterprise in hand, and manfullie to continue in their begun purpose; promising forgiuenesse of sinnes to all them, whose hap it was to die in the quarrell: and thus not onelie all the citizens of Yorke, but all other in the countries about, that were able to beare weapon, came to the archbishop, and the earle marshall. In deed, the respect that men had to the archbishop caused them to like the better of the cause, since the grauitie of his age, his integritie of life, and incomparable learning, with the reuerend aspect of his amiable personage, mooued all men to haue him in no small estimation.

The king, aduertised of these matters, meaning to preuent them, left his iournie into Wales, and marched with all speed towards the north parts. Also Rafe Neuill, earle of Westmerland, that was not farre off, togither with the lord Iohn of Lancaster the kings sonne, being informed of this rebellious attempt, assembled togither such power as they might make, and, togither with those which were appointed to attend on the said lord Iohn to defend the borders against the Scots, (as the lord Henrie Fitzhugh, the lord Rafe Eeuers, the lord Robert Umfreuill, & others,) made forward against the rebels; and, comming into a plaine within the forest of Galtree, caused their standards to be pitched downe in like sort as the archbishop had pitched his, ouer against them, being farre stronger in number of people than the other; for (as some write) there were of the rebels at the least twentie thousand men.

When the earle of Westmerland perceiued the force of the aduersaries, and that they laie still and attempted not to come forward vpon him, he subtillie deuised how to quaile their purpose; and foorthwith dispatched messengers vnto the archbishop to vnderstand the cause as it were of that great assemblie, and for what cause (contrarie to the kings peace) they came so in a[r]mour. The archbishop answered, that he tooke nothing in hand *against* the kings *peace*, but that whatsoeuer he did, tended rather to aduance the peace and quiet of the common-wealth, than otherwise; and where he and his companie were in armes, it was for feare of the king, to whom he could haue no free accesse, by reason of such a multitude of flatterers as were about him; and therefore he mainteined that his purpose to be good & profitable, as well for the king himselfe, as for the realme, if men were willing to vnderstand a truth: & herewith he shewed foorth a scroll, in which the articles were written wherof before ye haue heard.

The messengers, returning to the earle of Westmerland, shewed him what they had heard & brought from the archbishop. When he had read the articles, he shewed in word and countenance outwardly that he *liked* of the archbishops holie and vertuous intent and purpose; promising that he and his would prosecute the same in assisting the archbishop, who, reioising hereat, gaue credit to the earle, and persuaded the earle marshall (against his will as it were) to go with him to a place appointed for them to commune togither. Here, when they were met with like number on either part, the articles were read ouer, and, without anie more adoo, the earle of Westmerland, and those that were with him agreed to doo their best, to see that a reformation might be had, according to the same.

The earle of Westmerland, vsing more policie than the rest: "Well" (said he) "then our "trauell is come to the wished end; and where our people haue beene long in armour, let them "depart home to their woonted trades and occupations: in the meane time *let us drinke togither* "in signe of agreement; that the people on both sides maie see it, and know that it is true, that "we be light at a point." They had no sooner shaken hands togither, but that a knight was sent streight waies from the archbishop, to bring word to the people that there was peace con-

cluded ; commanding ech man to laie aside his armes, and to resort home to their houses. The people, beholding such tokens of peace, as shaking of hands, and drinking togither of the lords in louing manner, they being alreadie wearied with the vnaccustomed trauell of warre, brake vp their field and returned homewards ; but, in the meane time, whilest the people of the archbishops side withdrew awaie, the number of the contrarie part increased, according to order giuen by the earle of Westmerland ; and yet the archbishop perceiued not that he was deceiued, vntill the earle of Westmerland arrested both him and the earle marshall, with diuerse other. Thus saith *Walsingham.*

6. But others write somwhat otherwise of this matter ; affirming that the earle of Westmerland, in deed, and the lord Rafe Eeuers, procured the archbishop and the earle marshall, to come to a communication with them, vpon a ground *iust* in the midwaie betwixt both the *armies ;* where the earle of Westmerland in talke declared to them how perilous an enterprise they had taken in hand, so to raise the people, and to mooue warre against the king ; aduising them therefore to submit themselues without further delaie vnto the kings mercie, and his sonne the lord Iohn, who was present there in the field with banners spred, redie to trie the matter by dint of sword, if they refused this counsell : and therefore he willed them to remember themselues well ; &, if they would not yeeld and craue the kings pardon, he bad them doo their best to defend themselues.

Herevpon as well the archbishop as the earle marshall submitted themselues vnto the king, and to his sonne the lord Iohn that was there present, and returned not to their armie. Wherevpon their troops scaled and fled their waies ; but, being pursued, manie were taken, manie slaine, and manie spoiled of that that they had about them, & so permitted to go their waies. Howsoeuer the matter was handled, true it is that the archbishop, and the earle marshall were brought to Pomfret to the king, who in this meane while was aduanced thither with his power ; and from thence he went to Yorke, whither the prisoners were also brought, and there beheaded the morrow after Whitsundaie [June 8, 1405] in a place without the citie : that is to vnderstand, the archbishop himselfe, the earle marshall, sir Iohn Lampleie, and sir William Plumpton. Unto all which persons, though indemnitie were promised, yet was the same to none of them at anie hand performed.

7. At his [Henry's] comming to Durham, the lord Hastings, the lord Fauconbridge, sir Iohn Colleuill of the Dale, and sir Iohn Griffith, being conuicted of the conspiracie, were there beheaded.

8. He [Henry] held his Christmas this yeare at Eltham, being sore vexed with sicknesse, so that it was thought sometime, that he had beene dead : notwithstanding it pleased God that he somwhat recouered his strength againe, and so passed that Christmasse with as much ioy as he might.

9. The earle of Northumberland, and the lord Bardolfe, after they had beene in Wales, in France, and Flanders, to purchase aid against king Henrie, were returned backe into Scotland, and had remained there now for the space of a whole yeare : and, as their euill fortune would, whilest the king held a councell of the nobilitie at London, the said earle of Northumberland and lord Bardolfe, in a dismall houre, *with a great power of Scots*, returned into England ; recouering diuerse of the earls castels and seigniories, for the people in great numbers resorted vnto them. Heerevpon, incouraged with hope of good successe, they entred into Yorkeshire, & there began to destroie the countrie. At their comming to Threske, they published a proclamation, signifieng that they were come in comfort of the English nation, as to releeue the common-wealth ; willing all such as loued the libertie of their countrie, to repaire vnto them, with their armor on their backes, and in defensible wise to assist them.

The king, aduertised hereof, caused a great armie to be assembled, and came forward with the same towards his enimies ; but, yer the king came to Notingham, sir Thomas, or (as other copies haue) Rafe Rokesbie, shiriffe of Yorkeshire, assembled the forces of the countrie to resist the earle and his power ; comming to Grimbaut brigs, beside Knaresbourgh, there to stop them the passage ; but they, returning aside, got to Weatherbie, and so to Tadcaster, and finallie came forward vnto Bramham more, neere to Haizelwood, where they chose their ground meet to fight vpon. The shiriffe was as readie to giue battell as the earle to receiue it, and so, with a standard of S. George spred, set fiercelie vpon the earle, who, vnder a standard of his owne armes, incountred his aduersaries with great manhood. There was a sore incounter and cruell conflict betwixt the parties, but in the end the victorie fell to the shiriffe. The lord Bardolfe was taken, but sore wounded, so that he shortlie after died of the hurts. As for the earle of Northumberland, he was slaine outright : . . . This battell was fought the ninteenth day of Februarie [1408].

10. In this yeare [1411], and vpon the twelfth day of October, were three flouds in the Thames, the one following vpon the other, & *no ebbing betweene :* which thing no man then liuing could remember the like to be seene.

11. During this his [Henry IV.'s] last sicknesse, he caused his crowne (as some write) to be set on a pillow at his beds head; and suddenlie his pangs so sore troubled him, that he laie as though all his vitall spirits had beene from him departed. Such as were about him, thinking verelie that he had beene departed, couered his face with a linnen cloth.

The prince, his sonne, being hereof aduertised, entered into the chamber, tooke awaie the crowne, and departed. The father, being suddenlie reuiued out of that trance, quicklie perceiued the lacke of his crowne; and, hauing knowledge that the prince his sonne had taken it awaie, caused him to come before his presence, requiring of him what he meant so to misuse himselfe. The prince, with a good audacitie, answered: "Sir, to mine and all mens iudgements you seemed "dead in this world; wherefore I, as your next heire apparant, tooke that as mine owne, and not as "yours." "Well, faire sonne" (said the king with a great sigh), "what right I had to it, God knoweth." "Well" (said the prince), "if you die king, I will haue the garland, and trust to "keepe it with the sword against all mine enimies, as you haue doone." Then said the king, "I commit all to God, and remember you to doo well." With that he turned himselfe in his bed, and shortlie after departed to God in a chamber of the abbats of Westminster called Ierusalem, the twentith daie of March, in the yeare 1413, and in the yeare of his age 46: when he had reigned thirteene yeares, fiue moneths, and od daies, in great perplexitie and little pleasure. . . .

12. In this fourteenth and last yeare of king Henries reigne, a councell was holden in the white friers in London; at the which, among other things, order was taken for ships and gallies to be builded and made readie, and all other things necessarie to be prouided for a voiage which he meant to make into the holie land, there to recouer the citie of Ierusalem from the Infidels. . . .

13. We find, that he was taken with his last sickenesse, while he was making his praiers at saint Edwards shrine, there as it were to take his leaue, and so to proceed foorth on his iournie: he was so suddenlie and greeuouslie taken, that such as were about him, feared lest he would haue died presentlie; wherfore to releeue him (if it were possible) they bare him into a chamber that was next at hand, belonging to the abbat of Westminster, where they laid him on a pallet before the fire, and vsed all remedies to reuiue him. At length, he recouered his speech, and, vnderstanding and perceiuing himselfe in a strange place which he knew not, he willed to know if the chamber had anie particular name; wherevnto answer was made, that it was called Ierusalem. Then said the king: "Lauds be giuen to the father of heauen, for now I know that I shall die "heere in this chamber; according to the prophesie of me declared, that I should depart this "life in Ierusalem."

14. [After his coronation Henry V. is said to have dismissed his unworthy associates,] and in their places he chose men of grauitie, wit, and high policie, by whose wise counsell he might at all times rule to his honour and dignitie; calling to mind how once, to hie offense of the king his father, he had with his fist striken the cheefe iustice for sending one of his minions (vpon desert) to prison: when the iustice stoutlie commanded himselfe also streict to ward, & he (then prince) obeied.

15. He was crowned the ninth of Aprill, being Passion sundaie, which was a sore, ruggie, and tempestuous day, with wind, snow, and sleet; that men greatlie maruelled thereat, making diuerse interpretations what the same might signifie. But this king euen at first appointing with himselfe, to shew that in his person princelie honors should change publike manners, he determined to put on him the shape of a new man. For whereas aforetime he had made himselfe a companion vnto misrulie mates of dissolute order and life, he now banished them all from his presence (but not vnrewarded, or else vnpreferred); inhibiting them vpon a great paine, not once to approch, lodge, or soiourne within *ten miles* of his court or presence: . . .

16. This king was of a meane stature, well proportioned, and formallie compact; quicke and liuelie, and of a stout courage. In his latter daies he shewed himselfe so gentle, that he gat more loue amongst the nobles and people of this realme, than he had purchased malice and euill will in the beginning.

But yet to speake a truth, by his proceedings, after he had atteined to the crowne, what with such taxes, tallages, subsidies, and exactions as he was constreined to charge the people with; and what by punishing such as, mooued with disdeine to see him vsurpe the crowne (contrarie to the oth taken at his entring into this land, vpon his returne from exile), did at sundrie times rebell against him; he wan himselfe more hatred, than in all his life time (if it had beene longer by manie yeares than it was) had beene possible for him to haue weeded out & remooued.

APPENDIX II.

EXTRACTS FROM *The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth, conteining the Honorable Battell of Agincourt*, utilised by Shakespeare in the *Second Part of King Henry the Fourth*.[1]

1. THE RECRUITING SCENE.

Enter a Captaine, Iohn Cobler and his wife.

Cap. Come, come, there's no remedie,
Thou must néeds serue the King.
Iohn. Good maister Captaine let me go,
I am not able to go so farre.
Wife. I pray you good maister Captaine,
Be good to my husband.
Cap. Why I am sure he is not too good to serue ye king ?
Iohn. Alasse no : but a great deale too bad,
Therefore I pray you let me go.
Cap. No, no, thou shalt go.
Iohn. Oh sir, I haue a great many shooes at home to
Cobble.
Wife. I pray you let him go home againe.
Cap. Tush, I care not, thou shalt go.
Iohn. Oh wife, and you had béen a louing wife to me,
This had not bene, for I haue said many times,
That I would go away, and now I must go
Against my will. *He weepeth.*

2. THE CROWN SCENE.

Enter the King with his lords.

Hen. IV. Come, my Lords, I see it bootes me not to take any phisick,
for all the Phisitians in the world cannot cure me, no not one.
But good my Lords, remember my last wil and Testament concerning my sonne, for truly my Lordes, I doo not thinke but he wil
proue as valiant and victorious a King, as euer raigned in
England.
Both. Let heauen and earth be witnesse betwéene us, if we accomplish
not thy wil to the vttermost.
Hen. IV. I giue you most vnfained thanks, good my lords,
Draw the Curtaines and depart my chamber a while,
And cause some Musicke to rocke me a sléepe.
He sleepeth. Exeunt Lords.

Enter the Prince.

Hen. V. Ah Harry, thrice vnhappie that hath neglect so long
from visiting of thy sicke father, I wil goe, nay but
why doo I not go to the Chamber of my sick father, to
comfort the melancholy soule of his bodie, his soule said
I, here is his bodie indéed, but his soule is, whereas it
néeds no bodie. Now thrice accursed Harry, that hath offended thy father so much, and could not I craue pardon for
all. Oh my dying father, curst be the day wherin I was borne,
and accursed be the houre wherin I was begotten, but what shal I do ?
if wéeping teares which come too late, may suffice the negligence
neglected to some, I wil wéepe day and night vntil the fountaine be
drie with wéeping. *Exit.*

1. Shakespeare's Library, edited by Hazlitt.

Enter Lord of Exeter and Oxford.

Exe. Come easily my Lord, for waking of the King.
Hen. IV. Now my Lords.
Oxf. How doth your Grace féele your selfe.
Hen. IV. Somewhat better after my sléepe,
But good my Lords take off my Crowne,
Remoue my chaire a litle backe, and set me right.
Ambo. And please your grace, the crown is take away.
Hen. IV. The Crowne taken away,
Good my lord of Oxford, go sée who hath done this déed :
No doubt tis some vilde traitor that hath done it,
To depriue my sonne, they that would do it now,
Would séeke to scrape and scrawle for it after my death.

Enter Lord of Oxford with the Prince.

Oxf. Here and please your Grace,
Is my Lord the yong Prince with the Crowne.
Hen. IV. Why how now my sonne ?
I had thought the last time I had you in schooling,
I had giuen you a lesson for all,
And do you now begin againe ?
Why tel me my sonne,
Doest thou thinke the time so long,
That thou wouldest haue it before the
Breath be out of my mouth ?
Hen. V. Most soueraign Lord and welbeloved father,
I came into your Chamber to comfort the melancholy
Soule of your bodie, and finding you at that time
Past all recouery, and dead to my thinking,
God is my witnesse : and what should I doo,
But with wéeping tears lament ye death of you my father,
And after that, séeing the Crowne, I tooke it :
And tel me my father, who might better take it then I,
After your death ? but séeing you liue,
I most humbly render it into your Maiesties hands,
And the happiest man aliue, that my father liue,
And liue my Lord and Father, for euer.
Hen. IV. Stand vp my sonne,
Thine answere hath sounded wel in mine eares,
For I must néed confesse that I was in a very sound sléep,
And altogither vnmindful of thy comming :
But come neare my sonne,
And let me put thée in possession whilst I liue,
That none depriue thée of it after my death.
Hen. V. Well may I take it at your maiesties hands,
But it shal neuer touch my head, so long as my father liues.
He taketh the Crowne.
Hen. IV. God giue thée ioy my sonne,
God blesse thée, and make thée his seruant,
And send thée a prosperous raigne.
For God knowes my sonne, how hardly I came by it,
And how hardly I haue maintained it.
Hen. V. Howsoeuer you came by it, I know not,
And now I haue it from you, and from you I wil kéepe it :
And he that séekes to take the Crowne from my head,
Let him looke that his armour be thicker then mine,
Or I will pearce him to the heart,
Were it harder than brasse or bollion.
Hen. IV. Nobly spoken, and like a King.
Now trust me my Lords, I feare not but my sonne
Will be as warlike and victorious a Prince,
As euer raigned in England.

L. Ambo. His former life shewes no lesse.
Hen. IV. Wel my lords I know not whether it be for sléep,
Or drawing neare of drowsie summer of death,
But I am verie much giuen to sléepe,
Therefore good my Lords and my sonne,
Draw the Curtaines, depart my chamber,
And cause some Musicke to rocke me a sléepe.
[*Exeunt omnes.* *The King dieth.*

3. KING HENRY THE FIFTH BANISHES HIS MISLEADERS.

Enter Knightes raunging.

Tom. Gogs wounds the King is dead.
Iock. Dead, then gogs blood, we shall be all kings.
Ned. Gogs wounds, I shall be Lord chiefe Iustice Of England.
Tom. Why how, are you broken out of prison ?
Ned. Gogs wounds, how the villaine stinkes.
Iock. Why what wil become of thée now ?
Fye vpon him, how the rascall stinkes.
Theefe. Marry I wil go and serue my maister againe.
Tom. Gogs blood, doost think that he wil haue any such
Scab'd knaue as thou art ? what man he is a king now.
Ned. Hold thée, heres a couple of Angels for thée,
And get thée gone, for the King wil not be long
Before he come this way :
And hereafter I wil tel the king of thée. [*Exit Theefe.*
Iock. Oh how it did me good, to sée the king
When he was crowned :
Me thought his seate was like the figure of heauen,
And his person like vnto a God.
Ned. But who would haue thought,
That the king would haue changde his countenance so ?
Iock. Did you not sée with what grace
He sent his embassage into France ? to tel the French king
That Harry of England hath sent for the Crowne,
And Harry of England wil haue it.
Tom. But twas but a litle to make the people beléeue,
That he was sorie for his fathers death. *The Trumpet sounds.*
Ned. Gogs wounds, the king comes,
Let all stand aside.
Enter the King with the Archbishop, and the Lord of Oxford.
Iock. How do you my Lord ?
Ned. How now Harry ?
Tut my Lord, put away these dumpes,
You are a king, and all the realme is yours :
What man, do you not remember the old sayings,
You know I must be Lord chiefe Iustice of England,
Trust me my lord, me thinks you are very much changed,
And tis but with a litle sorrowing, to make folkes beléeue
The death of your father gréeues you,
And tis nothing so.
Hen. V. I prethée Ned, mend thy manners,
And be more modester in thy tearmes,
For my vnfeined gréefe is not to be ruled by thy flattering
And dissembling talke, thou saist I am changed,
So I am indeed, and so must thou be, and that quickly,
Or else I must cause thée to be chaunged.
Iock. Gogs wounds, how like you this ?
Sownds tis not so swéete as Musicke.
Tom. I trust we haue not offended your grace no way.

Hen. V. Ah Tom, your former life gréeues me,
And makes me to abandō & abolish your company for euer
And therfore not vpō pain of death to approch my presence
By ten miles apace, then if I heare wel of you,
It may be I wil do somewhat for you,
Otherwise looke for no more fauour at my hands,
Then at any other mans : And therefore be gone,
We haue no other matters to talke on. [*Exeunt Knights.*
Now my good Lord Archbishop of Canterbury ?
What say you to our Embassage into France ?

APPENDIX III.

EXTRACT FROM *The Annales, or Generall Chronicle of England, begun first by maister Iohn Stow, and after him continued and augmented by Edmond Howes, gentleman,* utilised by Shakespeare in the *Second Part of King Henry the Fourth.*

The renowned Prince king Henry the fift, during the life of his father, was noted to be fierce, and of wanton courage. It hapned that one of his feruants, whom he fauored was for felony by him committed, arraigned at the kings bench, whereof the Prince being aduertised, and incenfed by light perfons about him in furious rage came haftily to the bar where his feruant ftood as prifoner, & comanded him to be vngiued and fet at libertie, whereat all men were abafhed, referued the chiefe Juftice, who humbly exhorted the Prince to be ordered according to the ancient lawes of the Realme, or if he would haue him faued from the rigor of the lawes, that he fhould obtaine if he might of the k. his father, his gracious pardon, whereby no law or iuftice fhould be derogate. With the which anfwere the prince nothing appeafed but rather more inflamed indeuoured himfelfe to take away his feruant. The Judge, considering the perillous example and inconueniencie that night thereby enfue, with a valiant fpirit & courage commaunded the prince vpon his allegeance to leaue the prifoner, and to departe his way : with which commandment, the Prince being fet all in a furie, all chafed, & in a terrible manner came vp to the place of iudgment, men thinking that hee would haue ſlaine the Judge, or haue done to him fome domage, but the Judge fitting ftill without moouing, declaring the maieftie of the kings place of iudgement, and with an affured bold countenance, hadde to the prince thefe words following : Sir, remember your felfe, I keepe here the place of the king your foueraigne lord and father, to whom you owe double obeifance, wherefore eftfoones in his name I charge you defift off your wilfulnes and unlawfull enterprife, and from hencefoorth giue good example to thofe which after fhall bee your proper fubiects : and nowe for your contempt and difobedience, goe you to the prifon of the kings bench whereunto I commit you, and remaine you there prifoner untill the pleafure of the king your father be further knowne. With which words, being abafhed, and alfo wondering at the maruellous grauitie of that worshipfull Juftice, the Prince laying his weapon aparte doing reuerence, departed & went to the kings bench as he was commanded. Whereat his feruants difdaining, came and fhewed to the king all the whole affaire. Whereat he a while ftudying, after, as a man all rauifhed with gladnes, holding his hands and eies towards heauen, abraid with a lowde voice : O merciful God how much am I bounde to thy infinite goodness, efpecially for that thou haft giuen me a Judge, who feareth not to minifter iuftice, and alfo a fonne, who can fuffer femblably and obey iustice.

GB17
p.12

The Life of King Henry the Fifth

Written. The date of the composition of *The Life of King Henry the Fifth is* generally considered to be 1599, this date being determined by two passages in the play. In the Chorus prefixed to the first Act, an allusion is made to " this wooden O," *i.e.* the Globe Theatre :

> or may we cram
> Within this wooden O the very casques
> That did affright the air at Agincourt ?

The Globe Theatre, which was built of wood, was opened in June, 1599. By some it is considered that *Henry the Fifth* was first performed at the opening of this theatre. Again, in the *Chorus* prefixed to Act V we read :

> The mayor and all his brethren in best sort,
> Like to the senators of the antique Rome,
> With the plebeians swarming at their heels,
> Go forth and fetch their conquering Cæsar in :
> As, by a lower, but by loving likelihood,
> Were now the general of our gracious empress,
> As in good time he may, from Ireland coming,
> Bringing rebellion broached on his sword,
> How many would the peaceful city quit
> To welcome him ! much more, and much more
> cause,
> Did they this Harry.

This refers to the Earl of Essex who left London for Ireland on the 27th March, 1599, to suppress the Tyrone rebellion. Essex's campaign was a failure and he returned to London hurriedly, arriving at Court on the 28th September of the same year.

The play is not mentioned by Francis Meres in his *Palladis Tamia ; or, Wit's Treasury*, published in the year 1598. From this it is inferred that the play could not have been written earlier than the year 1599.

Published. Published in an imperfect form in the year 1600, under the following title : " The | Cronicle | History of Henry the fift, | with his battell fought at *Agin Court* in | France. Togither with *Auntient* | *Pistoll. As it hath been sundry times playd by the Right honorable* | *the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants.* | LONDON | Printed by *Thomas Creede*, for Tho. Milling- | ton, and Iohn Bushy. And are to be | sold at his house in Carter Lane, next | the Powle head. 1600 | .

From the following entry in the Register of the Stationers' Hall, it appears that the application for a license to print the play was in the first instance withheld :

> [1600] 4 Augusti.
> As you like yt | a booke
> Henry the ffift | a booke
> Every man in his humour | a booke
> The commedie of muche A adoo about nothing a booke | .
>
> } to be staied.

This ban was however removed, as under date 14th of August of the same year we find :

[1600] 14 Augusti.

Thomas Pavyer. Entred for his copyes by direction of master white warden vnder his hand wryting. These Copyes followinge beinge thinges formerlye printed and sett over to the sayd Thomas Pavyer

viz. . . .

The historye of Henry the Vth with the battell of Agencourt.

vid.

The first authorised copy appeared in the Folio of 1623 under the title " The Life of Henry Fift."

In the *Epilogue* to the *Second Part of King Henry the Fourth*, our author promises to " continue the story, with Sir John in it, and make you merry with fair Katharine of France." This promise however is not carried out as Falstaff does not once appear throughout the play.

The Play covers a period of seven years, from the accession of King Henry the Fifth in 1413, to his betrothal to Katharine of Valois on the 21st May, 1420.

Each Act is preceded by a *Prologue* or *Chorus*, whilst the play closes with an *Epilogue* or *Chorus* which is a general comment on the whole.

Source of the Plot. The materials for the plot are mainly taken from Holinshed's *Chronicles*,[1] and the old play *The Famous Victories of Henry V., containing the honourable battle of Agincourt.*[2]

Outline of the Play. In the opening of the *Prologue* or *Chorus* to Act I., the poet invokes divine inspiration to enable him to raise the " swelling scene " to the highest regions of grandeur, and apologises for attempting to enclose within the walls of a theatre " The vasty fields of France," and the " very casques That did affright the air at Agincourt," and makes an eloquent appeal to his audience to " Piece out the imperfections with their thoughts," and as " we talk of horses," to imagine that they see an " imaginary power, . . . Printing their proud hoofs i' the receiving earth," and " jumping o'er times, Turning the accomplishment of many years Into an hour-glass," and finally craves their humble patience " Gently to hear " and " kindly to judge."

The first Act opens in an Antechamber of the King's Palace in London. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Ely enter, and discuss a Bill, introduced into Parliament " in the eleventh year of the reign of Henry IV., and re-introduced on the 30th April, 1414, in the second year of the reign of Henry V.," which, if passed into law, would deprive the Church of a great portion of its wealth :

Cant. If it pass against us,
We lose the better half of our possession ;
For all the temporal lands which men devout
By testament have given to the church
Would they strip from us ;

Ely observes that the Bill " drinks very deep," while Canterbury considers it " drinks the cup and all," and on Ely asking the best way to prevent it being placed on the Statute book, Canterbury proceeds to comment upon the change in the king's character since his accession, describing him as a " king full of grace and fair regard " ; and a " true lover of the holy church," enjoins Ely, for no sooner had his father passed

1. *See* Appendix I. 2. *See* Appendix II.

away than his wildness became mortified as if some angel had descended from heaven and " whipp'd the offending Adam out of him, Leaving his body as a paradise, To envelop and contain celestial spirits." " We are blessed in the change," remarks Ely, adding, that as the " strawberry grows beneath the nettle, And wholesome berries thrive and ripen best Neighbour'd by fruit of baser quality " ; so the king's " contemplation " which was " obscur'd Under the veil of wildness " will now develop in the right direction. Ely then enquires if the king is inclined towards the bill, to which the Archbishop replies that his majesty " seems indifferent, Or rather swaying more upon our part " than on the part of the introducers of the bill, adding, that in order to obtain the goodwill of the king, he had offered on behalf of the Church, to give a " greater sum than ever the clergy had previously offered " to prosecute war with France. Upon Ely asking how the king " received this offer," Canterbury replies " With good acceptance, . . . Save that there was not time enough to hear," as the king seemed more interested to have explained to him the " severals and unhidden passages " as to his " true titles to some certain dukedoms And generally to the crown and seat of France." " What was the impediment that broke this off ? " enquires Ely, and Canterbury answers that the French Ambassador had arrived and craved audience of his majesty, which audience had been fixed for four o'clock. To this important Council the two prelates had been summoned to give their opinion as to Henry's claim to the French crown, although they can " with a ready guess declare Before the Frenchman speak of a word of it," what the result will be. Cf. *Extract* 1 from Holinshed.

We are in the Presence Chamber in the next scene. The king, with his courtiers, enters, and enquires for the Archbishop of Canterbury, and being told he is " not here in presence " bids Exeter to send for him. In the meantime Westmoreland enquires if the French ambassador shall be admitted. " Not yet, my cousin," replies Henry, " before we hear him," there are " some things of weight That task our thoughts, concerning us and France." The Archbishop, accompanied by the Bishop of Ely, now appears, and greeting the king : " God and his angels guard your sacred throne," Henry enquires of him whether the Salique Law excludes him (Henry) from making a claim to the French crown :

> My learned lord, we pray you to proceed,
> And justly and religiously unfold
> Why the law Salique that they have in France
> Or should, or should not, bar us in our claim,

charging him in the name of God to consider well his answer, as it involves great responsibility. The archbishop then delivers a long disquisition on the ancient law, [I. ii. 32–95] which, according to the French excludes females, or descendants on the female side, from succeeding to the French crown. The archbishop, however, points out that the Law Salique originated in Germany, in the country between the " floods of Sala and of Elbe," and therefore does not apply to France, in consequence of which, Henry—as a descendant of Edward II., who married Isabella of France—has undoubtedly a clear title to the French crown. " May I with right and conscience make this claim ? " demands Henry, and the archbishop urges him to stand for his just claim : " Gracious lord, Stand for your own ; unwind your bloody flag ; For in the book of Numbers it is writ : ' When the man dies, let the inheritance Descend unto the daughter ' " and at the same time reminds the king of the war-like spirit exhibited, and the glorious deeds performed by his ancestors on French soil, in the which he is supported by the Bishop of Ely, and the Lords Exeter and Westmoreland. Canterbury then repeats the offer of the Church to provide a larger sum of money than

has ever been granted before, and Henry reminds them of the danger of a Scottish invasion during the army's absence in France, but the archbishop considers that the lords of the marches are strong enough to defend the border against invaders, adding that the Scots had occasion to remember how their king was captured at the battle of Neville's Cross in 1346 by Edward III's queen, during the time that king Edward was absent in France, to which Westmoreland replies by quoting the old adage : " If that you will France win, Then with Scotland first begin : ". After some little argument has passed between Exeter and Canterbury in which each tries to prove his point, the latter suggests that the king shall proceed to France with " one quarter " of his forces with which you " shall make all Gallia shake," leaving " three-fourths " at home to defend the border against any possible invasion from the north :

> Therefore to France, my liege.
> Divide your happy England into four ;
> Whereof take you one quarter into France,
> And you withal shall make all Gallia shake.
> If we, with thrice such powers left at home,
> Cannot defend our own doors from the dog,
> Let us be worried and our nation lose
> The name of hardiness and policy.

This suggestion so convinces Henry, that he orders the French Ambassadors to be admitted, declaring that he is " well resolv'd " to invade France, and with the help of God establish by force of arms his right to the French crown.

The ambassadors being admitted, the king announces that " he is well prepar'd to know the pleasure Of our fair cousin Dauphin ; for we hear Your greeting is from him, not from the king," and the ambassadors, having asked, and obtained the king's permission to speak " with uncurbed plainness " inform Henry that his claim to " certain French dukedoms " is rejected, and that the Dauphin wishing to hear " no more of him, nor of his claim," has sent him " This tun of treasure," at the same time bidding him " to be advis'd " as he " savours too much of his youth," there being nothing in France that can be won by a " nimble galliard." " What treasure, uncle ? " asks the king, and Exeter replies : " Tennis-balls, my liege." On receiving this reply, Henry resents the insult with fiery scorn, and turning to the ambassadors thanks the Dauphin for his " present," and themselves for " their pains in delivering it," adding that " When we have match'd our rackets to these balls, We will in France, by God's grace, play a set Shall strike his father's crown into the hazard." With grim determination Henry exclaims that he will " dazzle all the eyes of France," when he " keeps his state " as the monarch of that country, and instructs the ambassadors to tell the " pleasant prince " that his mock " Hath turn'd his tennis-balls to gun-stones," which will wring tears from " many a thousands widows for their dear husbands " and from " Mothers for their sons," while others yet ungotten and unborn shall have cause to curse the Dauphin's haughty scorn. " This was a merry message," is Exeter's comment after the ambassadors have departed. " We will make the sender blush for it," replies Henry, and giving orders to his nobles to make preparations for the invasion of France with all possible speed, leaves the chamber amid a flourish of trumpets, threatening to " chide this Dauphin at his father's door " :

> Therefore let every man now task his thought,
> That this fair action may on foot be brought.

Cf. *Extract* 2 from Holinshed.

The *Prologue* or *Chorus* preceding Act II describes the preparations made for the invasion of France, the enthusiasm throughout the country over the war :

> Now all the youth of England are on fire,
> And silken dalliance in the wardrobe lies ;
> Now thrive the armourers, and honour's thought
> Reigns solely in the breast of every man :

and the change of scene from London to Southampton. The crossing-over to France is, however, delayed, as a plot to assassinate the king is discovered, the leaders of which are the Earl of Cambridge, Lord Scroop, and Sir Thomas Grey who have been bribed by France to carry out the deed. Cf. *Extract* 3 from Holinshed.

The first scene of Act II. opens in a London street. Corporal Nym and Lieutenant Bardolph—who are to proceed with the army to France—enter, and after greeting one another, comment upon the coming campaign, Nym declaring that he " dare not fight," but he will " hold up his sword and wink," which is very " simple," Bardolph adding that they will go to France as " three sworn brothers " and share in each other's fortunes, to which Nym adds that he " will live so long as he may, that 's the certain of it ; and when he cannot live any longer, he will do as he may : that is his rest, that is the rendezvous of it." Bardolph then enquires if it is true that Pistol is married to Mistress Quickly, just as the newly-married couple enter, and a quarrel ensues between Nym—to whom Mistress Quickly was once " troth-plight "—and Pistol. They call each other foul names, and prepare to fight, but Bardolph interferes, and threatens to kill the first to strike a blow :

> Hear me, hear me what I say : he that strikes
> the first stroke, I 'll run him up to the hilts, as I
> am a soldier.

" I will cut thy throat, one time or other, in fair terms ; that is the humour of it," exclaims Nym, and Pistol tells him to mind his own business, and get along with his flirting with Doll Tearsheet, and not interfere with his wife :

> O hound of Crete, think'st thou my spouse to get ?
> No ; to the spital go,
> And from the powdering-tub of infamy
> Fetch forth the lazar kite of Cressid's kind,
> Doll Tearsheet she by name, and her espouse :
> I have, and I will hold, the quondam Quickly
> For the only she ; and—pauca, there 's enough.
> Go to.

A boy enters and summons " Mine host Pistol " and his wife to his master—Falstaff—who has been suddenly taken ill, and then turning to Bardolph, says : " Good Bardolph, put thy face between his sheets and do the office of a warming-pan. Faith, he 's very ill." " Away, you rogue," shouts Bardolph. " The king has killed his heart," is the hostess' comment, as she departs in company with the boy, after requesting her husband to come home presently. The hostess gone, Pistol and Nym renew their quarrel and again draw their swords, but eventually they become reconciled, for when Nym demands " eight shillings which he has won " from Pistol " at betting," the latter promises to pay the former a " noble " and " liquor likewise." Mistress Quickly hurriedly re-enters, and bids them all come quickly as their old companion—Sir John Falstaff—is dying, " shaked of a burning quotidian tertian, that it is most lamentable to behold," due as Nym remarks, to the king, who " hath run bad humours on the knight," a statement with which Pistol agrees, since Fal-

staff's " heart is fracted and corroborate." The scene closes with Pistol inviting his companions to go with him and sympathise with Falstaff as they all must live peacefully together like young lambs.

The Council-Chamber at Southampton supplies the next scene. It opens with the Duke of Bedford remarking that the king is " bold to put trust " in men whose plot for his assassination has been discovered, but Exeter replies that they will be " apprehended by and by," although they are not now aware that their conspiracy is known to the king. Amid a flourish of trumpets, Henry—with courtiers, including the three conspirators—enters. He remarks that as the " wind sits fair " they will " aboard " and cross the narrow sea and cut " their passage through the force of France." When asked their opinion on the matter Scroop answers that if " each man does his best " there is no doubt of victory, while Cambridge tells Henry that " Never was monarch better fear'd and lov'd Than is your majesty " : in which he is supported by Grey : " True : those that were your father's enemies Have steep'd their galls in honey, and do serve you With hearts create of duty and of zeal."

Henry next gives orders for a man imprisoned on the previous day for " railing against the king's person " while under the influence of drink, to be released :

> Uncle of Exeter,
> Enlarge the man committed yesterday
> That rail'd against our person : we consider
> It was excess of wine that set him on ;
> And on his more advice we pardon him.

The three traitors, however, urge the king to punish the man for this insult, lest his bad example be emulated by others, but Henry replies that he will exercise clemency in the case of minor offences and reserve severity for " capital crimes, chew'd, swallow'd and digested." " And now to our French causes," continues Henry, and inquires who were the late commissioners to France, and the three conspirators claim this honour :

> *Cam.* I one, my lord :
> Your highness bade me ask for it to-day
> *Scroop.* So did you me, my liege.
> *Grey.* And I, my royal sovereign.

The king thereupon hands each of them a scroll, containing information that their plot has been discovered, which he requests them to read :

> Then, Richard Earl of Cambridge, there is yours ;
> There yours, Lord Scroop of Masham ; and, sir knight,
> Grey of Northumberland, this same is yours :
> Read them ; and know, I know your worthiness.

and then turning to the Lords Westmoreland and Exeter announces that they will embark for France that evening.

Perceiving the change in the colour of the faces of the conspirators, Henry inquires the cause :

> Why, how now, gentlemen !
> What see you in those papers that you lose
> So much complexion ? Look ye, how they change !
> Their cheeks are paper. Why, what read you there,
> That hath so cowarded and chas'd your blood
> Out of appearance ?

and being self-convicted of treason the three traitors crave pardon of the king :

Cam. I do confess my fault,
And do submit me to your highness' mercy.
Grey, Scroop. To which we all appeal.

" You must not dare, for shame, to talk of mercy," sternly replies Henry, for you are like " dogs worrying their own masters " ; and then turning to Cambridge upbraids him for having for a " few light crowns " conspired to assassinate him. Scroop he describes as a " cruel, Ingrateful, savage and inhuman creature " :

Thou that didst bear the key of all my counsels,
That knew'st the very bottom of my soul,
That almost might'st have coin'd me into gold
Would'st thou have practis'd on me for thy use,
May it be possible that foreign hire
Could out of thee extract one spark of evil
That might annoy my finger ? 'tis so strange
That, though the truth of it stands off as gross
As black and white, my eye will scarcely see it.

Henry then orders them to be arrested for having conspired with their country's enemies to put him to death. Being arrested by the Earl of Exeter on the charge of high treason, each of them again appeals for mercy, although admitting that they deserve death :

Scroop. Our purposes God justly hath discover'd,
And I repent my fault more than my death ;
Which I beseech your highness to forgive,
Although my body pay the price of it.
Cam. For me, the gold of France did not seduce,
Although I did admit it as a motive
The sooner to effect what I intended :
But God be thanked for prevention ;
Which I in sufferance heartily will rejoice,
Beseeching God and you to pardon me.
Grey. Never did faithful subject more rejoice
At the discovery of most dangerous treason
Than I do at this hour joy o'er myself,
Prevented from a damned enterprise.
My fault, but not my body, pardon, sovereign.

but after reminding them again of their offences :

You have conspir'd against our royal person,
Join'd with an enemy proclaim'd, and from his coffers
Receiv'd the golden earnest of our death ;

Henry sentences them to be beheaded :

Get you therefore hence,
Poor miserable wretches, to your death ;
The taste whereof, God of his mercy give you
Patience to endure, and true repentance
Of all your dear offences ! Bear them hence.

As they are led away, the king, turning to the lords bids them make preparations to embark, and the scene closes with Henry invoking the aid of God (" who has so graciously brought to light this dangerous treason ") on the expedition. Cf. *Extract* 3 from Holinshed.

The next scene is enacted before Mistress Quickly's tavern. She expresses a wish to accompany her husband—Pistol—as far as Staines, on his way to Southampton :

" Prithee, honey-sweet husband, let me bring thee to Staines." Pistol refuses to grant her wish, and then turning to his companions, bids Bardolph to be " blithe " ; Nym to " rouse his vaunting veins " ; and the boy to " bristle up his courage " although Falstaff has gone. Bardolph expresses a wish to be with Falstaff " either in heaven or in hell ! " to which Dame Quickly replies : " Nay, sure, he 's not in hell : he 's in Arthur's bosom, if ever man went to Arthur's bosom. A' made a finer end—, and went away—after having called out ' God, three or four times '—an it had been any christom child ; a' parted even just between twelve and one, even at the turning o' the tide : for after I saw him fumble with the sheets and play with flowers and smile upon his fingers' ends, I knew there was but one way ; for his nose was as sharp as a pen, and a' babled of green fields." But " They say he cried out of sack," interposes Nym. " Ay, that a' did," replies Dame Quickly. " And of women," adds Bardolph. " Nay, that a' did not," is the hostess' reply. " Yes, that a' did " : enjoins the Boy, " and said they were devils incarnate." " A' could never abide carnation ; 'twas a colour he never liked," is the Dame's rejoinder. " A' said once," insists the boy, that the " devil would have him about women." " A' did in some sort, indeed, handle women," admits the hostess, " but then he was rheumatic, and talked of the whore of Babylon," and the boy gently reminds her that when Falstaff " saw a flea stick upon Bardolph's nose," he said it was a " black soul burning in hell-fire," whereupon Bardolph interposes with the remark that the " fuel that maintained that fire " has passed away, and the conversation is brought to a close by Nym observing : " Shall we shog ? " [move off] ; or the king will have departed from Southampton.

Giving instructions to his wife to look after his house during his absence, and to give no credit : " My love, give me thy lips. Look to my chattels and my moveables : Let senses rule, the word is ' Pitch and pay ',' Pistol exhorts her to " Trust none ; For oaths are straws, men's faiths are wafer-cakes, And hold-fast is the only dog, my duck." Telling her to wipe her eyes : " Go, clear thy crystals," he bids Bardolph and Nym kiss his wife : " Touch her soft mouth, and march," and Bardolph bids the hostess farewell, but Nym declares he " cannot kiss, that is the humour of it ; but adieu." This done, Pistol again enjoins his wife to look after the house during his absence, to keep indoors, and attend to business : " Let housewifery appear : keep close, I thee command," after which taking an affectionate farewell of her, the three companions proceed forthwith to Southampton to join the army *en route* for France.

We are now transferred to France, the fourth scene opening in the French king's palace. Hearing of the projected invasion of France by the English forces, Charles gives orders to the French generals and the Dauphin " with all swift dispatch, To line and new repair our towns of war With men of courage and with means defendant." The Dauphin—although admitting that such preparations are necessary—considers that there is no more danger " than if we heard that England Were busied with a Whitsun morris-dance " : for being " so idly king'd " there is nothing to fear from such a " vain, giddy, shallow, humorous youth " as king Henry. But the Constable of France tells the Dauphin that he is " too much mistaken in the English king," and bids him to " question the late ambassadors " as to the dignity meted out to the French embassy at the English Court, " How well supplied with noble counsellors, How modest in exception, and withal How terrible in constant resolution," and the Dauphin excuses himself by saying that he favours the strengthening of the defences, as it is better to " weigh The enemy more mighty than he seems." On the other hand, the French king, calling to mind the defeat of France at Creçy and Poitiers, where a relative of Henry—Edward the Black Prince—won his spurs, is full of appre-

hension at the projected English invasion, and gives orders for strong forces to be mustered to meet the emergency, for Henry " is bred out of that bloody strain That haunted us in our familiar paths." At this point a messenger enters, and announces :

> Ambassadors from Harry King of England
> Do crave audience to your majesty.

Giving orders for them to be admitted, Charles remarks :

> You see this chase is hotly follow'd, friends,

to which the Dauphin exclaims that the time has come to " Turn head, and stop pursuit ; for coward dogs Most spend their mouths when what they seem to threaten Runs far before them. Good my sovereign, Take up the English short, and let them know Of what a monarchy you are the head." The ambassadors being ushered in, Lord Exeter demands the French king, on pain of war, to surrender to Henry the crown and kingdom of France, which claims he substantiates by handing to Charles the pedigree of Henry, who claims the crown as a descendant of Edward the Third. " Or else what follows ? " asks Charles, and Exeter replies : " Bloody constraint ; for if you hide the crown Even in your hearts, there will he rake for it " ; and proceeds to warn the French king solemnly of the consequences in case of his refusal to meet Henry's demands : " Deliver up the crown, and take mercy On the poor souls for whom this hungry war Opens his vasty jaws." This is " my message," concludes Exeter, unless the Dauphin is present to whom " expressly I bring greeting too." Charles promises to consider the demand, and give an answer on the morrow :

> For us, we will consider of this further :
> To-morrow shall you bear our full intent
> Back to our brother of England.

Asked by the Dauphin what Henry sends to him : " For the Dauphin, I stand here for him : what to him from England ? " and Exeter haughtily replies : " Scorn and defiance ; slight regard, contempt, And any thing that may not misbecome The mighty sender, doth he prize you at," adding, that if his father—Charles—does not grant all Henry's demands, and " Sweeten the bitter mock you sent his majesty," he will " call him to so hot an answer of it, That caves and womby vaultages of France Shall chide your trespass and return your mock In second accent of his ordinance," but the Dauphin replies that he is opposed to his father granting any of Henry's demands, desiring nothing but war with England. Again gravely warning him that he will bitterly regret his jest, for Henry will " make your Paris Louvre shake for it," the ambassadors depart, Exeter requesting the French king to give an answer

> with all speed, lest that our king
> Come here himself to question our delay ;
> For he is footed in this land already,

and Charles replies that they will soon be " dispatch'd with fair conditions " : for " A night is but small breath and little pause To answer matters of this consequence." The scene closes with a flourish of trumpets. Cf. *Extract* 4 from Holinshed.

The *Prologue* or *Chorus* which precedes the third Act describes the crossing over from Southampton of Henry's army ; his landing with thirty thousand men at Caux at the mouth of the River Seine, and his march upon Harfleur. In order, however, to raise the mind of the audience to the highest pitch of imagination, the *Chorus* alludes to the supposition of the return of the ambassadors from the French court, to tell the king of England " that the French king doth offer him Katharine his

daughter ; and with her, to dowry, Some petty and unprofitable dukedoms " : but the proposal is not acceptable to Henry : " the offer likes not," for the " nimble gunner With linstock now the devilish cannon touches." There is an alarum and the discharge of chambers, and " down goes all before them," and another appeal is made to the audience to " Still be kind, And eche out our performance with your mind."

The first scene of the third Act is laid before the walls of Harfleur, which town the English are besieging. A breach having been made in the walls, Henry—in a resolute speech, which shows him a man of courage in the hour of danger—appeals to his soldiers to again assail the breach they have made, or close it up with their dead :

> Once more unto the breach, dear friends, once more,
> Or close the wall up with our English dead.
> . . . . . .
> And you, good yeomen,
> Whose limbs were made in England, show us here
> The mettle of your pasture ; let us swear
> That you are worth your breeding ; which I doubt not ;
> . . . . . .
> The game 's afoot :
> Follow your spirit ; and upon this charge
> Cry, " God for Harry, England, and Saint George ! "

Cf. *Extract* 5 from Holinshed.

We are still before Harfleur in the next scene. It opens with the entry of Nym, Bardolph, Pistol and Boy. Bardolph urges Nym on to the breach :

> On, on, on, on, on ! to the breach, to the
> breach !

but Nym tells him it is " too hot " :

> Pray thee, corporal, stay : the knocks are too
> hot ; and for mine own part, I have not a case of
> lives : the humour of it is too hot, that is the
> very plain-song of it.

This causes Pistol to break out in song :

> Knocks go and come, God's vassals drop and die ;
> And sword and shield,
> In bloody field,
> Doth win immortal fame.

while the boy wishes himself in " some alehouse in London ! " as he " would give all his fame for a pot of ale, and safety," to which Pistol adds : " And I."

Fluellen, a peppery Welsh captain enters in a rage, and attempts to drive the men to the attack :

> Up to the breach, you dogs ! avaunt, you cullions !

but Pistol asks for mercy :

> Be merciful, great duke, to men of mould !
> Abate thy rage, abate thy manly rage ;
> Abate thy rage, great duke !
> Good bawcock, bate thy rage ; use lenity, sweet chuck !

to which Nym adds :

> These be good humours ! your honour wins bad
> humours.

After they have gone, the boy makes comments on them, describing them as "three swashers." "As young as I am, I have observed these three swashers. I am boy to them all three, but all they three, though they would serve me, could not be man to me; for indeed three such antics do not amount to a man." He describes Bardolph as "white-livered and red-faced; by the means whereof a' faces it out, but fights not." Pistol "hath a killing tongue and a quiet sword; by the means whereof a' breaks words, and keeps whole weapons." Nym "scorns to say his prayers, lest a' should be thought a coward: but his few bad words are matched with as few good deeds; for a' never broke any man's head but his own, and that was against a post when he was drunk. Nym and Bardolph are sworn brothers in filching, and in Calais they stole a fire-shovel. All three are rogues, who "would have him as familiar with men's pockets as their gloves or their handkerchers," but their "villany goes against his weak stomach," and therefore he must leave them.

Fluellen, followed by Gower—an English officer—re-enters, and is ordered by the latter to proceed to the siege-mines, as the Duke of Gloucester wishes to speak with him. The Welshman replies that he will not go, as the "mines is not according to the disciplines of the war," but Gower reminds him that the siege is being conducted by the Duke under the direction of a very valiant Irish gentleman, named Macmorris. Fluellen describes Macmorris as "an ass" who has no "more directions in the true disciplines of the wars, . . . than a puppy-dog." At this point, Macmorris enters, accompanied by Captain Jamy, a hot-headed Scotchman, who, according to Fluellen is a "marvellous falorous gentleman, . . . and of great expedition and knowledge in th' aunchient wars, upon my particular knowledge of his directions: by Cheshu, he will maintain his argument as well as any military man in the world, in the disciplines of the pristine wars of the Romans." A colloquy on the "disciplines of the wars" follows, in which the nationality of the captains is evidenced by their oddities of speech. Asked by Gower if he has quitted the mines, the Irishman replies: "By Chrish, la! tish all done: the work ish give over, the trumpet sound the retreat. By my hand, I swear, and my father's soul, the work ish ill done; it ish give over: I would have blowed up the town, so Chrish save me, la! in an hour: O! tish ill done, tish ill done; by my hand, tish ill done." "Captain Macmorris," enjoins the Welshman, "I beseech you now, will you voutsafe me, look you, a few disputations with you, as partly touching or concerning the disciplines of the war, the Roman wars, in the way of argument, look you, and friendly communication; partly to satisfy my opinion, and partly for the satisfaction, look you, of my mind, as touching the direction of the military discipline: that is the point," in which argument, the Scotchman will, with their permission, answer them, or interpose with his ideas, as opportunity affords: "It sall be vary gud, gud feith, gud captains bath: and I sall quit you with gud leve, as I may pick occasion; that sall I, marry," but the Irishman replies that it is not the time to argue, for the "day is hot, and the weather, and the wars, and the dukes: it is no time to discourse." Fluellen is however so persistent in endeavouring to instruct Macmorris in the "true disciplines of the wars," and their argument becomes so heated that they are about to come to blows, when a trumpet in the town sounds a parley:

Gower. The town sounds a parley.
Flu. Captain Macmorris, when there is more better opportunity to be required, look you, I will be so bold as to tell you I know the disciplines of war; and there is an end.

The third scene is enacted before the gates of Harfleur. A parley having been sounded, the Governor of Harfleur and some citizens appear on the walls. In a

resolute speech [III. iii. 1–43] Henry demands the surrender of the city, offering the town mercy if it submits, but threatening in case of refusal, to lay it waste :

> How yet resolves the governor of the town ?
> This is the latest parle we will admit :
> Therefore to our best mercy give yourselves ;
> Or like to men proud of destruction
> Defy us to our worst : for, as I am a soldier,
> A name that in my thoughts becomes me best,
> If I begin the battery once again,
> I will not leave the half-achieved Harfleur
> Till in her ashes she lie buried.
> . . . . . .
> Therefore, you men of Harfleur,
> Take pity of your town and of your people,
> Whiles yet my soldiers are in my command ;
> . . . . . .
> What say you ? will you yield, and this avoid ?
> Or, guilty in defence, be thus destroy'd ?

To this the Governor replies, that, owing to the failure of the Dauphin to come to their relief, they will throw themselves on Henry's mercy :

> Our expectation hath this day an end.
> The Dauphin, whom of succours we entreated,
> Returns us that his powers are yet not ready
> To raise so great a siege. Therefore, great king,
> We yield our town and lives to thy soft mercy.
> Enter our gates ; dispose of us and ours ;
> For we no longer are defensible.

Henry therefore bids that the gates of the city be opened, and orders the Duke of Exeter to enter, and " fortify it strongly 'gainst the French " : and to exercise clemency to the citizens :

> Open your gates ! Come, uncle Exeter,
> Go you and enter Harfleur ; there remain,
> And fortify it strongly 'gainst the French :
> Use mercy to them all.

Henry then announces that after one night's rest in Harfleur he will march for Calais

> For us, dear uncle,
> The winter coming on and sickness growing
> Upon our soldiers, we will retire to Calais.
> To-night in Harfleur will we be your guest ;
> To-morrow for the march are we addrest.

The scene ends as the king and his train enter the town amid a fanfare of trumpets. Cf. *Extract* 6 from Holinshed.

The fourth scene is a Room in the French King's palace at Rouen. It shows us the Princess Katharine, daughter of the French king, taking lessons in English. As the question of a marriage between the king of England and herself has already been mooted in the *Prologue* or *Chorus* to this Act, this scene incidentally prepares us for the conversation between Henry and Katharine in Act V., Scene ii. It opens with Katharine questioning Alice—her maid—who has been in England, as to her knowledge of the English Language : " Alice, tu as esté en Angleterre, et tu parles bien le langage." [Alice, you have been in England, and are familiar with the language.]

On Alice admitting that she has an elementary knowledge of English: "Un peu, madame" [A little, madam,] the princess bids her give her a little instruction: "Je te prie, m'enseignez; il faut que j'apprenne à parler." [I beg you, teach me; I must learn to speak it,] asking the English for 'hand' 'fingers' 'nails' 'arm' 'elbow' 'neck' 'chin.' These she repeats after Alice several times more or less accurately, which makes Alice observe: "Sauf vostre honneur, en vérité, vous prononcez les mots aussi droict que les natifs d'Angleterre" [Pardon me, but truly, you pronounce the words as correctly as the English themselves] to which Katharine replies: "Je ne doute point d'apprendre par la grace de Dieu, et en peu de temps" [I have no doubt at all of being able to learn, by the Grace of God, and in a short time.] "N'avez vous déjà oublié ce que je vous ay enseigné? [Have you not already forgotten what I have taught you?] observes Alice. "Non, je reciteray à vous promptement," [No, I will recite to you promptly] replies Katharine. "De hand, de fingre, de mails,—"De nails, madame," rejoins Alice. "De nails, de arme, de ilbow," commences Katharine, and Alice observes: "Sauf vostre honneur, d'elbow," [Pardon me, the elbow.] "Ainsi dis je"; [So I said] replies Katharine, "d'elbow, de nick, et de sin." Asking the English for "le pied et la robe [the foot and the gown] the princess again recites her lesson all together, which Alice considers "excellent" and the scene closes with Katharine remarking: C'est assez pour une fois: allons nous à diner. [That is enough for now: let's go to dinner.]

We are still in the French King's Palace at Rouen in the next scene. It shows us the French king and his nobles discussing the situation, Charles remarking that "'Tis certain" that the English have already "pass'd the river Somme." The Constable opines that if they do not intend to arrest Henry's march it is better for them not to "live in France," but "quit all, And give their vineyards to a barbarous people." "O Dieu vivant!" [O Living God] exclaims the Dauphin, shall a "few sprays of us . . . Spirt up so suddenly into the clouds" and look down upon them with scorn, while the Duke of Bourbon describes the English as "Normans, but bastard Normans, Norman bastards!" and exclaiming "Mort de ma vie! [Death of my life] declares that if Henry is allowed to march along unmolested he will "sell his dukedom, To buy a slobbery and a dirty farm In that nook-shotten isle of Albion." Exclaiming "Dieu de batailles!" [God of battles] the Constable proceeds to pour ridicule upon Henry and his army, wondering where the English, who live in a "climate raw and dull" and drink "barley broth" get "their mettle from," while the French who are "spirited with wine Seem frosty," to which the Dauphin adds that "their women folk laugh at them," and tell them that their "mettle is bred out," and urges the king to raise an army to intercept the English forces:

Con. O, for honour of our land,
Let us not hang, like roping icicles
Upon our houses' thatch, whiles a more frosty people
Sweat drops of gallant youth in our rich fields!
Poor we may call them in their native lords.
Dau. By faith and honour,
Our madams mock at us, and plainly say
Our mettle is bred out; and they will give
Their bodies to the lust of English youth
To new-store France with bastard warriors.

Encouraged by these remarks, Charles bids Montjoy, the French Herald carry to Henry a challenge:

Where is Montjoy the herald? speed him hence:
Let him greet England with our sharp defiance,

afterwards ordering " High dukes, great princes, barons, lords, and knights " to intercept Henry in his passage to Calais, and bring him a prisoner to Rouen :

> Bar Harry England, that sweeps through our land
> With pennons painted in the blood of Harfleur :
> . . . . . .
> Go down upon him, you have power enough,
> And in a captive chariot into Roan
> Bring him our prisoner.

Elated at the French king's exhortation, the Constable remarks that he is sorry Henry's " numbers are so few, His soldiers sick and famish'd in their march," that on seeing such a large French force his courage will fail him, and he will offer to pay a large sum as a ransom :

> Sorry am I his numbers are so few,
> His soldiers sick and famish'd in their march,
> For I am sure when he shall see our army
> He 'll drop his heart into the sink of fear,
> And for achievement offer us his ransom.

Charles therefore bids the Constable hasten on the French Herald and ask the English king what ransom he is prepared to offer, and then turning to the Dauphin orders him to remain at Rouen :

> Therefore, lord constable, haste on Montjoy,
> And let him say to England that we send
> To know what willing ransom he will give.
> Prince Dauphin, you shall stay with us in Roan,

" Not so, I do beseech your majesty," rejoins the Dauphin, but the king insists upon his staying at home, and then turning to his nobles, charges the " lord constable and princes all," to " quickly bring him news of Henry's defeat. Cf. *Extract* 7 from Holinshed.

The sixth scene shows us the English Camp in Picardy. Henry, as intimated at the end of Act III., Scene iii., pressed on towards Calais, which at this time was an English fortified town, and arriving at the river Somme found the fords in the possession of the enemy, who had broken down the bridges. Marching along the river, an unguarded spot was discovered at Nesle, and Henry, flinging his army rapidly across the stream, marched to Blangy, beyond which was the village of Agincourt, where a French army, estimated at 50,000 strong, was encamped to intercept the English forces. At Blangy the French offered a fierce resistance, but being driven back the English forces took charge of the bridge over the river Ternoise until the remainder of the army had crossed.

The scene opens with the entry of Gower and Fluellen who are loud in praise of the Duke of Exeter for his bravery in guarding the bridge over the river Ternoise at Blangy, Fluellen describing the Duke as " magnanimous as Agamemnon." With the Duke was Pistol, whom Fluellen refers to as " valiant a man as Mark Antony," and yet " a man of no estimation in the world." At this point Pistol enters, and appeals to Fluellen to use his influence with the Duke of Exeter to pardon Bardolph, who has been condemned to be hanged for stealing a pax from a church :

> Bardolph, a soldier firm and sound of heart,
> And of buxom valour, hath, by cruel fate
> And giddy Fortune's furious fickle wheel,
> That goddess blind,
> That stands upon the rolling restless stone—
> . . . . . .

For he hath stol'n a pax, and hanged must a' be.
A damned death!
Let gallows gape for dog, let man go free
And let not hemp his wind-pipe suffocate.
But Exeter hath given the doom of death
For pax of little price.
Therefore, go speak; the duke will hear thy voice;
And let not Bardolph's vital thread be cut
With edge of penny cord and vile reproach:
Speak, captain, for his life, and I will thee requite.

but Fluellen will not listen to any meddling with military discipline, and remarks: "If he were my brother, I would desire the duke to use his good pleasure and put him to execution; for discipline ought to be used," to which Pistol—in a violent temper—replies: "Die and be damn'd; and figo for thy friendship!" and forthwith departs. Having gone, Gower tells Fluellen that Pistol is "an arrant counterfeit rascal: . . . a bawd, a cut-purse, . . . a gull, a fool, a rogue, that now and then goes to the wars to grace himself at his return into London under the form of a soldier," for such fellows make themselves intimately acquainted with the names of the great generals, and learn off by heart where great deeds were performed, who were shot and disgraced, and are well conversant in all the "phrase of war, which they trick up with new-tuned oaths."

A drum sounds, heralding the approach of the king, who on entering enquires the news "from the bridge," only to learn that Exeter "very gallantly maintains the pridge," and "hath lost never a man but one that is like to be executed for robbing a church; one Bardolph, if your majesty know the man: his face is all bubukles, and whelks, and knobs, and flames o' fire; and his lips blows at his nose, and it is like a coal of fire, sometimes plue and sometimes red; but his nose is executed, and his fire 's out." Henry who had given orders that the villages were not to be plundered, approves of the punishment meted out to Bardolph, and repeats his order to treat the inhabitants with consideration, and to take nothing but that for which they pay, "for when lenity and cruelty play for a kingdom, the gentler gamester is the soonest winner."

A tucket sounds, announcing the arrival of Montjoy, the French herald. "You know me by my habit," remarks Montjoy as he enters. "Well then I know thee: what shall I know of thee?" rejoins Henry. "My master's mind," replies Montjoy. "Unfold it," whereupon Montjoy delivers the French king's message:

> "Thus says my king: Say thou to Harry of England: Though we seemed dead, we did but sleep: advantage is a better soldier than rashness. Tell him we could have rebuked him at Harfleur, but that we thought not good to bruise an injury till it were full ripe: now we speak upon our cue, and our voice is imperial: England shall repent his folly, see his weakness, and admire our sufferance. Bid him therefore consider of his ransom: which must proportion the losses we have borne, the subjects we have lost, the disgrace we have digested; which in weight to re-answer, his pettiness would bow under."

"What is thy name?" asks Henry, "I know thy quality." "Montjoy," replies the herald. "Thou doest thy office fairly," remarks Henry, but "Turn thee back, And tell thy king I do not seek him now, But could be willing to march on to Calais Without impeachment"; for I have no ransom to offer by my "frail and worthless trunk." Giving the herald a reward "for his labour" Henry—although his army is weakened on account of sickness—warns him that if he is hindered in his march to Calais he will dye the soil of France with French blood: "If we be hinder'd, We shall your tawny ground with your red blood Discolour." "I hope they will not come

upon us now," remarks the Duke of Gloucester after Montjoy has departed, to which Henry replies they are in the hands of God and will march to the bridge and camp beyond the river :

> We are in God's hands, brother, not in theirs.
> March to the bridge ; it now draws toward night :
> Beyond the river we 'll encamp ourselves,
> And on to-morrow bid them march away.

Cf. *Extract* 8 from Holinshed.

The final scene of this Act is descriptive of the French Camp near Agincourt on the eve of the battle, where we see the Constable of France, the Dauphin and other nobles bragging in anticipation of victory over the English forces. The Constable prides himself that he has the " best armour in the world," and longs for the breaking of the day, while the Duke of Orleans, although agreeing that the Constable has an " excellent armour " considers that his " horse should have his due," adding " Will it never be morning ? " On the other hand, the Dauphin who bewails the length of the night, thinks that his steed outrivals those of the other nobles : " I will not change my horse " he remarks, " with any that treads but on four pasterns. . . . When I bestride him, I soar, I am a hawk : he trots the air ; the earth sings when he touches it ; the basest horn of his hoof is more musical than the pipe of Hermes. . . . It is a beast for Perseus : he is pure air and fire ; and the dull elements of earth and water never appear in him, . . . he is indeed a horse : and all other jades you may call beasts," boasting that he " once writ a sonnet in his praise and began thus : ' Wonder of nature,' "—So confident is the Dauphin of victory that he brags he will " trot to-morrow a mile, and his way will be paved with English faces," after which he departs, exclaiming : " 'Tis midnight : I 'll go arm myself." After he has gone, Orleans remarks : " The Dauphin longs for morning," to which Rambures adds : " He longs to eat the English," but the Constable, who has no faith in the Dauphin, observes that " he will eat all the English he kills," but Orleans tells him to " Give the devil his due," only to receive the answer that " A fool's bolt is soon shot." A messenger enters with the news that the " English lie within fifteen hundred paces of the French tents." " Alas ! poor Harry of England, he longs not for the dawning as we do," is the Constable's remark, " If the English had any apprehension, they would run away," while Orleans describes Henry as a " wretched and peevish fellow, to mope with his fat-brained followers so far out of his knowledge," but Rambures reminds them that the English are an indomitable breed who never run away, and like mastiffs, are of unmatchable courage. They are " Foolish curs ! " observes Orleans, " that run winking into the mouth of a Russian bear and have their heads crushed like rotten apples. You may as well say that's a valiant flea that dare eat his breakfast on the lip of a lion," to which the Constable rejoins : " Exactly ! give them great meals of beef and iron and steel, and they will eat like wolves and fight like devils," and the nobles depart with a self-confidence that the " English are shrewdly out of beef," and the scene closes with Orleans observing :

> It is now two o'clock : but, let me see, by ten
> We shall have each a hundred Englishmen.

Cf. *Extract* 9 from Holinshed.

The *Prologue* or *Chorus* to Act IV describes the night before the great battle. The two armies are lying fifteen hundred paces apart. Through the stilly night the hum of either army makes a low sound ; the fixed sentinels receive in a whisper their commands ; from the glow of the camp-fires each army can discern the other's

'aces ; the neighing of the horses pierce the night's dull air ; the busy hammers of :he armourers denote the " dreadful note of preparation " ; while the " crowing :ocks " and the " tolling of the clocks " announce the " third hour of the drowsy morning " :

> From camp to camp through the foul womb of night
> The hum of either army stilly sounds,
> That the fix'd sentinels almost receive
> The secret whispers of each other's watch :
> Fire answers fire, and through their paly flames
> Each battle sees the other's umber'd face ;
> Steed threatens steed, in high and boastful neighs
> Piercing the night's dull air ; and from the tents
> The armourers, accomplishing the knights,
> With busy hammers closing rivets up,
> Give dreadful note of preparation.

The French—so confident are they of victory—play at dice for the English prisoners :

> Proud of their numbers, and secure in soul,
> The confident and over-lusty French
> Do the low-rated English play at dice ;

The English sit patiently by their watch-fires, and sadly await the dawn of day, while Henry goes round the tents, his presence filling his men with courage :

> O ! now, who will be-
> hold
> The royal captain of this ruin'd band
> Walking from watch to watch, from tent to tent,
> Let him cry " Praise and glory on his head ! "
> For forth he goes and visits all his host,
> Bids them good-morrow with a modest smile,
> And calls them brothers, friends and country-
> men.

The ' Chorus ' closes with another apology for attempting to represent on the stage the great battle :

> Where, O for pity ! we shall much disgrace
> With four or five most vile and ragged foils,
> Right ill-dispos'd in brawl ridiculous,
> The name of Agincourt,

and another appeal to the imagination of the audience to

> sit and see ;
> Minding true things by what their mockeries be.

Cf. *Extract* 10 from Holinshed.

Scene one opens in the English camp at Agincourt, and is a striking contrast to the arrogance and bragging of the French as portrayed in Act III., Scene vii. Henry, apprehensive of his army's peril confesses that they are in great danger, but the greater the danger the greater must be their courage. Meeting Sir Thomas Erpingham—an old soldier—Henry addresses him : " Good morrow, old Sir Thomas Erpingham : A good soft pillow for that good white head Were better than a churlish turf of France," to which Erpingham replies : " Not so, my liege : this lodging likes me better, Since I may say ' Now lie I like a king.' " Borrowing of Erpingham an old cloak to disguise himself, Erpingham asks whether he shall attend on him, but Henry refuses his company, remarking : " I and my bosom must debate awhile." " The Lord in heaven bless thee, noble Harry ! " is Erpingham's remark as the king

departs, who mutters to himself "God-a-mercy, old heart! thou speak'st cheerfully." In disguise Henry sallies forth in the camp, and immediately encounters Pistol, who, not recognising the king, challenges him: "Qui va là?" [Who goes there?] demands Pistol. "A friend," replies Henry. "Discuss unto me; art thou officer? Or art thou base, common and popular?" "I am a gentleman of a company," replies the king, and "What art you?" "As good a gentleman as the emperor," answers Pistol. "Then you are a better than the king," adds Henry, to which Pistol makes the insulting remark: "The king 's a bawcock, and a heart of gold, A lad of life, an imp of fame; Of parents good, of fist most valiant: I kiss his dirty shoe, and from heart-string I love the lovely bully. What is thy name?" "Harry le Roy," is the reply. "Le Roy! a Cornish name: art thou of Cornish crew?" enquires Pistol. "No, I am a Welshman," replies Henry. "Know'st thou Fluellen." "Yes." Then "Tell him I 'll knock his leek about his pate Upon Saint Davy's day." "Do not you wear your dagger in your cap that day, lest he knock that about yours," is Henry's rejoinder. A moment later Fluellen and Gower pass across the scene, the former remarking, in reply to Gower, who mentions how "very loud the enemy have been all night," that "If the enemy is an ass and a fool and a prating coxcomb," there is no need for the English to copy their example, and Gower, in whom Henry confesses there is much "care and valour" although it may be a "little out of fashion", promises to "speak lower." They are followed by three soldiers—Bates, Court and Williams. Court draws attention to the dawn which is just breaking, Bates opines that they have "no desire for the approach of day," while Williams expresses his opinion that "they will not live to see the end of it." On seeing the king, Williams challenges him, demanding to know under what captain he serves. "Under Sir Thomas Erpingham," is Henry's reply, to which Williams makes answer: "A good old commander and a most kind gentleman." The three soldiers then engage in conversation with the king. Bates deplores the critical position of the English army, and although Henry "may show what outward courage he will," he believes "cold a night as 'tis, he could wish himself in Thames up to the neck, and so I would he were, and I by him, at all adventures, so we were quit here," yet he is determined to fight lustily for him, while Williams speaks of the king's responsibilities for the suffering of his troops, whose orders compel them to fight in quarrels with which they are not concerned, at the same time they feel bound to obey their rightful sovereign. "I myself heard the king say he would not be ransomed," remarks Henry, to which Williams answers: "Ay, he said so, to make us fight cheerfully," and when "our throats are cut he may be ransomed, and we ne'er the wiser." This leads to sharp words between Henry and Williams, and on the latter remarking: "Let it be a quarrel between us, if you live," Henry accepts a challenge from Williams to fight it out should they survive the battle, each agreeing to wear in his bonnet his adversary's glove so that when they met again they would recognise each other. "If ever thou come to me and say after to-morrow, 'This is my glove,' by this hand I will take thee a box on the ear," says Williams, to which Henry replies: "If ever I live to see it, I will challenge it."

The soldiers having gone, Henry soliloquises on the worthlessness of "idol ceremony" with all its pomp and glory which surround a monarch, ceremony which when "laid in bed majestical, cannot sleep so soundly as the wretched slave." [*See* IV. i. 236–290.] This soliloquy—which is considered one of the most striking passages in the play—ending as it does with the words:

> but in gross brain little wots
> What watch the king keeps to maintain the peace,
> Whose hours the peasant best advantages,

is a paraphrase on the well-known and often-quoted passage: "Then happy low, lie down! Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown," the concluding lines of the soliloquy uttered by Henry IV. in the *Second Part of King Henry the Fourth*, III. i. 4–31. This soliloquy is interrupted by the entry of Sir Thomas Erpingham, who tells the king that his nobles being "jealous of his absence" are seeking him throughout the camp. Henry therefore bids the "good old knight" collect them all together at his tent, and all being assembled, Henry in a fervent prayer prays that the "God of Battles will steel his soldiers' hearts," that they will not be possessed with fear on account of the overwhelming numbers against them:

> O God of battles! steel my soldiers' hearts;
> Possess them not with fear; take from them now
> The sense of reckoning, if the opposed numbers
> Pluck their hearts from them,

and contemplating that divine retribution must be exacted for the wrongful deposition of Richard the Second by his father Henry the Fourth, beseeches heaven not to visit upon him the sin by which his father "compassed the crown":

> Not to-day, O Lord!
> O! not to-day, think not upon the fault
> My father made in compassing the crown,

for "Richard's body I have interred new," and wept over it many contrite tears "Than from it issued forced drops of blood. Five hundred poor I have in yearly pay, Who twice a day their wither'd hands hold up Toward heaven, to pardon blood"; and "More will I do; Though all that I can do is nothing worth, Since that my penitence comes after all, Imploring pardon."

Gloucester enters. "My liege!" he exclaims, to which Henry rejoins: "My brother Gloucester's voice! Ay"; and remarking:

> I know thy errand, I will go with thee:
> The day, my friends, and all things stay for me,

the royal brothers quit the scene. Cf. *Extract* 10 from Holinshed.

We are back again in the French camp in scene two. It opens with the Duke of Orleans and the Dauphin again boasting of their armour and horses:

Orl. The sun doth gild our armour; up, my lords!
Dau. Montez à cheval! [Mount on horseback!] My horse! valet! lacquais! [lackey], ha!
Orl. O brave spirit!
Dau. Via! les eaux et la terre! [Away! water and earth!]
Orl. Rien puis? l'air et le feu! [Nothing more? Air and fire!]
Dau. Ciel! [Heaven!] cousin Orleans.

On the entry of the Constable who remarks: "Hark, how our steeds for present service neigh!" the Dauphin—who is in a state of excitement—suggests that they make "incisions" in the hides of their horses so that they can sprinkle the English with their hot blood, but Rambures asks him whether he would have the English weep their horses' blood?" in which case the French would not behold the "natural tears" of the English.

A messenger enters with the news that the English forces are "embattail'd" and the Constable, after exclaiming, "To horse, you gallant princes! straight to horse!" describes the English as a "poor and starved band," not having sufficient "blood in all their sickly veins," to wield a cutlass, and that "if blown upon, The vapour of

their (French) valour would o'erturn them," adding that the approach of the French forces would so frighten them that they would surrender. The Constable's speech is interrupted by the entry of Grandpré, who after enquiring " why they stay so long," contemptuously refers to the English army as " Yon island carrions," whose " steeds stand with drooped heads," and their " horsemen sit like fixed candlesticks, With torch-staves in their hand," while " knavish crows," hover impatiently over them only waiting to pick their bones. To this the Constable adds that the English " have said their prayers," and only " wait for death," while the Dauphin—so sure is he of victory—suggests that they send them " dinners and fresh suits of armour, And give their fasting horses provender," and " after fight with them." But the Constable, waving his hand in triumph, gives the order " On to the field ! " for :

> The sun is high, and we outwear the day.

Cf. *Extract* 11 from Holinshed.

We return to the English camp in the third scene. The king, in order to infuse valour and courage into his army, rides forth into the camp, and inspires them with his own courage. The English lords, apprehensive of the overwhelming force against them, realise that a determined stand will have to be made to secure victory, the French army being estimated to be five times greater than the English army. " There 's five to one ; besides, they all are fresh," is Exeter's comment. " God's arm strike with us ! " exclaims the Earl of Salisbury, " 'tis a fearful odds." Not expecting to survive the battle they take solemn farewell of one another :

> God be wi' you, princes all ; I 'll to my charge :
> If we no more meet till we meet in heaven,
> Then, joyfully, my noble Lord of Bedford,
> My dear Lord Gloucester, and my good Lord Exeter,
> And my kind kinsman, warriors all, adieu !

" Farewell, good Salisbury ; and good luck go with thee ! " is Bedford's reply, to which Exeter adds : " Farewell, kind lord. Fight valiantly to-day " :

> And yet I do thee wrong to mind thee of it,
> For thou art fram'd of the firm truth of valour.

On the departure of Salisbury, Westmoreland exclaims : " O ! that we now had here But one ten thousand of those men in England That do no work to-day," just as the king appears. " What 's he that wishes so ? " asks Henry. " I would not have one man more," for if we are to die " we are enow To do our country's loss " ; but should we prove victorious, the " fewer men, the greater share of honour. God's will ! I pray thee, wish not one man more." Exclaiming again :

> No, faith, my coz, wish not a man from England :
> ' God's peace ! ' I would not lose so great an honour
> As one man more, methinks, would share with me,
> For the best hope I have. O ! do not wish one more :

Henry orders it to be proclaimed through the camp that all who are afraid to fight can return home with their passport and their pay :

> Rather proclaim it, Westmoreland, through my host,
> That he which hath no stomach to this fight,
> Let him depart ; his passport shall be made,
> And crowns for convoy put into his purse :

proudly declaring that

> We would not die in that man's company
> That fears his fellowship to die with us.
> This day is call'd the feast of Crispian :
> He that outlives this day, and comes safe home,
> Will stand a tip-toe when this day is nam'd,
> And rouse him at the name of Crispian,

adding, that in generations to come, Englishmen would speak with pride of this encounter, and that their names would become " household words " :

> Then shall our names,
> Familiar in his mouth as household words,
> Harry the king, Bedford and Exeter,
> Warwick and Talbot, Salisbury and Gloucester,
> Be in their flowing cups freshly remember'd.
> This story shall the good man teach his son ;
> And Crispin Crispian shall ne'er go by,
> From this day to the ending of the world,
> But we in it shall be remembered ;
> We few, we happy few, we band of brothers ;
> For he to-day that sheds his blood with me
> Shall be my brother ; be he ne'er so vile
> This day shall gentle his condition :
> And gentlemen in England now a-bed
> Shall think themselves accurs'd they were not here,
> And hold their manhoods cheap whiles any speaks
> That fought with us upon Saint Crispin's day.

This speech of the king's, which so aroused the enthusiasm of his army, [*see* IV. iii. 18–67] is considered to be one of the most inspiring and intrepid exhortations in the English language, breathing as it does the spirit of comradeship, and gives the key-note as to why the English forces in France routed an army so many times their superior in point of numbers.

Salisbury re-enters, and announces that the French are " bravely in their battles set," and are ready to charge. " All things are ready, if our minds be so," rejoins Henry, whereupon Westmoreland expresses the hope that every man whose " mind is backward " will perish. " Thou dost not wish more help from England, coz ? " is Henry's query, and Westmoreland—upon whom the king's words have made a deep impression—wishes it were possible for " he and the king alone, Without more help, could fight this royal battle ! " Henry is greatly pleased with the words of Westmoreland :

> Why, now thou hast unwish'd five thousand men ;
> Which likes me better than to wish us one.
> You know your places : God be with you all !

Almost immediately a Tucket sounds, and Montjoy the French herald re-appears, to give Henry another chance of ransom :

> Once more I come to know of thee, King Harry,
> If for thy ransom thou wilt now compound,
> Before thy most assured overthrow :
> For certainly thou art so near the gulf
> Thou needs must be englutted. Besides, in mercy,
> The constable desires thee thou wilt mind
> Thy followers of repentance ; that their souls
> May make a peaceful and a sweet retire
> From off these fields, where, wretches, their poor
> bodies
> Must lie and fester.

" Who hath sent thee now ? " demands Henry, and being told " The Constable of France," Henry, in a dignified speech [*see* IV. iii. 90–125], which again shows him to be a man of courage in the hour of danger, again rejects the terms, and reminds the herald of the man who was killed by the beast whose skin he sold while the beast was still alive :

> I pray thee, bear my former answer back :
> Bid them achieve me and then sell my bones.
> Good God ! why should they mock poor fellows thus ?
> The man that once did sell the lion's skin
> While the beast liv'd, was kill'd with hunting him.
> . . . . . .
> Herald, save thou thy labour,
> Come thou no more for ransom, gentle herald :
> They shall have none, I swear, but these my joints ;
> Which if they have as I will leave 'em them,
> Shall yield them little, tell the constable.

" I shall, King Harry. And so fare thee well : Thou never shalt hear herald any more," is the herald's reply, only to receive from Henry the apt and prophetic retort : " I fear thou wilt once more come again for a ransom."

The Duke of York—called in *Richard the Second*, Aumerle—now enters, and " humbly begs " to lead the vanguard :

> My lord, most humbly on my knee I beg
> The leading of the vaward,

a request which is readily granted by Henry : " Take it, brave York," and again commending the battle to God, the king gives orders for the English army to advance :

> Now, soldiers, march away :
> And how thou pleasest, God, dispose the day !

Cf. *Extracts* 12 and 13 from Holinshed.

Scenes four, five and six are descriptive of the great battle of Agincourt, fought on the 25th of October, 1415, when the French army, estimated at 50,000 strong, was utterly defeated by the English forces, numbering approximately 9,000.

Scene four opens with Pistol taking captive a French soldier. " Yield, cur ! " demands Pistol, to which the French soldier remarks : " Je pense que vous estes gentilhomme de bonne qualité," [I think you are a gentleman of good quality] and Pistol being under the impression that the Frenchman himself is a man of rank, demands his name and quality : " Qualtitie calmie custure me ! [Quality call you me ?] Art thou a gentleman ? What is thy name ? discuss." The French soldier asks for mercy : " O, prenez misericorde ! ayez pitié de moy ! " [Oh, take pity ! Have pity on me !] and Pistol—who is not familiar with the French language—answers : " Moy shall not serve ; I will have forty moys ; Or I will fetch thy rim out of thy throat In drops of crimson blood. " Est il impossible d'eschapper la force de ton bras ? [Is it impossible to escape the power of your arm ?] asks the cowardly Frenchman, and Pistol retorts : " Brass, cur ! Thou damned and luxurious mountain goat, Offer'st me brass ? Upon the Frenchman again pleading for mercy, Pistol instructs the boy—who acts as interpreter—to ask this " slave in French " what his name is, and on the boy replying : " Master Fer," Pistol retorts : " Master Fer ! I 'll fer him, and firk him, and ferret him. Bid him prepare, for I will cut his throat. Que dit-il, monsieur ? [What does he say, sir ?] inquires the Frenchman, and the boy tells him that Pistol intends to cut his throat : " Il me commande à vous dire que vous faites

vous prest ; car ce soldat icy est disposé tout à cette heure de couper vostre gorge," [He commands me to tell you to make ready, for this soldier is disposed to cut your throat immediately.] The French soldier again pleads for mercy, promising a ransom of two hundred crowns : " O ! ye vous supplie pour l'amour de Dieu, me pardonner. Je suis gentilhomme de bonne maison : gardez ma vie, et je vous donneray deux cents escus. [Oh, I beg of you, for the love of God, to pardon me. I am a gentleman of good family, Spare my life, and I will give you two hundred crowns.] The matter being settled : " Tell him my fury shall abate, and I The crowns will take," the Frenchman in gratitude replies : " Sur mes genoux je vous donne mille remerciemens ; et je m'estime heureux que je suis tombé entre les mains d'un chevalier, je pense, le plus brave, vaillant, et tres-distingué seigneur d'Angleterre." [On my knee I give you thousand thanks, and I feel myself happy in the thought that I have fallen in the hands of a knight whom I regard as the most bravest, the most valiant, and the most distinguished nobleman of England,] and the boy orders the Frenchman to " Suivez vous le grand capitaine," [Follow the great captain.] Pistol and the French soldier having taken their departure, the boy soliloquises that he never did " know so full a voice issue from so empty a heart : but the saying is true, ' The empty vessel makes the greatest sound.' Bardolph and Nym had ten times more valour than this roaring devil i' the old play, that every one may pare his nails with a wooden dagger ; and they are both hanged ; and so would this be if he durst steal any thing adventurously," and expresses his regret that as the baggage in the English camp is in an exposed condition he must remain to guard it : " I must stay with the lackeys, with the luggage of our camp : the French might have a good prey of us if he knew of it ; for there is none to guard it but boys."

We are in another part of the battlefield in scene five, where we find the Constable of France, the Dauphin and other French lords assembled. The French ranks have been thrown into hopeless disorder, and all is consternation. " O seigneur ! le jour est perdu ! tout est perdu ! " [Oh Lord ! the day is lost, all is lost] exclaims the Duke of Orleans, while the Dauphin suggests—when the Constable admits that all the French ranks are broken—that they " stab themselves " for are these the " wretches that we play'd at dice for ? " In spite of their heavy losses, however, the French still outnumber the English forces, and the Duke of Bourbon suggests that they all rush back into the fray, for there is nothing left but to die fighting :

> Shame, and eternal shame, nothing but shame !
> Let us die in honour : once more back again ;

" We are enow yet living in the field To smother up the English in our throngs, If any order might be thought upon," is Orleans' answer, but so great is the confusion in the French ranks, that no attempt at a rally is made, and in desperation, Bourbon exclaims :

> The devil take order now ! I 'll to the throng :
> Let life be short, else shame will be too long.

In scene six we are in another part of the battlefield. There are alarums, amid which Henry and Exeter with their respective forces enter. Henry pays a tribute to the bravery of his troops : " Well have we done, thrice-valiant countrymen " : but " all 's not done " ; for the French still hold the field. Enquiring for the Duke of York who three times within an hour had been struck down, and who from helmet to spur was covered with blood when last seen by the king, Exeter, with tears rolling down his cheeks announces the death of York, as well as the " noble Earl of Suffolk." He relates that " Suffolk first died," and York, all " haggled over " took his comrade

by the " beard " and " kiss'd the gashes that bloodily did yawn upon his face," after which York cried aloud :

> Tarry, dear cousin Suffolk !
> My soul shall thine keep company to heaven ;
> Tarry, sweet soul, for mine, then fly abreast,
> As in this glorious and well-foughten field
> We kept together in our chivalry !

and then with a smile upon his face, he took Exeter by the hand, and with a feeble shake charged him to " commend his service to his sovereign," after which he threw his arms round Suffolk's neck, and kissing his lips the brave warrior passed away :

> So did he turn, and over Suffolk's neck,
> He threw his wounded arm, and kiss'd his lips ;
> And so espous'd to death, with blood he seal'd
> A testament of noble-ending love.
> The pretty and sweet manner of it forc'd
> Those waters from me which I would have stopp'd ;
> But I had not so much of man in me,
> And all my mother came into mine eyes
> And gave me up to tears.

The king is deeply affected by the news. There is an alarum, the French are rallying for a further attack, and Henry, in order that all his soldiers can be at liberty to fight, gives the stern order that all prisoners must be slain :

> The French have reinforc'd their scatter'd men :
> Then every soldier kill his prisoners !
> Give the word through.

Cf. *Extract* 14 from Holinshed.

Scenes seven and eight conclude the day of the great battle.

In scene seven we are again introduced to Fluellen and Gower. Fluellen is enraged with the French for having slain the boys in charge of the baggage : " Kill the poys and the luggage ! 'tis expressly against the law of arms : 'tis an arrant a piece of knavery, mark you now, as can be offer't in your conscience now, is it not ? " while Gower approves the king's action in ordering the killing of the prisoners : " 'Tis certain there 's not a boy left alive ; and the cowardly rascals that ran from the battle ha' done this slaughter : besides, they have burned and carried away all that was in the king's tent ; wherefore the king most worthily hath caused every soldier to cut his prisoner's throat. O ! 'tis a gallant king." This pleases Fluellen, who claims Henry—who was born at Monmouth castle—as his countryman : " Ay, he was porn at Monmouth, Captain Gower," and then attempts to prove a semblance between Henry and Alexander the Great : " What call you the town's name where Alexander the Pig was born ? " " I think Alexander the Great was born in Macedon : his father was called Philip of Macedon, as I take it," replies Gower. " I think it is in Macedon where Alexander is porn," retorts Fluellen, " I tell you, captain, if you look in the maps of the 'orld, I warrant you sall find, in the comparisons between Macedon and Monmouth, that the situations, look you, is both alike. There is a river in Macedon, and there is also moreover a river at Monmouth : it is called Wye at Monmouth ; but it is out of my prains what is the name of the other river ; but 'tis all one, 'tis alike as my fingers, is to my fingers, and there is salmons in both. If you mark Alexander's life well, Harry of Monmouth's life is come after it indifferent well ; for there is figures in all things. Alexander, God knows, and you know, in his rages, and his furies, and his wraths, and his cholers, and his moods, and his displeasures,

and his indignations, and also being a little intoxicates in his prains, did, in his ales and his angers, look you, kill his best friend, Cleitus." To this Gower takes exception : " Our king is not like him in that : he never killed any of his friends," and Fluellen tells him he should not interrupt until he has finished his tale, and goes on to explain that whereas Alexander during a drunken passion, killed Cleitus, Henry " being in his right wits and his good judgments, turned away the fat knight with the great-belly doublet : he was full of jests, and gipes, and knaveries, and mocks ; I have forgot his name." " Sir John Falstaff," adds Gower. " That is he," replies Fluellen. " I 'll tell you there is good men porn at Monmouth."

At this point Henry enters. He is in angry mood with a body of Frenchmen on an adjoining hill who will neither fight nor fly : " I was not angry since I came to France Until this instant. Take a trumpet, herald ; Ride thou unto the horsemen on yon hill : If they will fight with us, bid them come down, Or void the field ; they do offend our sight. If they 'll do neither, we will come to them, And make them skirr away, as swift as stones Enforced from the old Assyrian slings. Besides, we 'll cut the throats of those we have, And not a man of them that we shall take Shall taste our mercy. Go and tell them so."

Montjoy, the French herald now appears, Gloucester remarking as he enters that his " eyes are humbler " than they were when he last appeared. Asked his errand, Montjoy asks permission to collect and bury the French dead ; to sort the " nobles from our common men " ; and to succour the wounded :

> *K. Hen.* How now ? what means this, herald ? know'st thou
> not
> That I have fin'd these bones of mine for ransom ?
> Com'st thou again for ransom ?
> *Mont.* No great king :
> I come to thee for charitable license,
> That we may wander o'er this bloody field
> To book our dead, and then to bury them ;
> . . . . . .
> O ! give us leave, great king,
> To view the field in safety and dispose
> Of their dead bodies.

Professing to be ignorant as to who has won the battle Henry remarks :

> I tell thee, truly, herald,
> I know not if the day be ours or no ;

and is assured by the French herald that the English have been victorious : " The day is yours." " Praised be God, and not our strength, for it ! " exclaims the king. " What is this castle call'd that stands hard by ? " asks Henry, and being told by Montjoy " They call it Agincourt " Henry declares that the battle shall be called by that name :

> Then call we this the field of Agincourt,
> Fought on the day of Crispin Crispianus.

Fluellen takes the opportunity of reminding Henry that his " grandfather of famous memory " and his " great-uncle Edward the Plack Prince of Wales, fought a most prave pattle here in France," to which Henry interposes : " They did, Fluellen," where the " Welshmen," continues Fluellen, " did good service in a garden where leeks did grow, wearing leeks in their Monmouth caps ; which, your majesty know, to this hour is an honourable badge of the service ; and I do believe your majesty takes no scorn to wear the leek upon Saint Tavy's day." " I wear it for a memorable honour ; For I am Welsh, you know, good countryman," at which the Welshman is

highly pleased, adding : " I am your majesty's countryman, I care not who know it ; I will confess it to all the 'orld : I need not to be ashamed of your majesty, praised be God, so long as your majesty is an honest man." " God keep me so ! " is Henry's pious answer. After ordering his heralds to accompany Montjoy to ascertain the number of the slain, Henry's eyes fall upon Williams, and he asks him why he wears a glove in his cap ? Williams replies that it is the gage of a " rascal that swaggered with him last night," who, if alive, he had " sworn to give a box on his ear." Turning to Fluellen the king enquires if " it is fit for this soldier to keep his oath," and Fluellen having given his opinion that it is quite in order, Henry remarks that the glove may belong to a " gentleman of great sort, quite from the answer of his degree," and bids Williams to go and call his commander, Captain Gower. Williams having gone, Henry hands Williams' glove to Fluellen, bidding him to " wear thou this favour for me and stick it in thy cap," claiming to have plucked it from the helm of Alençon during the battle, and tells Fluellen that if any man challenge him he is a " friend to Alençon, and an enemy to our person," and he must apprehend him. Fluellen considers it a great honour : " Your grace doo's me as great honours as can be desired in the hearts of his subjects " : and placing the gage in his cap, departs. Fearing that the glove may obtain for Fluellen a box on the ear, and wishing no harm to result from what is merely a joke, the king commands the Lords Warwick and Gloucester to " Follow Fluellen closely at the heels," for knowing Fluellen to be " valiant, And touch'd with choler, hot as gunpowder," he fears some " sudden mischief may arise of it " ; for the glove which he had given the Welshman for a favour belongs to Williams, and he (Henry) by " bargain should Wear it himself."

> My Lord of Warwick, and my brother Gloucester,
> Follow Fluellen closely at the heels,
> The glove which I have given him for a favour
> May haply purchase him a box o' th' ear ;
> It is the soldier's ; I by bargain should
> Wear it myself. Follow, good cousin Warwick :
> If that the soldier strike him, as I judge
> By his blunt bearing he will keep his word,
> Some sudden mischief may arise of it ;
> For I do know Fluellen valiant,
> And touch'd with choler, hot as gunpowder,
> And quickly will return an injury :
> Follow and see there be no harm between them.

Scene eight opens before King Henry's Pavilion. Gower and Williams appear and Williams tells Gower of the king's summons, adding : " I warrant it is to knight you, captain. At this moment, Fluellen, wearing the glove in his cap, enters, and is forthwith challenged by Williams : " Sir, know you this glove ? " " Know the glove ! " replies Fluellen, " I know the glove is a glove," whereupon Williams strikes him. Fluellen—in accordance with the king's orders—attempts to arrest Williams, whom he describes as an " arrant traitor as any 's in the universal world, or in France, or in England," being a " friend of the Duke Alençon's." The Dukes of Warwick and Gloucester now appear, and enquiring " what 's the matter ? " Fluellen is explaining to Warwick that a most " contagious treason has come to light," just as Henry enters, and demands to know the meaning of the trouble. " My liege," replies Fluellen, " here is a villain and a traitor, that, look your grace, has struck the glove which your majesty is take out of the helmet of Alençon." Williams on the other hand claims it as his glove, and says he had struck the man for " wearing it in his cap according to challenge." Fluellen denounces Williams as an " arrant, rascally, beggarly, lousy knave," whereupon Henry produces the " fellow glove " to the

one which Williams carries: "Give me thy glove, soldier: look, here is the fellow of it," adding "'Twas I, indeed, thou promised'st to strike; And thou hast given me most bitter terms," to which Fluellen rejoins: "let his neck answer for it, if there is any martial law in the world." Henry then asks Williams what "satisfaction he is prepared to make" for having treated him as a "common soldier," to which Williams replies: "Your majesty came not like yourself: you appeared to me but as a common man; witness the night, your garments, your lowliness; and what your highness suffered under that shape, I beseech you, take it for your own fault and not mine: for had you been as I took you for, I made no offence; therefore, I beseech your highness, pardon me," for "All offences, my lord, come from the heart: never came any from mine that might offend your majesty." Henry accepts Williams' simple and honest explanation, and bids Exeter return to him his glove full of crowns: "Here, uncle Exeter, fill this glove with crowns, And give it to this fellow. Keep it, fellow; And wear it for an honour in thy cap Till I do challenge it. Give him the crowns," and turning to Fluellen, says: "And, captain, you must needs be friends with him." Fluellen offers to add "twelve pence" at the same time telling Williams to "serve God, and keep out of prawls, and prabbles, and quarrels, and dissensions," but Williams declares he will have none of Fluellen's money. Fluellen tells him not to be "pashful" for it will "serve to mend his shoes, which is not so good," adding "'tis a good silling, I warrant you, or I will change it."

The English herald now enters, and hands to the king a roll giving the number of French killed in the battle as ten thousand, including "nobles bearing banners, One hundred and twenty-six; knights, esquires, and gallant gentlemen, Eight thousand and four hundred"; five hundred of whom were only "dubb'd knights yesterday"; besides a number of "princes, barons, lords, knights, squires, And gentlemen of blood and quality." The herald then hands him another paper giving the death roll on the English side. The Dukes of York and Suffolk had fallen fighting side by side, Sir Richard Ketly and Davy Gam, esquires: and only twenty-five rank and file. As Henry's eyes fall on this short list, he exclaims:

> O God! thy arm was here;
> And not to us, but to thy arm alone,
> Ascribe we all. When, without stratagem,
> But in plain shock and even play of battle,
> Was ever known so great and little loss
> On one part and on the other? Take it, God,
> For it is none but thine!

The king then orders them to go in procession to the neighbouring village church, and there to sing "Non nobis" [Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto Thy name give glory] and the "Te Deum" [We praise thee, O God] after which the army will depart to:

> Calais; and to England then
> Where ne'er from France arriv'd more happy men.

Cf. *Extracts* 15 and 16 from Holinshed.

The *Prologue* or *Chorus* preceding Act V is an 'interim' following Henry's return to England and his subsequent return to France.

Crossing over from Calais he lands at Dover where a crowd of "men, with wives, and boys," give him an enthusiastic welcome: "Behold, the English beach Pales in the flood with men, with wives, and boys, Whose shouts and claps out-voice the deep-mouth'd sea." On arriving at Blackheath he refuses the request that his "bruised helmet and his bended sword" should be borne before him in his progress

through the streets of London. The capital receives him with exultation " The mayor and all his brethren in best sort, Like to the senators of the antique Rome, With the plebeians swarming at their heels, Go forth and fetch their conquering Cæsar in " : allusion being made at this point to the almost immediate expectation of the victorious return of Lord Essex from his Irish campaign.

Henry remains in England for a period of two years, during which time he receives a visit from the Emperor Sigismund who has come to England to try to arrange terms of peace between England and France.

The *Chorus* concludes with a reference to Henry's return to France in 1417 :

> and omit
> All the occurrences, whatever chanc'd,
> Till Harry's back-return again to France :
> There must we bring him ; and myself have play'd
> The interim, by remembering you 'tis past.
> Then brook abridgement, and your eyes advance,
> After your thoughts, straight back again to France.

Cf. *Extract* 17 from Holinshed.

Scene one shows us the English camp in France. Fluellen and Gower enter, and the latter asks the former why he is wearing his leek in his cap, St. David's day being past. Fluellen, who mentions that " There is occasions and causes why and wherefore in all things " : tells Gower that the " rascally, scauld, beggarly, lousy, pragging knave, Pistol," who is no " petter than a fellow," bid him yesterday to " eat his leek," but being in a place where " contention " was forbidden he is wearing the national emblem in his cap until he again meets Pistol, and then he intends to " tell him a little piece of his desires." At this point, Pistol appears, and Gower remarks : " here he comes, swelling like a turkey-cock," to which Fluellen rejoins : " 'Tis no matter for his swellings nor his turkey-cocks," and a quarrel ensues between them. Fluellen calls Pistol a " scurvy, lousy knave," to which Pistol retaliates by asking Fluellen if he is mad, and tells him to be gone, for the " smell of leeks make him feel sick." Fluellen however requests Pistol to eat the leek : " I peseech you heartily, scurvy lousy knave, at my desires and my requests and my petitions, to eat, look you, this leek " ; but Pistol swears he will not eat it, not for " Cadwallader and all his goats." " There is one goat for you, [Strikes him]. Will you be so good, scauld knave, as eat it ? " " Base Trojan, thou shalt die," replies Pistol, " scauld knave, that 's true," rejoins Fluellen, " when God's will is, . . . eat your victuals," and striking him again, adds : " come, there is sauce for it. I pray you, fall to : if you can mock a leek you can eat a leek." " Enough, captain : you have astonished him," interposes Gower, but Fluellen is determined that Pistol shall " eat some part of his leek, or he will peat his pate four days," and bids Pistol to " Bite, I pray you ; it is good for your green wound and your ploody coxcomb." " Must I bite ? " asks Pistol. " Certainly, and out of doubt and out of question too and ambiguities," replies Fluellen, and Pistol begins to threaten : " By this leek, I will most horribly revenge. I eat and eat, I swear——" " Eat," demands Fluellen, " Will you have some more sauce to your leek ? there is not enough leek to swear by." " Quiet thy cudgel " ; pleads Pistol, " thou dost see I eat," and Fluellen tells him to " throw none away ; the skin is good for your broken coxcomb. When you take occasions to see leeks hereafter, I pray you, mock at 'em ; that is all," and forthwith departs, remarking : " God b' wi' you, and keep you, and heal your pate." Having gone, Pistol swears to be avenged on Fluellen : " All hell shall stir for this " ; but Gower reproves him for his insolence in " mocking at an ancient tradition, begun upon an honourable respect,

nd worn as a memorable trophy of predeceased valour, and dare not avouch in your eeds any of your words ? " calling Pistol a " counterfeit cowardly knave." Gower aving taken his departure, Pistol observes that " Fortune plays the huswife with im," for he has received news of the death of his wife. He therefore resolves to steal away " to England, vowing he will turn " bawd " and a " cut-purse " and patch up his cudgell'd scars," and " swear that they are wounds received in fighting n the Gallia wars."

The final scene of the Play shows us an Apartment in the French King's Palace t Troyes in Champagne. The English and French monarchs—with their respective etinues—meet, and greet each other cordially :

K. Hen. Peace to this meeting, wherefore we are met !
Unto our brother France, and to our sister,
Health and fair time of day ; joy and good wishes
To our most fair and princely cousin Katharine ;
And, as a branch and member of this royalty,
By whom this great assembly is contriv'd,
We do salute you, Duke of Burgundy ;
And, princes French, and peers, health to you all !
Fr. King Right joyous are we to behold your face,
Most worthy brother England ; fairly met :
So are you, princes English, every one.

fter which Queen Isabella extends to Henry a special welcome, and expresses a hope hat a happy issue may be the outcome of their meeting.

The Duke of Burgundy, who professes to be attached to both monarchs on " equal ove " is proud of having been instrumental in bringing the two kings together, and pleads for reconciliation to heal the wounds of France, so as to restore her again to her former self. [*See* V. ii. 22–67.] Henry replies that he is prepared to come to terms conditionally upon his full and just demands—which have already been presented to the French king—being conceded :

If, Duke of Burgundy, you would the peace,
Whose want gives growth to the imperfections
Which you have cited, you must buy that peace
With full accord to all our just demands ;
Whose tenours and particular effects
You have, enschedul'd briefly, in your hands.

To this the French monarch replies that he has only with a " cursorary eye O'erglanc'd the articles " ; and suggests that a joint council be appointed—with power to act—to consider terms of peace, and the Dukes of Exeter, Clarence, and Gloucester, with the Earls of Warwick and Huntingdon are appointed to represent England. As they retire to an adjoining room, Isabella decides to accompany them in order to " avert attrition " :

Our gracious brother, I will go with them.
Haply a woman's voice may do some good
When articles too nicely urg'd be stood on,

but—at the instigation of Henry—leaves behind her, her daughter, " our cousin " Katharine.

Yet leave our cousin Katharine here with us :
She is our capital demand, compris'd
Within the fore-rank of our articles.

Being left alone with Katharine and her maid Alice, Henry declares himself in plain and blunt language : " Fair Katharine, and most fair, Will you vouchsafe to teach

a soldier terms Such as will enter at a lady's ear And plead his love-suit to her gentl heart ? " but Katharine excuses herself : " Your majesty shall mock at me ; cannot speak your England." " O fair Katharine ! if you love me soundly wit your French heart, I will be glad to hear you confess it brokenly with your Englis tongue. Do you like me, Kate ? " asks Henry, to which Katharine replies " Pardonnez-moy, I cannot tell vat is ' like me.' " " An angel is like you, Kat and you are like an angel," rejoins Henry, and turning to her waiting-maid, Alic Katharine asks : " Que dit-il ? que je suis semblable à les anges ? " [What did h say ? that I am like the angels ?] to which Alice replies : " Ouy, vrayment, sau vostre grace, ainsi dit-il." [Yes, truly, saving your grace, so he said.] " O bo Dieu ! les langues des hommes sont pleines de tromperies," [O good God ! the lan guage of men is full of deception] exclaims Katharine. " What says she, fair one ? " interposes Henry, " that the tongues of men are full of deceits ? " and Alice replies " Ouy, dat de tongues of de mans is be full of deceits : dat is de princess." To thi Henry affirms that the " princess is the better Englishwoman," expressing hi pleasure that she cannot speak better English, for if she could she would find hin such a very plain king, that she would be under the impression he had sold a farm to buy a crown. " Give me your answer ; i' faith, do : and so clap hands and a bargain. How say you, lady ? " enjoins Henry, and Katharine makes answer " Sauf vostre honneur, me understand vell." Again urging his suit, Katharine asks " Is it possible dat I sould love de enemy of France ? " Henry replies : " No ; it is not possible you should love the enemy of France, Kate ; but, in loving me, you should love the friend of France, for I love France so well that I will not part with a village of it ; I will have it all mine : and Kate, when France is mine and I am yours then yours is France and you are mine." As Katharine pretends not to understand " I cannot tell vat is dat," Henry essays to explain in French, but so stumbles in the attempt that he exclaims : " I shall never move thee in French, unless it be to laugh at me," but Katharine very graciously tells him he speaks French infinitely better than she speaks English : " Sauf vostre honneur, le François que vous parlez il est meilleur que l'Anglois lequel je parle." [Saving your honour, the French that you speak is better than the English that I speak.] His efforts proving fruitless, Henry falls back again into plain English, and after a little flirtation on the part of Katharine she finally accepts the " conqueror of Agincourt " on condition " Dat is as it sall please de roy mon père." Henry then kisses her hand to which Katharine objects, exclaiming : " Laissez, mon seigneur, laissez, laissez ! Ma foy, je ne veux point que vous abaissiez vostre grandeur, en baisant la main d'une de vostre seigneurie indigne serviteur : excusez moy, je vous supplie, mon très puissant seigneur." [Don't, my lord, don't, don't. My faith, I do not wish you to lower your dignity by kissing the hand of one of your unworthy servants ; excuse me, I beg of you, my most powerful lord.] " Then I will kiss your lips, Kate," is Henry's reply, only to be told by Katharine that it is not the fashion for the ladies of France to kiss before they are married, [Les dames et damoiselles, pour estre baisées devant leur nopces, il n'est pas le coutume de France] and Henry retorts by saying : " O Kate ! nice customs curtsy to great kings." This wooing scene, which is a very pretty piece of comedy, al- though the quaintest of episodes, is ended by the return of the French King and Queen, with Burgundy and other lords, Burgundy good-humouredly enquiring if Henry is teaching the princess English, to which Henry makes answer : " I would have her learn, my fair cousin, how perfectly I love her ; and that is good English." A little banter between Burgundy and Henry follows, Henry admitting that his " tongue is rough," and his " condition not smooth," but all ends happily, for the French monarch gives his consent to the match, after which it is announced that terms of peace have been concluded. The French king then presents his daughter

to Henry, exclaiming : " Take her, fair son," and may France and England " cease their hatred, and live in Christian-like accord, so that never again shall war advance His bleeding sword 'twixt England and fair France," to which all present say " Amen " while the queen calls down the blessing of heaven upon them and upon both realms : " God, the best maker of all marriages, Combine your hearts in one, your realms in one ! " so " That English may be French, French Englishmen, Receive each other ! God speak this, Amen ! " to which all present again cry " Amen." Henry then announces that he will receive the oaths of all the French peers on his wedding-day, when he will :

> swear to Kate, and you to me ;
> And may our oaths well kept and prosperous be !

Cf. *Extract* 18 from Holinshed.

The Play concludes with an *Epilogue* or *Chorus*—consisting of fourteen lines only —which designates Henry as " This star of England " :

> Small time, but in that small most greatly liv'd
> This star of England : Fortune made his sword,
> By which the world's best garden he achiev'd,
> And of it left his son imperial lord,

and foreshadows the disasters that will befall England during the reign of King Henry the Sixth, who, on the death of his father, becomes King of France and England when only nine months old, and concludes with a reference to the three parts of *King Henry the Sixth*, which were written several years previously and which had been presented on the stage—Part I of which deals with the loss of the English possessions in France, and Parts II and III with the disastrous Civil War, known as the Wars of the Roses :

> Henry the Sixth, in infant bands crown'd king
> Of France and England, did this king succeed ;
> Whose state so many had the managing,
> That they lost France and made his England bleed :
> Which oft our stage hath shown ; and, for their sake,
> In your fair minds let this acceptance take.

Scene : England, afterwards France.

CHARACTERS, PLACE-NAMES, ETC.

Adam. I. i. 29.

> And whipp'd the offending Adam out of him, [I. i 29]

According to Biblical dictum *the old Adam* i.e. *the old man*, signified man in an unregenerated state.

Agamemnon. III. vi. 7.

King of Mycenæ, and Leader of the Greeks at the siege of Troy.

Agincourt. IV. Chorus 52; IV. vii. 91, 92; Prologue 14.

A village in Pas-de-Calais, where one of the more important battles in the Hundred years' war was fought on October 25th, 1415, the English, numbering about 9,000 under Henry V. defeating the French numbering about 50,000 under the Constable d'Albret.

Agincourt. Field of Battle.

The Scene of Act IV., Scene iv. Pistol takes captive a French soldier, who offers two hundred crowns for his freedom. This Pistol accepts and the Frenchman is so grateful that he describes Pistol as the " bravest, the most valiant and the most distinguished nobleman of England." The boy—who acts as interpreter—leaves to guard the baggage in the English camp which is in an exposed condition.

Agincourt. Another part of the field.

The Scene of Act IV., Scenes v., vi. and vii.

Act IV., Scene v. The French have been defeated and their ranks thrown into hopeless disorder. The Duke of Bourbon suggests that they rush back into the fight for there is nothing left but to die fighting.

Act IV., Scene vi. This scene shows us the deaths of the Dukes of York and Suffolk. The French make an attempt to rally, and Henry, in order that all his troops can be at liberty to fight, gives orders to kill the prisoners.

According to Holinshed the king gave as his reason for ordering the prisoners to be slain, that he expected another battle, and had not men enough to guard one army and fight another. Courtenay remarks: " This is Shakespear's version of the most lamentable incident of the battle of Agincourt, by which, in the opinion of many, the fame of the victorious Henry has been tarnished."

Act IV., Scene vii. Fluellen and Gower appear and approve the king's action in ordering the French prisoners to be slain. Henry is angry with a body of French horsemen on an adjoining hill who will neither fight nor retreat. Montjoy appears and asks permission to collect and inter the French who have been slain. He acknowledges to Henry that the English forces have been victorious, and Henry declares that the battle shall be called " Agincourt." The rest of the scene is occupied with the incident of the challenge as portrayed in Act IV., Scene i.

Albion. III. v. 14.

> To buy a slobbery and a dirty farm
> In that nook-shotten isle of Albion. [III. v. 13–14.]

= England. Albion was the Gaelic name for Scotland, and was later applied to the whole island of Britain. *nook-shotten* = probably a contemptuous term referring to the irregular coast-line of England.

Alençon. III. v. 42; IV. vii. 158, 161; IV. viii. 18, 28, 38, 98.

John, Duke of Alençon. Malone says: " Henry was felled to the ground at the battle of Agincourt by the Duke of Alençon, but recovered and slew two of the Duke's attendants. Afterwards Alençon was killed by the King's guard, contrary to Henry's intention, who wished to have saved him."

> When Alençon and
> myself were down together I plucked this glove
> from his helm:

This encounter with the Duke of Alençon is the only reference in the play we have as to the king's share in the fighting.

Alexander the Great. IV. vii. 15, 20, 23, 33, 35, 47.

Alexander the Pig. IV. vii. 14.

= Alexander the Great. Fluellen draws a parallel between Alexander born in Macedon, and Henry born at Monmouth.

Alexanders. III. i. 19.

> Fathers that, like so many Alexanders,
> Have in these parts from morn till even fought,
> And sheath'd their swords for lack of argument.
> [III. i. 19–21.]

An allusion to Alexander the Great, who, it is said, after making himself master of Asia, sat down and wept when told there were no more worlds to conquer. *sheath'd their swords for lack of argument* = because there were no longer any enemies left to fight.

Alice. III. iv. p.1, 1, 28 ; V. ii. p.1.

The Lady attending on Katharine. She appears in Act III., Scene iv., where she gives the princess a lesson in the English language.

Alps. III. v. 52.

The great mountain range of Europe, forming the boundary between France, Germany and Switzerland on the north and west, and Italy on the south.

Ambassadors to the King of England. I. ii. p.234.

Appear before King Henry and his Court, bringing a message of defiance from the Dauphin :

> Your highness, lately sending into France,
> Did claim some certain dukedoms, in the right
> Of your great predecessor, King Edward the Third.
> In answer of which claim, the prince our master
> Says that you savour too much of your youth,
> And bids you be advis'd : there 's nought in France
> That can be with a nimble galliard won ;
> You cannot revel into dukedoms there.
> He therefore sends you, meeter for your spirit,
> This tun of treasure ; and, in lieu of this,
> Desires you let the dukedoms that you claim
> Hear no more of you. This the Dauphin speaks.
> [I. ii. 246–257.]

Several embassies were sent from France to Henry IV., but the personages on the present occasion were, Louis Earl of Vendôme ; Monsieur William Bouratin, the Archbishop of Bourges ; the Bishop of Lisieux ; the lords of Ivry and Braquemont, with Jean Andree and Master Gualtier Cole, the King's Secretaries. Grafton gives at much length the addresses of the ambassadors of whom the Archbishop was the chief speaker, telling Henry V., with great boldness, that his master, the King of France, did not consider him even to have any right to the crown of England, since it belonged to the true heir of the late King Richard. In the *Famous Victories* it is stated that ' the Archbishop of Bourges and Monsieur le Cole ' have been sent on the embassage, but the prelate only appears on the scene. *French.*

See also Grafton's *Chronicle*, vol. I., pp. 510–511.

Ancient Pistol. II. i. 3, 27.

Ancient = a corruption of ensign or standard-bearer.

Angleterre. IV. iv. 1, 39 ; IV. iv. 58.

= England.

Anthony, Duke of Brabant. IV. viii. 98.

See Duke of Brabant.

Archbishop of Canterbury. I. i. p.l. ; I. ii. p.l. p. 7.

Appears only in the first two scenes of the play.

While his eloquent speeches urging Henry to embark on the war in France at first seem to be the honest thoughts of a patriotic noble, we must remember that his first thoughts were to protect the property of the Church, and here was an opportunity to distract the king's attention from home affairs.

He exclaims to the Bishop of Ely, before they go into the king's presence,

> My lord, I 'll tell you—that self bill is urg'd,
> Which in the eleventh year of the last king's reign,
> Was like, and had indeed against us pass'd,
> But that the scambling and unquiet time
> Did push it out of farther question. [I. i. 1–5.]

and on receiving the question "But how, my lord, shall we resist it now," replies "It must be thought on."

The opportunity soon comes, and the Archbishop in an impassioned speech determines to precipitate a war with France.

> Gracious lord,
> Stand for your own; unwind your bloody flag;
> Look back into your mighty ancestors:
> Go, my dread lord, to your great-grandsire's tomb,
> From whom you claim; invoke his war-like spirit,
> And your great-uncle's, Edward the Black Prince.
> [I. ii. 100–105.]

"The King, for the honour of himselfe, and the aduancement of hys people, called this yere (1414) and the last day of Aprill, in the towne of Leycester his high Court of Parliament, in the which many good and profitable lawes were concluded, and many peticions moued, were for that tyme deferred. Among which petitions one was, that a bill exhibited in the xj yere of King Henry which by reason that the King was then troubled with Ciuill dissention, came to none effect, might nowe be considered and regarded: the effect of which petition was, that the temporall lands deuoutly geuen, & disordinately spent by the religious, and other of the clergie, might suffice to mainteyne to the honour of the king, and defence of the realme, xv. Erles, xv. C. Knightes, vj. thousande, two hundreth Esquiers, and one hundreth almose houses, for the reliefe of the impotent and nedy persons, and the King to haue cleerely into his Coffers, xx. thousand poundes, with many other prouisions and values of sundrie religious houses.

This before memembred bill (sayth Hall) much feared the religious, insomuch that fat Abbottes swet, the proude Priors frowned, the poore Friers cursed, the siely Nonnes wept, and all together were nothyng pleased nor yet content. But to finde a remedie for a mischiefe, and a tent to stop a wounde, the Clergie practised to put into the kinges heade, the title that he had to the Crowne and Kingdome of Fraunce, and howe honourable it should be for him to trauaile for the recouerie thereof, and howe willyng all the good people of the realme woulde be to ayde him in that honoyrable enterprice. And the next day after in most solempne and learned maner, the Archebishop of Cantorbury, whose name then was Henry Chichley made such an excellent Oration to moue encourage, and perswade the king to take that voyage in hand, that nothing could be eyther more or better spoken. And when the Bishop had done, then the Nobilitie in like maner sayd to and fro their mindes, so that nowe there was vsed none other talke in euery mannes mouth in the Parliament house, but for the conqueryng of Fraunce, and the bill against the Clergie was lulled a sleepe, and nothing came thereof. And so soone as this voyage was agreed vpon, the parliament brake vp." Grafton's *Chronicle*.

Deighton remarks: "The Prelates—Canterbury and Ely—do not appear in a very favourable light. Reading between the lines we see them ready to plunge England into war in order to avert the threatened spoilation of the church possessions, and the Archbishop's harangue is as unprincipled as it is astute. Despite the King's appeal for a faithful settlement of his claim, Canterbury, backed up by Ely, strains every argument and appeals to every sentiment that will provoke the King to declare war."

[Henry Chichele, son of a yeoman of Higham Ferrers, called by Fuller "that skilful statefencer," and by Southey, in his *Joan of Arc*:

> "the proud prelate, the blood-guilty man,
> Who, trembling for the Church's ill-got wealth,
> Made our fifth Henry claim the crown of France.'

After filling many ecclesiastic positions was sent as envoy to Pope Innocent VII in 1405 and to Gregory XII in 1407; appointed Bishop of St. David's, 1408; translated to Canterbury, 1414. Accompanied Henry the Fifth on his second expedition to France; upheld in council Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, who refused to recognise Bishop Beaufort as papal legate. Founder of All Souls' College, Oxford. (1362–1443).]

Arthur's bosom. II. iii. 9, 10.

> Nay, sure, he 's not in hell: he 's in Arthur's bosom, if ever man went to Arthur's bosom.
> [II. iii. 9–10.]

The Hostess's mistake for 'Abraham's bosom' See *St. Luke* xvi. 19–31.

Assyrian slings. IV. vii. 64.

as swift as stones
Enforced from the old Assyrian slings, [IV. vii. 64.]

The Assyrians were famous slingers. "The Assyrians trusted in their shields, bows and slings." *Judith*, IX. vii.

Attendants. I. ii. p.1; II. ii. p.12.

Aunchient Pistol. III. vi. 18, 30, 51; V. i. 18.

See Ancient Pistol.

Babylon. II. iii. 40.

and talked of the whore
of Babylon. [II. iii. 39–40.]

According to the Apocalypse, the City of Anti-Christ.

Barbason. II. i. 53.

I am not Barbason; you cannot conjure me
[II. i. 53.]

The name of a devil. Cf. *Merry Wives of Windsor*, II. iii. 311–313:

Terms! names!—
Amaimon sounds well; Lucifer, well; Barbarson, well; yet they are devils' additions, the names of fiends:

Bardolph. II. i. p.1, 2, 83; II. iii. p.1, 4, 42; II. ii. p.1, 32, 45, 46; III. vi. 25, 40, 48, 105; IV. iv. 71.

Lieutenant Bardolph was formerly in the service of Falstaff, and companion to Prince Henry in *King Henry the Fourth*. Although he is described by Pistol as being "a soldier, firm, and sound of heart," the Boy undoubtedly characterises him more authentically in the words:

For Bardolph, he is
white-livered and red-faced; by the means whereof a' faces it out, but fights not. [III. ii. 32–34.]

Bardolph's nose seems to be his chief feature, for Fluellen says:

his lips blows at his nose, and it is like a coal of fire, sometimes plue and sometimes red; but his nose is executed, and his fire 's out. [III. vi. 107–110.]

He ends his life in crime, being hanged for stealing a pax in spite of Henry's proclamation against sacrilege.

French says: "The theft for which Bardolph was condemned to die 'with edge of penny cord,' namely, for stealing a 'pix of little price,' is recorded by the contemporary historians, Elmham and Titus Livius, as having been committed by a soldier on the march, Oct. 17, 1415, who mistook a pix of copper-gilt for real gold, and stole it from the church at Corbie, for which sacrilege the king ordered him to be hanged on a tree, close to the church, in sight of the whole army."

Bardolph's nose. II. iii. 42.

Do you not remember a' saw a flea stick upon Bardolph's nose, and a' said it was a black soul burning in hell-fire? [II. iii. 41–43.]

A reference to Bardolph's red nose.

Bartholomew-tide. V. ii. 328.

for
maids, well summered and warm kept, are like flies at Bartholomew-tide, blind, though they have their eyes; and then they will endure handling, which before would not abide looking on.
[V. ii. 325–330.]

St. Bartholomew's day is August 24th, that is, the latter end of summer, or as an old rhyme has it: "St. Bartholomew brings the cold dew." Commenting on this passage, Emma Phipson in her Animal-Lore of Shakespeare's Time, says: "He (Mr. Patterson) imagines this allusion to have reference to some forgotten legend, some ancient superstition. By the end of August, especially if the season be wet, flies seek the shelter of houses in great numbers, and become drowsy and semi-torpid, or, as children call them, tame."

Basilisks. V. ii. 17.

The fatal balls of murdering basilisks:
The venom of such looks, we fairly hope,
Have lost their quality, [V. ii. 17–19.]

"The Queen means that the look from Henry's eye-balls has been a deadly influence to the French, taking, so to speak, the form of cannon-balls." *Verity*.

A Basilisk was (1) a fabulous serpent, the glance of whose eye was supposed to be fatal, and (2) a large cannon resembling a serpent and which would throw a shot of two hundred pounds in weight.

Bates. IV. i. p.85, 85.

A typical example of a common soldier of the period, brave and ever loyal to his sovereign.

" Bates, Court, and Williams are excellent specimens of the common soldier—' good yeomen, whose limbs were made in England ' (III. i. 25)—and right well do they prove at Harfleur and Agincourt ' the mettle of their pasture ' (III. i. 27). The cynical indifference which they show as to the rights or wrongs of their cause was typical of the stormy times in which they lived. It was enough for them to know that they were subjects of the king, and their whole duty was to ' fight lustily for him ' when required. Their sturdy independence and outspoken frankness are as conspicuous before the king in the midst of his court as when he appeared to them ' but as a common man.' From first to last they prove themselves well worthy of the fellowship of their great sovereign." *Academy edition.*

Beaumont. III. v. 44 ; IV. viii. 102.

A French lord killed at the battle of Agincourt.

Bedlam. V. i. 20.

A corruption of Bethlehem. The name given to the great London lunatic asylum.

Belzebub. IV. vii. 142.

Originally the name of the chief god of the Philistines. In the *New Testament* the name is applied to the prince of the devils. See *St. Matthew* xii. 24.

Bishop of Ely. I. i. p.1 ; I. ii. p.7.

Is one of the minor characters of the play, appearing only in the first two scenes, where he supports the Archbishop of Canterbury.

[John Fordham who, after being Dean of Wells, was appointed Bishop of Durham in 1381, and translated to Ely 1388. Was one of the ambassadors to treat of Henry the Fifth's marriage. He died in 1425. *See also under* Archbishop of Canterbury.]

Blackheath. V. Chorus 16.

A common near London, where Henry the Fifth was met by the Mayor and many prominent citizens of London on his return from France, after defeating the French at the battle of Agincourt.

Blithild. I. ii. 67.

Shakespeare describes her as the daughter of Clothaire the Second, and ancestress of King Pepin.

Boy. II. i. p.81 ; II. iii. p.1 ; III. ii. p.1 ; IV. iv. p.1.

Is portrayed as being shrewd underneath his simple and innocent appearance. His observations on his masters are both entertaining and true. He says that he is a boy to all three, but they could not be a man to him, and announces his intention " to leave them and seek some better service," for their villany goes against his weak stomach.

Hudson says : " I have elsewhere observed somewhat upon the remarkable character of the Boy who figures as servant to ' these three swashers.' He is probably the same whom we met with as Page to Falstaff in the preceding Play. His arch and almost unconscious shrewdness of remark was even then a taking feature ; and it encouraged the thought of his having enough healthy keenness of preception to ward off the taints and corruptions that beset him. And he now translates the follies and vices of his employers into apt themes of sagacious and witty reflection, touching at every point the very pith of their distinctive features. The mixture of penetration and simplicity with which he moralizes their pretentious nothings is very charming. Thus Pistol's turbulent vapourings draw from him the sage remark, ' I did never know so full a voice issue from so empty a heart : but the saying is true, *The empty vessel makes the greatest sound.* Bardolph and Nym had ten times more valour than this roaring Devil i' the old play, and they are both hang'd ; and so would this be, if he durst steal any thing adventurously.' Shakespeare specially delights in thus endowing his children and youngsters with a kind of unsophisticated shrewdness, the free outcome of a native soundness that enables them to walk unhurt amid the contagions of bad example ; their own minds being kept pure, and

even furthered in the course of manhood, by an instinctive oppugnance to the shams and meannesses which beset their path."

Bridge. III. vi. 2.

The bridge over the river Ternoise at Blangy. Malone says: "After Henry had passed the Some, the French endeavoured to intercept him in his passage to Calais; and for that purpose attempted to break down the only bridge that there was over the small river of Ternois, at Blangi, over which it was necessary for Henry to pass. But Henry, having notice of their design, sent a part of his troops before him, who, attacking and putting the French to flight, preserved the bridge, till the whole English army arrived, and passed over it."

Cadwallader. V. i. 29.

Not for Cadwallader and all his goats. [V. i. 29.]

The last of the Welsh kings. He was the son of Cadwallon, king of Wales. According to the prophecy of Merlin he is one day to return to expel the Saxon from the land. He is supposed to have visited Rome where he was baptized and received the name of Bhendiged, or the Blessed.

Goats = a jibe at the poverty of the Welsh mountaineer.

Cæsar. V. Chorus 28.

Go forth and fetch their conquering Cæsar in: [V. Chorus 28.]

Henry the Fifth's reception at Blackheath by the Mayor and citizens of London is here compared with that of 'conquering Cæsar' at Rome.

Calais. III. ii. 47.

Nym and Bardolph are sworn brothers in filching, and in Calais they stole a fire-shovel; [III. ii. 46–48.]

Evidently a slip on Shakespeare's part. The army did not reach Calais, until after the battle of Agincourt.

Calais. III. iii. 56; III. vi. 147; IV. viii. 127; V. Chorus 7.

Captain James. III. ii. 88.

= Captain Jamy.

Caveto. II. iii. 54.

Beware; take care.

Charlemain. I. ii. 75.

Charles the Bald; who assumed his grandfather's title of "Charles the Great." Lady Lingare is mentioned as his daughter.

Charles Delabreth. III. v. 40.

= Constable of France (q.v.).

Charles, Duke of Lorraine. I. ii. 70, 83.

Son of Louis the Fourth. Received from the Emperor Otto the Second, for services rendered, the dukedom of Lower Lorraine. On the death of Louis the Fifth made an effort to seize the throne of France, and, after several successes, captured Reims, but was betrayed by Adalberon, bishop of Laon, and imprisoned by Hugh Capet where he died 993, thus Hugh Capet is said to have "usurped the crown of Charles the Duke of Lorraine."

Charles the Great. I. ii. 46, 61, 71, 77, 84.

= Charlemagne, king of France 768–814, son of King Pepin.

Charles the Sixth, King of France. II. iv. p.1; III. v. p.1; V. ii. p.1; 2, 23, p.299, 355.

Takes no great part in the action of the play. He is depicted as a weak monarch, who seems to be mainly in the hands of his courtiers, especially the Dauphin, who generally takes the leading part in the scenes in which the king appears. His words show him to be weak-minded and easily swayed, for although he has sufficient insight to see that Henry is not the "vain, giddy, shallow, humorous youth" the Dauphin would have him believe, he lacks the strength of character needed in such a crisis, and consequently pays the penalty for the Dauphin's shallowness. In short the king appears as being

a victim of the dread of the horrors of war, and is sincerely anxious to avoid bloodshed, for he readily agrees to the terms of Henry's treaty, gladly accepting peace on whatever terms are forthcoming.

" Like Richard II. of England, his contemporary, and almost at the same time, he suddenly declared himself of age in 1388, dismissed his uncles who had ruled during his minority, and governed well for four years. Then he went mad, and was never perfectly sane for the rest of his life. The rivalry between the Duke of Burgundy, his uncle, and Louis of Orleans, his younger brother, for the power which the king could no longer wield, was the chief cause of the misfortunes of France at this time. Charles was neither at Agincourt nor at Troyes ; it is said that his uncle, the Duc de Berri, who had served at Poictiers, kept him away, saying that ' it was better to lose a battle than a battle and a king too.' " *Blackfriars edition.*

[Charles the Sixth, succeeded his father Charles V. in 1380. He married Isabel, daughter of Stephen II., Duke of Bavaria, by whom he had three sons, successively Dauphins ; and five daughters, viz. : 1. Isabelle, the second queen of Richard II. ; 2. Marie, who became a nun ; 3. Michelle, who was the first wife of Philip, Count of Charolois, afterwards Duke of Burgundy ; 4. Jane, married to John de Montfort, Duke of Brittany ; 5. Katharine the Fair, who became the queen of Henry the Fifth. Charles VI. died Oct. 21, 1422, a few weeks after his English son-in-law, who had been declared his heir to the kingdom of France, as noticed in the play.]

Charolois. III. v. 45.

A French lord killed at the battle of Agincourt.

Cheshu. III. ii. 67, 74, 83.

Fluellen's blunder for ' Jesu.'

Childeric. I. ii. 65.

Childeric the Third, son of Childeric the Second, last of the Merovingian kings, who reigned from 743 to 752. He was deposed by Pepin and died in the monastery of St. Omer in 755.

Chorus. Prologue 32.

> for the which supply,
> Admit me Chorus to this history ;
> Who prologue-like your humble patience pray,
> Gently to hear, kindly to judge, our play.
> [Prologue 31–34.]

" The duty of the Chorus is to explain the subject and action of the play, and to fill up with narrative the intervals between the Acts." *Wright.*

In this Play each Act is preceded by a Prologue or Chorus, and an Epilogue or Chorus concludes the play. *See* OUTLINE OF THE PLAY.

In the time of Shakespeare a Chorus was another name for a Prologue which was delivered by a single person, whereas in Greek drama the Chorus was composed of many persons.

Chrish. III. ii. 91, 95, 108, 112, 116, 136.

Macmorris's pronunciation of Christ.

Citizens of Harfleur. III. iii. p.1.

Appear with the Governor on the walls of Harfleur, and agree to open their gates to the English King.

Clarence. V. ii. 84.

Thomas Plantagenet, Duke of Clarence, born 1388 and killed at the battle of Beaugé, 23rd March, 1421. He is one of the characters in the *Second Part of King Henry the Fourth* (q.v.).

Mentioned here as being appointed by Henry the Fifth to attend the Council at Troyes.

Cleitus. IV. vii. 40, 47.

A favourite general of Alexander the Great. He saved the king's life on one occasion, but was killed by the latter in a fit of drunken passion :

> as Alexander killed his friend Cleitus, being in his ales and his cups.

Clothair. I. ii. 67.

Clothaire the Second, King of the Franks.

Constable of France. II. iv. p.1 ; III. v. p.1, 40 ; III. vii. p.1 ; IV. ii. p.7, 7 ; IV. iii. 89 ; IV. v. p.1 ; IV. viii. 94.

This character is represented as a gallant soldier, and a man of shrewd judgment.

He feels that the Dauphin and the King of France are mistaken in their opinion of Henry and his forces ;

> O peace, Prince Dauphin!
> You are too much mistaken in this king. [II. iv. 29–30.]

At Agincourt he fought nobly, and was mortally wounded. In Act III., Scene vii., Lord Rambures addressing the Constable, says :

> My lord constable, the armour that I saw
> in your tent to-night, are those stars or suns
> upon it ?
> *Con.* Stars, my lord.
> *Dau.* Some of them will fall to-morrow, I hope.
> *Con.* And yet my sky shall not want.
> *Dau.* That may be, for you bear a many superfluously,
> and 'twere more honour some were away.
> *Con.* Even as your horse bears your praises; who
> would trot as well were some of your brags dismounted.

[Charles De-la-Bret, son of Charles the Bad, King of Navarre, and half-brother to Queen Joan, Henry the Fifth's step-mother. He was commander-in-chief of the French forces at Agincourt, where he was wounded, and died the day after the battle.]

Constantinople. V. ii. 218.

> that shall go to Constantinople and take the Turk by the beard ?
> [V. ii. 218–219.]

An anachronism. The Turks were not in possession of Constantinople until 1453, thirty-one years after the death of Henry the Fifth.

Court. IV. i. p.85.

Merely represents the common soldier in the rank and file of King Henry's army.

See also under Bates.

Cressid's kind. II. i. 76.

> No ; to the spital go,
> And from the powdering-tub of infamy
> Fetch forth the lazar kite of Cressid's kind,
> [II. i. 74–76.]

Probably an allusion to the punishment of Cressida, the heroine of *Troilus and Cressida* for her falsehood to Troilus. Henryson in his *Testament of Cresseid* tells us that having been turned out of doors by Diomede, she was struck with leprosy, and sent to the 'spittel hous' where she died.

Cressy. II. iv. 54.

> Witness our too much memorable shame
> When Cressy battle fatally was struck, [II. iv. 53–54.]

Battle of Crécy, August 26, 1346, where King Edward the Third with 30,000 troops defeated the French. Before the battle of Agincourt Charles the Sixth reminds his council of that fatal day.

Crispian. IV. iii. 40, 44.

Crispin Crispianus. IV. iii. 57 ; IV. viii. 93.

Crispin's day. IV. iii. 48.

Crispian and Crispin Crispianus were brothers, members of a noble Roman family, who fled to Soissons in France and suffered martyrdom under Diocletian. As during their missionary labours they exercised their trade of shoemaking, they were afterwards regarded as the patron saints of the shoemakers. The battle of Agincourt was fought on the festival of St. Crispin, the 25th October, 1415.

Dauphin. I. ii. 221, 235, 240, 245, 257, 259, 273, 280, 288, 291, 294, 308.

The title of the eldest son or heir-apparent to the French throne. Originally the title of the lords of Dauphiny, but Humbert II., the last of the Dauphin dynasty, ceded the province to King Philippe de Valois in 1349, on condition that the title of Dauphin should be perpetuated in the eldest son of the reigning monarch of France.

Davy Gam, esquire. IV. viii. 106.

A nickname (squinting David) applied to Davydd ab Llewelyn, a Welsh warrior. Rewarded by King Henry the Fourth during the revolt of Glendower, for fidelity. Accompanied Henry the Fifth to France, and was present at the battle of Agincourt, where he was killed. Sent by the king to reconnoitre the enemy on the eve of the battle, and on being questioned by Henry as to the strength of the French forces, replied : " May it please you, my liege, there are enough to be killed, enough to be taken prisoners, and enough to run away."

Doll Tearsheet. II. i. 77.

A disreputable character appearing in the *Second Part of King Henry the Fourth* in which play she is hailed to prison for brawling.

Duke of Bedford. I. ii. p.1 ; II. ii. p.1 ; III. i. p.1 ; IV. i. p.1, 3 ; IV. iii. p.1, 8, 53 ; V. ii. p.1.

Bedford's first appearance is in a State Room in the King's Palace, when Henry discusses his claims to certain dukedoms in France. In this scene, as during his future appearances he takes little or no part in the action of the play.

In the delineation of his part, however, there is one point to be noted, an evident error on Shakespeare's part, for although Bedford is elected to the position of Lieutenant of England for the period of Henry's absence in France, we find him with the king at Harfleur and at Agincourt.

He is a man of great courage, and after his distinguished career in *Henry IV.*, we would expect to hear more of him than is the case. But we are to meet him later in the *First Part of King Henry the Sixth*, adding to his fame until his death. Therefore we must accept his part in this play as one of the quieter episodes in his life, but one in which he is no less useful, and a part which there was no one better fitted to play.

[The Duke of Bedford is also a character in the *First Part of King Henry the Sixth* (q.v.).]

Duke of Berri. II. iv. p.1, 4 ; III. v. 41.

Uncle to Charles the Sixth, King of France. He had served at Poitiers, in 1356, and knowing how fatal that battle was to the nobility of France, persuades Charles not to be present at Agincourt, for " It is better," said he, " to lose the battle, than to lose the king and the battle."

Duke of Bourbon. III. v. p.1, 41 ; IV. v. p.1, 12 ; IV. viii. 79.

Takes no important part in the action of the play, following the same rôle as the other French princes. He is numbered among the French prisoners taken at Agincourt.

[" John, Duke of Bourbon, succeeded his father Louis the Good in 1410 ; served at Agincourt under the Constable Charles de-la-Bret, and being taken prisoner was conveyed to Englan where he died in 1433, and was succeeded Duke of Bourbon by his son, Charles Count Clermont. He was buried at Christ-Churc Newgate Street, where so many illustriou persons of royal and noble rank were interre Stow records the interment of the Duke : ' *Joh* Duke of *Burbon* and *Angue*, Earl of *Claremon Mont-pencier*, and Baron *Beaugen*, who was take prisoner at *Agencourt*, kept prisoner eighteen yeeres and deceased in 1433.' " *French.*]

Duke of Brabant. II. iv. 5 ; III. v. 42.

Originally Brabant was a province of the Lo Countries, but now divided between Belgiu and Holland. In 1404 the whole of Brabant wa handed over to the countess of Flanders, and i 1406 Anthony her son, who was subsequentl killed at Agincourt—took the title of duke.

Duke of Bretagne. II. iv. p.1, 4.

John VI, Duke of Bretagne. Present at th council of war before the battle of Agincourt He was not present at the battle, but was at tha time at the head of several thousand men in tended as reinforcements.

Duke of Burgundy. III. v. 42.

Jean Sans Peur, nephew of Charles V, enticed by the Armagnac party to a conference with the Dauphin Charles at the bridge of Montereau September 10, 1419, and assassinated. No hint is given in the play that the Duke in Act V. is not the same as the Duke in Act III.

Duke of Burgundy. V. ii. p.1, 7, 68, p.299, 391.

The Duke of Burgundy, who appears at Troyes in the last Act was a most ardent striver for peace between the French and the English people. His speech extolling the blessings of peace is one of the fine passages in the play. [*See* Act V., Scene ii.]

[Philip, Count of Charolois, styled Philip the Good. He was the son of John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy [Act III. v. 42], who was assassinated at Montereau in 1419, in consequence of which Philip went over to the English side. At Troyes, the Duke appeared in deep

mourning for his murdered father; King Henry in the same occasion was in a splendid suit of furnished armour, wearing in his helmet a fox's tail ornamented with jewels." *French.*]

[The Duke of Burgundy is also a character in the *First Part of King Henry the Sixth* (q.v.).]

Duke of Exeter. I. ii. p.1; II. ii. p.1, 39, 70; II. iv. p.75; III. i. p.1; III. iii. 51; III. vi. 5, 6, 22, 45, 92, 97; IV. iii. p.1, 9, 53; IV. vi. p.1; IV. vii. p.57, 188; IV. viii. p.23, 59; V. ii. p.1, 83.

Exeter first appears when the discussion takes place as to Henry's claim to the French crown. He supports the Archbishop of Canterbury in urging Henry to take up arms in support of his claim, saying;

> Your brother kings and monarchs of the earth
> Do all expect that you shall rouse yourself,
> As did the former lions of your blood. [I. ii. 122–124.]

We next meet him at Southampton, when Henry is about to embark for France. He is aware of the treacherous plot against Henry and remarks to the Duke of Bedford that,

> They shall be apprehended by and by. [II. ii. 2.]

To Exeter falls the task of being spokesman in Henry's embassy to the French king, and he demands that his king's right shall be acknowledged in a determined speech, and when asked the sequel of receiving a refusal exclaims:

> if you hide the crown
> Even in your hearts, there will he rake for it:
> And therefore in fierce tempest is he coming,
> In thunder and in earthquake, like a Jove,
> [II. iv. 97–100.]

That he was a brave soldier may be gathered from Fluellen's eulogy concerning his bravery at the bridge:

> The Duke of Exeter is as magnanimous as Agamemnon; and a man that I love and honour with my soul, and my heart, and my duty, and my life, and my living, and my uttermost power: he is not,—God be praised and blessed!—any hurt in the world, but keeps the bridge most valiantly, with excellent discipline. [III. vi. 6–12.]

Exeter is represented as being at Agincourt, and conveys to the king the news of the death of York and Suffolk, describing in graphic terms how these two died in loving embrace. This, however, constitutes an error on the part of the dramatist for earlier (Act III., Scene iii.) Exeter is given charge of the town of Harfleur, Henry instructing him;

> Come, uncle Exeter,
> Go you and enter Harfleur; there remain,
> And fortify it strongly 'gainst the French:
> Use mercy to them all. [III. iii. 51–54.]

He also appears with the king in the amusing scene between Henry and Williams, and gives the crowns to the latter.

After the battle of Agincourt he gives Henry particulars as to the number of prisoners taken by the English forces.

> Charles Duke of Orleans, nephew to the king;
> John Duke of Bourbon, and Lord Bouciqualt:
> Of other lords and barons, knights and squires,
> Full fifteen hundred, besides common men.
> [IV. viii. 78–81.]

[Sir Thomas Beaufort, a son of John of Gaunt and Catharine Swynford; uncle to King Henry the Fifth. Under Henry IV. he held the offices of Admiral of the Fleet, Captain of Calais and Lord Chancellor of England, and was created Earl of Dorset and a K.G. by that king. On the surrender of Harfleur he was made captain of the town:

> Open your gates! Come, uncle Exeter,
> Go you and enter Harfleur; there remain,
> And fortify it strongly 'gainst the French:

Was not present at Agincourt; lieutenant of Normandy 1416; created Duke of Exeter the same year; was one of the ambassadors to treat of Henry the Fifth's marriage and was present at the Treaty of Troyes.]

[The Duke of Exeter is also a character in the *First Part of King Henry the Sixth* (q.v.).]

Duke of Gloucester. I. ii. p.1; III. i. p.1; III. ii. 59, 69; III. vi. p.90; IV. i. p.1, 1, p.312, 313; IV. iii. p.1, 9, 54; IV. vii. p.57, 175; IV. viii. p.18; V. ii. 84.

'The good Duke Humphrey' had a distinguished career throughout Henry's wars in France, and at the famous battle of Agincourt was in command of the second largest contingent on the English side. During the course of the encounter he led his men with great courage, and when he was wounded, Henry, seeing his gallant

brother's plight, came to his aid and defends him until he can be borne from the field.

Gloucester is also present at the other important events in the course of the play, and is finally included by Henry in his Council at the signing of the Treaty of Troyes :

K. Hen. Go, uncle Exeter,
And brother Clarence, and you, brother Gloucester,
Warwick and Huntingdon, go with the king ;
[V. ii. 83–85.]

[The Duke of Gloucester is also a character in the *First Part of King Henry the Sixth* (q.v.).]

Duke of Orleans. II. iv. 5 ; III. v. 41 ; III. vii. p.1, 7 ; IV. ii. p.1, 6 ; IV. v. p.1 ; IV. viii. 78.

Takes but a small part in the action of the play. He is full of praises for the Dauphin, and is, like him, a shallow-minded boaster.

By the white hand of my lady, he 's a gallant prince. [III. vii. 96–97.]

and

He is simply the most active gentleman of France. [III. vii. 99.]

His opinion of the English forces may be gathered from his remarks uttered before Agincourt,

Foolish curs ! that run winking into the mouth of a Russian bear and have their heads crushed like rotten apples. [III. vii. 143–145.]

but like the rest he is soon forced to change his opinion :

Is this the king we sent to for his ransom ? [IV. v. 9.]

and in Act IV., Scene viii., we find his name in the list of prisoners.

[Charles D'Angouleme, second Duke of Orleans, eldest son of the first duke. He married in 1406 his cousin Isabella, widow of Richard the Second of England, whose daughter Joan became the wife of John II. Duke of Alençon, a character in the *First Part of King Henry the Sixth*. The Duke married secondly Bona, daughter of Bernard, Count of Armagnac, and thirdly Mary, daughter of Adolph, Duke of Cleves. He commanded at Agincourt, was taken prisoner and carried to England, where he remained a prisoner for twenty-five years. In 1440 he was ransomed through the good offices of Philip the Good of Burgundy. He died at Amboise in 1465. His son by his third wife became Louis XII. of France, 1498.]

Duke of York. IV. iii. p.129, 131 ; IV. vi. 3, 11 ; IV. viii. 105.

Appears but once in the play, although we hear of his bravery at the battle of Agincourt from King Henry, and of his noble death from the Duke of Exeter.

Before Agincourt he exclaims to his king ;

My lord, most humbly on my knee I beg
The leading of the vaward. [IV. iii. 129–130.]

and Henry complies with his request :[1]

Take it, brave York. [IV. iii. 131.]

Later, while the battle is in progress, the Duke of Exeter brings greeting to the king from York, and Henry asks,

Lives he, good uncle ? thrice within this hour
I saw him down ; thrice up again and fighting ;
From helmet to the spur all blood he was. [IV. vi. 4–6.]

but Exeter has to reply that he is dead. This speech, describing the death of Suffolk and York is one of the most pathetic passages in the play (IV. vi. 7–32),

[Edward Plantagenet, second Duke of York, (the " Aumerle " in *King Richard II.*) eldest son of Edmund de Langley, first Duke of York, and cousin to King Henry the Fifth. Created Earl of Rutland and Duke of Albemarle (Aumerle) by Richard the Second ; deprived of the dignity of duke by Henry the Fourth, but was restored to favour in 1406. At Agincourt—where he was killed—he commanded the right wing of the English forces, and being struck down by the Duke of Alençon, was, owing to being so corpulent, unable to rise, and is said to have been ' pressed to death.' In stooping to assist York,

1. And in a poem of the fifteenth century, attributed to Lydgate, we have :—

The Duke of York then full soon.
Before our king *he fell on knee.*
My liege lord, *grant me a boon*
For His love that on cross did die !
The foreward that you this day grant me,
To be before you in the field :
By my banner, slain I will be,
Or I will turn my back, or me yield.

Henry was himself attacked by Alençon who knocked part of his crown from his head. The Duke of York married Philippa, eldest daughter of Sir John Mohun, Lord Mohun of Dunster, K.G., and there being no issue the title came to his nephew Richard Plantagenet who is the "Duke of York" in the *First, Second and Third Parts of King Henry the Sixth.* The Duchess Philippa married secondly Sir Walter Fitzwalter, Knight, and died in 1433.]

Earl of Cambridge. II. Chorus 23; II. ii. 13, 58, 66, 85, 93, 146.

Appears only in Act II., Scene ii., where with Scroop and Grey he is accused of high treason, having conspired to kill the King at Hampton (Southampton). He admits his guilt and begs for mercy:

> I do confess my fault,
> And do submit me to your highness' mercy.
> [II. ii. 77–78.]

Henry, however, offers none, and he is led away to execution.

"And then fell there a great disease and a foul mischief, for there were three lords which the King trusted much on and through false covetousness they had purposed and imagined the King's death and thought to have slain him and all his brethren or that he had taken the sea, which were named thus—Sir Richard, earl of Cambridge brother to the duke of York, the second was the lord Scrope Treasurer of England, the third was Sir Thomas Gray knight of the North Country, and these lords aforesaid, for lucre of money, had made promise to the Frenchmen for to have slain King Henry and all his worthy brethren by a false train suddenly or they had beware. But Almighty God of his great grace held his holy hand over them and saved them from this perilous mien. And for to have done this they received of the Frenchmen a million of gold and that there was proved openly. And for their false treason they were all judged unto the death. And this was the judgement, that they should be led through Hampton and without Northgate there to be beheaded, and thus they ended their life for their false covetousness and treason." Nicolas's *Battle of Agincourt.* [From Jones' *York and Lancaster*, 1399–1485.]

"The conspirators in the Play are represented as having been executed without trial. This was not the case. An inquest of twelve jurors of the county found that the Earl of Cambridge and Sir Thomas Grey had treasonably conspired to proclaim the Earl of March, and to call in a Scottish army; and that Lord Scroop was guilty of misprison of treason. Grey was beheaded; Cambridge and Scroop claimed the privilege of being tried by their peers; this was granted, and all the lords in the army condemned them to the block." *Oxford and Cambridge edition.*

[Richard Plantagenet, second son of Edmund de Langley, first Duke of York (one of the characters in *King Richard the Second*) and father of Richard, Duke of York, slain at the battle of Wakefield, 1460, and cousin to Henry the Fourth and brother to the Duke of York of this play. Created Earl of Cambridge 1414; married Anne, daughter of Roger de Mortimer and became the centre of a plot to place his wife's brother—Edmund Earl of March—on the throne, a scheme which was revealed to Henry. Attainted and executed 1415. His son Richard Plantagenet is the "Duke of York" in the *First, Second and Third Parts of King Henry the Sixth.*]

Earl of Salisbury. IV. iii. p.1, 11, 54, p.68.

Appears but once in the play in Act IV., Scene iii., where, before the battle, he bids farewell to the Lords Bedford, Gloucester and Exeter:

> God's arm strike with us! 'tis a fearful odds.
> God be wi' you, princes all; I 'll to my charge:
> If we no more meet till we meet in heaven,
> Then, joyfully, my noble Lord of Bedford,
> My dear Lord Gloucester, and my good Lord Exeter,
> And my kind kinsman, warriors all, adieu!
> [IV. iii. 5–10.]

and informs Henry that the "French are bravely in their battles set," and are ready to charge.

[This nobleman was Thomas de Montacute, eldest son of the loyal Earl of Salisbury in *King Richard II.* Took a prominent part in the French wars of Henry the Fifth by whom he was made a K.G. He was one of the ambassadors to treat of Henry's marriage with the Princess Katharine, and was his Lieutenant-General in Normandy.]

[The Earl of Salisbury is also a character in the *First Part of King Henry the Sixth* (q.v.).]

Earl of Suffolk. IV. vi. 10, 11, 15, 24; IV. viii. 105.

Michael de la Pole, third Earl of Suffolk;

served with his father—who died during the siege of Harfleur—in France; distinguished himself by his bravery at the battle of Agincourt where he was killed. His father died during the siege of Harfleur, September 4, 1415. *See Extract* 16 from Holinshed.

Earl of Warwick. IV. iii. 54; IV. vii. p.57, 175, 180; IV. viii. p.18, 20; V. ii. p.1, 85.

One of the minor characters of the play. He appears at the discussion of Henry's title to the French crown (I. ii.), at the battle of Agincourt (IV. vii.), and at the signing of the Treaty of Troyes.

Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, [the distinguished character in the preceding play] son of Thomas, Earl of Warwick, whom he succeeded in 1401; Lord high steward at the coronation of Henry the Fifth; assisted in the suppression of the Lollard rising 1414; went with Henry the Fifth to France and was present at Harfleur, but not at Agincourt; one of the ambassadors to treat of Henry's marriage, and was present at the treaty of Troyes. On his death-bed Henry the Fifth appointed him, tutor or governor to his infant son, for that "no fitter person could be provided to teach him all things becoming his rank."

[The Earl of Warwick is also a character in the *First Part of King Henry the Sixth* (q.v.).]

Earl of Westmoreland. I. ii. p.1; II. ii. p.1, 70; IV. iii. p.1, 19, 34; V. ii. p.1.

Appears on four occasions in the course of the play, firstly at the discussion on Henry's claim to the French crown, next at Southampton, at the battle of Agincourt, and finally at the signing of the Treaty of Troyes. He does not take any part in the development of the action.

[Ralph Neville, first Earl of Westmoreland, a character in the *First and Second Parts of King Henry the Fourth*. He was not present at Agincourt, because his duty as one of the Council of the Regent Bedford was to remain in England, therefore the wish attributed to him in Act IV., Scene iii., "O! that we now had here But one ten thousand of those men in England That do no work to-day" being really spoken by Sir Walter Hungerford. He died in 1425.]

Edward. I. i. 89.

> Of his true titles to some certain dukedoms,
> And generally to the crown and seat of France,
> Deriv'd from Edward, his great-grandfather.
> [I. i. 87–89.]

= King Edward the Third. The dukedoms referred to are Aquitaine, Anjou, Maine and Normandy.

Edward the Black Prince. I. ii. 105; II. iv. 56.

> And your great-uncle's, Edward the Black Prince,
> Who on the French ground play'd a tragedy,
> Making defeat on the full power of France;
> [I. ii. 105–107.]

Son of King Edward the Third. An allusion to the battle of Crécy, fought on the 26th August, 1346, where the Black Prince lead the vanguard.

Edward the Black Prince of Wales. IV. vii. 96.

> and your great-uncle Edward the
> Plack Prince of Wales, as I have read in the
> chronicles, fought a most prave pattle here in
> France. [IV. vii. 95–98.]

A reference to the battle of Crécy, where the Black Prince led the vanguard.

Edward, Duke of Bar. III. v. 42; IV. viii. 100.

Present at the battle of Agincourt, where he was killed.

Edward the Third. II. iv. 93.

Elbe. I. ii. 45, 52.

A river of northern Europe, the Roman Albis. It rises in the Riesengebirge, flows through Bohemia and Germany, and empties into the North Sea. Here mentioned as a boundary of the "Land Salique."

Elysium. IV. i. 280.

The land of the blest, where, according to ancient mythology the souls of the righteous passed without suffering death.

Emperor's coming. V. Chorus 38.

> The emperor 's coming in behalf of France
> To order peace between them; [V. Chorus 38.]

Refers to the visit of Sigismund—Emperor of Germany—to England in May 1416, to try to

arrange terms of peace between England and France. Sigismund was married to Henry's second cousin. "This same yeer cam Sigismund, the emperour of Almayn, in to Englond forto speke with king Harri, to trete of certayn thyngi3 touching the pees of Englond and of Fraunce: and also for the welfare and vnite of alle holi chirche. And the king and his lordis mette with him at saint Thomas wateryng, withoute Suthwerk, and him receyued withe greet reuerence and worshippe, and brou3te him in to Londoun, and fro thenne3 to Westmynstre, and there he was loggid in the paleis atte kyngis cost: and that tyme the king yaf him the liverey of the garter.[1] [*English Chronicle*, ed. Davies, Camden Society, No. 64.]

England. II. iv. 9; III. v. 37, 62; III. vi. 129; V. ii. 10, 12.

= King of England.

England. I. ii. 126, 128, 153, 169, 214, 269; II. Chorus 1, 16; II. ii. 193; II. iv. 24, 65, 75, 115, 116, 129; III. Chorus 19; III. i. 26, 34; III. vii. 134, 141; IV. i. 30; IV. ii. 37; IV. iii. 18, 30, 64, 73; IV. iv. 65; IV. viii. 10, 127; V. i. 91; IV. ii. 253, 350, 370, 375; Epilogue 6, 10, 12.

England. V. ii. 103.

Your majesty shall mock at me; I cannot
Speak your England. [V. ii. 102–103.]

= English Language.

English Camp at Agincourt.

The Scene of Act IV., Scenes i and iii.

Act IV., Scene i. Henry confesses to Gloucester that they are in great danger on account of the odds against them. Disguising himself, he sallies forth in the camp, where he first meets Pistol with whom he bandies words, and afterwards meets Fluellen and Gower. Then follow three soldiers—Bates, Court and Williams—and a discussion arises on the critical position of the English army, and on the responsibility of monarchs. A dispute then ensues on the subject, and Henry accepts a challenge from Williams to fight it out should they survive the battle. The closing part of the scene shows us the king alone, musing on the heavy responsibility he has undertaken, and an appeal to heaven that his troops may prove victorious in the fight, and not to visit upon him the sin of his father,—an allusion to the usurpation of the crown by Henry the Fourth.

Act IV., Scene iii. Henry rides forth into the camp and encourages his troops. The English lords—Exeter, Salisbury and Bedford—take farewell of each other. Montjoy—the French herald—re-appears and gives Henry another chance of ransom, but Henry in a dignified manner refuses to surrender.

[The introduction of the Dukes of Bedford, and Exeter, and the Earl of Westmoreland as being among the commanders present is inaccurate. Bedford had been left as regent in England; Exeter was in command at Harfleur and Westmoreland was at his post as Warden of the Scottish Marches.]

English Camp at Picardy.

The Scene of Act III., Scene vi. The French attempt to destroy the bridge over the river Ternoise at Blangy, but are driven away by the English troops. Henry crosses the bridge on the eve of the battle of Agincourt. Bardolph is condemned to be hanged for stealing a pax from a church. Montjoy—the French herald—arrives and delivers the French king's message, but Henry will not listen to any surrender.

English Mercuries. II. Chorus 7.

With winged heels, as English Mercuries. [II. Chorus 7.]

Mercury was the son of Jupiter and the messenger of the gods, represented with wings at his heels, hence a type of speed. The English people are represented here as hastily preparing to join the king forces for the invasion of France.

Europe. II. iv. 133; III. vii. 5.

1. Walsingham says that Sigismund was installed Knight of the Garter on the Feast of St. George, having told us that he arrived in London on May 7th. This may seem strange, as St. George's day was on April 23rd. Fabyan perhaps explains this apparent contradiction, by saying that the *celebration* of the feast had been deferred on account of the Emperor.

Expectation. II. Chorus 8.

> For now sits Expectation in the air,
> And hides a sword from hilts unto the point
> With crowns imperial, crowns and coronets,
> Promised to Harry and his followers. [II. Chorus 8–11.]

"The imagery is wonderfully fine, and the thought exquisite," says Warburton. "*Expectation sitting in the air* designs the height of their ambition; and the *sword hid from the hilt to the point* with crowns and coronets, that all sentiments of danger were lost in the thoughts of glory." Tollet remarks "In the Horse Armoury in the Tower of London, Edward III., is represented with two crowns on his sword, alluding to the two kingdoms, France and England, of both of which he was crowned heir. Perhaps the poet took the thought from a similar representation."

Falstaff. II. iii. 5.

Sir John Falstaff. The Falstaff of *Merry Wives of Windsor* and the two Parts of *King Henry the Fourth*. His death is mentioned here by Mrs. Quickly, hostess of an inn [the Boar's Head] in Eastcheap.

"For some cause or other the promise, already quoted [*see* Epilogue to the *Second Part of King Henry the Fourth*] touching the continuation of Sir John was not made good. Falstaff does not once appear in the play. I suspect that when the author went to planning the drama, he saw the impracticability of making any thing more out of him; while there was at least some danger lest the part should degenerate into clap-trap. And indeed the very fact of such a promise being made might well infer a purpose rather too theatrical for the just rights of truth and art. At all events, Sir John's dramatic office and mission were clearly at an end when his connection with Prince Henry was broken off; the design of the character being to explain the Prince's wild and riotous courses. Besides, Falstaff must have had so much of manhood in him as to love the Prince, else he were too bad a man for the Prince to be with; and when he was so sternly cast off, the grief of this wound must in all reason have sadly palsied his sport-making powers. To have continued him with his wits shattered or crippled, had been flagrant injustice to him; to have continued him with his wits sound and in good trim, had been something unjust to the Prince." *Hudson.*

Fauconberg. III. v. 44; IV. viii. 101.

A French lord killed at the battle of Agincourt.

Fig of Spain. III. vi. 60.

Probably an allusion to the use of poisoned figs in Spain for purposes of revenge. *See* Figo.

Figo. III. vi. 58; IV. i. 60.

> Die and be damn'd; and figo for thy friendship!
> [III. vi. 58.]

An expression of contempt, used by Spaniards and accompanied by a contemptuous gesture. Douce in his *Illustrations of Shakespeare* has a long article on this passage. *See* Fig of Spain.

Flower-de-luce. V. ii. 220.

The Fleur-de-lys, the national emblem of France.

Fluellen. III. ii. p.21, p.58, 58, 87; III. vi. p.1, 91, 100; IV. i. 52, p.64, 64; IV. vii. p.1, 99, 135, 157, 176, 184; IV. viii. p.2; V. i. 9.1.

Represents the Welsh nation in Henry's forces, and is depicted as being brave, patriotic and honourable. Henry sums up his character admirably when he says of him:

> For I do know Fluellen valiant,
> And touch'd with choler, hot as gunpowder,
> And quickly will return an injury: [IV. vii. 184–186.]

but he has to admit that:

> Though it appear a little out of fashion,
> There is much care and valour in this Welshman.
> [IV. i. 83–84.]

We cannot fail to notice the many-sidedness of his character. He is courteous, and yet quick-tempered, exceptionally honest and thinks no evil of others, as exemplified by his being deceived by the boastful words of the cowardly Pistol. His open-mindedness is another of his characteristics, for he freely speaks his mind both to his superiors and followers. He praises the Duke of Exeter:

> The Duke of Exeter is as magnanimous as
> Agamemnon; and a man that I love and honour
> with my soul, and my heart, and my duty, and
> my life, and my living, and my uttermost power:
> [III. vi. 6–9.]

and he does not conceal his devotion to King Henry, for he says :

> By Jeshu, I am your majesty's countryman, I care not who know it ; I will confess it to all the 'orld : I need not to be ashamed of your majesty, praised be God, so long as your majesty is an honest man. [IV. vii. 115–119.]

Then there is the humorous side of his nature. His affair with Williams is particularly amusing, as is the scene where he vigorously chastises Pistol ; and he is quite as capable of using a cudgel as caustic phrases.

Hudson remarks : " But the comic life of the drama is mainly centred in a very different group of persons. Fluellen, Jamy, and Macmorris strike out an entirely fresh and original vein of entertainment ; and these, together with Bates and Williams, aptly represent the practical, working soldiership of the King's army. The conceited and loquacious Welshman, the tenacious and argumentative Scotchman, the hot and impulsive Irishman, with all whose nations the English have lately been at war, serve the further purpose of displaying how smoothly the recent national enmities have been reconciled, and all the parties drawn into harmonious co-operation, by the King's inspiring nobleness of character, and the catching enthusiasm of his enterprise. All three are as brave as lions, thoroughly devoted to the cause, and mutually emulous of doing good service ; each entering into the work with as much heartiness as if his own nation were at the head of the undertaking. All of them too are completely possessed with the spirit of the occasion, where ' honour's thought reigns solely in the breast of every man ' ; and as there is no swerving from the line of earnest warlike purpose in quest of any sport or pastime, so the amusement we have of them results purely from the spontaneous working-out of their innate peculiarities ; and while making us laugh they at the same time win our respect, their very oddities serving to set off their substantial manliness.

Fluellen is pedantic, pragmatical, and somewhat querulous, but withal a thoroughly honest and valiant soul. He loves to hear himself discourse touching ' the true discipline of the wars,' and about ' Alexander the Pig,' and how ' Fortune is painted plind, with a muffler afore her eyes, to signify to you that Fortune is plind ; and she is painted also with a wheel, to signify to you, which is the moral of it, that she is turning and inconstant, and mutability, and variation ' : but then he is also prompt to own that ' Captain Jamy is a marvellous falorous gentleman, and of great expedition and knowledge in th' aunchient wars ' : and that ' he will maintain his argument as well as any military man in the 'orld, in the disciplines of the pristine wars of the Romans.' He is indeed rather easily gulled into thinking Pistol a hero, on hearing him ' utter as prave 'ords at the pridge as you shall see in a Summer's day ' : this lapse, however, is amply squared when he cudgels the swagger out of the ' counterfeit rascal,' and persuades him to eat the leek, and then makes him accept a groat to ' heal his proken pate ' ; which is one of Shakespeare's raciest and most spirited comic scenes. Herewith should be noted also his cool discretion in putting up with the mouthing braggart's insolence, because the time and place did not properly allow his resenting it on the spot : and when he calls on him to ' eat his victuals,' and gives him the cudgel for sauce to it ; and tells him, ' You called me yesterday mountain-squire, but I will make you to-day a squire of low degree ' ; there is no mistaking the timber he is made of.

On another occasion, Fluellen sharply reproves one of his superior officers for loud-talking in the camp at night : ' If you would take the pains but to examine the wars of Pompey the Great, you shall find, I warrant you, that there is no tiddle-taddle nor pibble-pabble in Pompey's camp ' : and the King, overhearing this reproof, hits the white of his character when he says to himself,—

> Though it appear a little out of fashion,
> There is much care and valour in the Welshman.

But perhaps the man's most characteristic passage is in his plain and downright style of speech to the King himself : the latter referring to the place of his own birth, which was in Wales, addresses him as ' my good countryman,' and he replies, ' I am your Majesty's countryman, I care not who know it : I will confess it to all the 'orld : I need not be ashamed of your Majesty, praised be God, so long as your Majesty is an honest man.' On the whole, Fluellen is a capital instance of the Poet's consideration for the rights of manhood irrespective of rank and title or any

adventitious regards. Though a very subordinate person in the drama, there is more wealth of genius shown in the delineation of him than of any other except the King."

See also Gower.

Foix. III. v. 45 ; IV. viii. 101.

A French lord killed at the battle of Agincourt.

Fortune's furious fickle wheel. III. vi. 27, 32, 38, 40.

Fortune's wheel was a favourite subject of Allegory. Steevens says : " *Fortune the goddess* is represented blind, to show that *fortune, or the chance of life,* is without discernment," and Farmer : " The picture of *Fortune* is taken from the old history of *Fortunatus ;* where she is described to be a fair woman, *muffled over the eyes.*"

France. Prologue 12.

> can this cockpit hold
> The vasty fields of France ? [Prologue i. 11–12.]

Cockpit is used contemptuously here, as the small area of the Globe Theatre was better suited for a cock-fight than for the representation of the battle of Agincourt. Malone remarks that the Phœnix Theatre in Drury Lane had formerly been a cockpit.

France. I. i. 79.

> For I have made an offer to his majesty,
> Upon our spiritual convocation,
> And in regard to causes now in hand,
> Which I have open'd to his grace at large,
> As touching France. [I. i. 75–79.]

For the Archbishop's speech, see *Extract* 2 from Holinshed.

France. I. i. 88.

> The severals and unhidden passages
> Of his true titles to some certain dukedoms,
> And generally to the crown and seat of France,
> [I. i. 87–89.]

The details and clear evidences by which Henry's claims to certain French dukedoms could be established. The dukedoms were Aquitaine, Anjou, Maine, and Normandy.

France. I. ii. 6, 11, 41, 55, 68, 80, 85, 90, 107, 112, 129, 147, 157, 161, 213, 215, 224, 227, 246, 251, 262, 275, 279, 302 ; II. Chorus 26, 27, 30, 37 ; II. i. 12, 91 ; II. ii. 16, 90, 155, 182, 193 ; II. iii. 56 ; II. iv. 22, 84, 124, 139 ; III. Chorus 24 ; III. iv. 56 ; III. v. 3, 31 ; III. vi. 157, 163 ; IV. vii. 99 ; IV. i. 15 ; IV. ii. 38 ; IV. iii. 98, 103 ; IV. vii. 57, 98 ; IV. viii. 10, 128 ; V. Chorus 38, 41, 45 ; V. i. 86 ; V. ii. 37, 38, 176, 178, 179, 180, 182, 183, 189, 191, 231, 254, 279, 282, 370, 375 ; Epilogue 10, 12.

France. I. ii. 167.

> If that you will France win,
> Then with Scotland first begin. [I. ii. 167–168.]

" Westmoreland was one of the lords of the northern border, which is another proof that this speech belongs to him, and not, as others represent it, to the Duke of Exeter or the Bishop of Ely. Perhaps the Poet intended, by making Westmoreland speak according to the wisdom of Proverbs, and reason from the habits of wild animals, to exhibit a specimen of the native and natural eloquence of one born and brought up far from the court and city. He makes the Archbishop afterwards adopt the same style of oratory to give utterance to refined and just sentiments, to shew how a highly cultivated mind can, on occasion given, beat the less cultivated, even at their own peculiar eloquence." *Hunter.*

France. I. ii. 265.

> Tell him he hath made a match with such a wrangler
> That all the courts of France will be disturb'd
> with chases. [I. ii. 264–266.]

A *chace* at tennis is that spot where a ball falls, beyond which the adversary must strike his ball to gain a point or *chace.* The King probably quibbles on the word, its secondary meaning being that he will play such a game in France that the whole country will be disturbed by the flight and chasing of armies. *Halliwell.*

France. II. Chorus 20.

= King of France.

France. Before Harfleur.

The Scene of Act III., Scenes i and ii.

Act III., Scene i., comprises a single speech by Henry in which he exhorts his soldiers to break down the walls of Harfleur.

Act III., Scene ii. In this scene we return to the underplot, and get a glimpse of the rank and file of the attacking army. They include the three swash-bucklers—Bardolph, Nym and Pistol —the shrewd boy, and four captains, Gower, Macmorris, Fluellen and Jamy representatives of England, Ireland, Wales and Scotland respectively, characteristic types of their respective nationalties showing the popularity of the war.

France. Before King Henry's Pavilion.

The Scene of Act IV., Scene viii. Opens with a quarrel between Williams and Fluellen, but on the appearance of Henry the quarrel is brought to a happy ending. An English herald hands to Henry a list of the slain on both sides. The English loss is so small and the French loss so enormous that Henry ascribes the victory to God and orders his troops to go to a neighbouring village church to give thanks, after which they will depart for Calais on their way to England.

France. Before the Gates [of Harfleur].

The Scene of Act III., Scene iii. Owing to the failure of the Dauphin to come to the relief of the town, the governor surrenders to the English forces. The Duke of Exeter is placed in charge, Henry announcing that after one night's rest in the town he will march to Calais. Harfleur surrendered on the 22nd of September, 1415, after a siege of thirty-seven days.

France. The English Camp.

The Scene of Act V., Scene i. The last of the comic scenes. Pistol insults Fluellen by deriding the custom of wearing the leek, the Welsh national emblem. Fluellen makes Pistol eat the leek. Pistol receives the news of the death of his wife which makes him hasten back to England, and the comic characters are dismissed from the stage. Johnson observes: "The comick scenes of *The History of Henry the Fourth and Fifth* are now at an end, and all the comick personages are now dismissed. Falstaff and Mrs. Quickly are dead; Nym and Bardolph are hanged; Gadshill was lost immediately after the robbery; Poins and Peto have vanished since, one knows not how; and Pistol is now beaten into obscurity. I believe every reader regrets their departure."

France. The French King's Palace.

The Scene of Act II., Scene iv. In this scene King Charles of France (he was not present at the audience, being insane, the Dauphin acting as Regent) is represented as being much concerned at the invasion of France by the English forces. The English Embassy is introduced and the Duke of Exeter as spokesman demands that Charles surrenders to Henry the crown and kingdom of France. The French king decides to reserve his answer until the following day.

[Shakespeare here takes great liberty with history. Exeter's mission, as related by Holinshed, took place a considerable time before Henry went to France, or even to Southampton. Exeter does not appear to have been in any one of Henry's missions to the French king; nor was there any mission, after the landing of the English in France.]

French Camp, near Agincourt.

The Scene of Act III., Scene vii. Act IV., Scene ii.

Act III., Scene vii. Describes the French camp near Agincourt on the eve of the battle. It shows the French princes outrivaling one another in their boastfulness, so sure are they of defeating the English. A messenger brings word that the English are within fifteen hundred paces of the French tents.

Act IV., Scene ii. The French camp where we find the French princes again boasting of their horses and armour, and of their self-confidence of an easy victory.

Gallia. I. ii. 216.

= France.

Gallia Wars. V. i. 93.

= French wars.

Germany. I. ii. 44, 53.

Gordian knot. I. i. 46.

> Turn him to any cause of policy,
> The Gordian knot of it he will unloose,
> Familiar as his garter ; [I. i. 45–47.]

The Archbishop here infers that Henry by his ingenuity is able to solve any question of public policy.

An allusion to the story of the famous knot in Gordium, Phyria. According to Legend, Gordius, king of Phyria dedicated his chariot to Jupiter in the Acropolis of Gordium. An intricate knot fastened the pole of the yoke, and an oracle declared that whoever should untie it would rule over all Asia. Alexander the Great solved the difficulty by cutting the knot with one stroke of his sword, and applied the oracle's prophecy to himself.

Governor of Harfleur. III. iii. p.1.

From the walls of the city of Harfleur the Governor and citizens announce to King Henry that it is their intention " to yield their town to his soft mercy."

" Jean lord D'Estouteville held the chief command at Harfleur when it was first invested by the English, but a reinforcement of 300 lances having been thrown in under Raoul, Sieur de Gaucourt, that leader seems thereupon to have assumed the direction of the defence ; thus Lydgate speaks of him as Governor,—

> ' The Lord Gaucourt certyenly,
> For he was capteyn in that place.'

Gaucourt was the principal spokesman for his side in the parleys with the English lords, appointed to treat for the surrender of the town, after a siege of thirty-six days, September 22, 1415. D'Estouteville and Gaucourt were both sent as prisoners to England ; the latter wrote a narrative of the siege. A Robert D'Estouteville was appointed by Louis XI., to the command of a force in Artois to oppose the landing of Edward IV., when he meditated the conquest of France. *French.*

Gower. III. ii. p.58 ; III. vi. p.1, 84 ; IV. i. p.64 ; IV. vii. p.1, 12, 152, 153, 170 ; IV. viii. p.1, 13 ; V. i. p.1, 5.

Is the representative of the English nation in Henry's army, and a typical English soldier of the period. He appears at the siege of Harfleur, where we find him well in the thick of the fight. For the most part he is in the company of Fluellen, of whom he stands in awe, for he accepts Fluellen's rebuke for speaking loudly most submissively :

> *Flu.* So ! in the name of Jesu Christ, speak lower.
> . . . . . .
> *Gow.* I will speak lower. [IV. i. 65–81.]

He is also present at Agincourt, where he bravely upheld the traditions of the English troops.

The conjunction of the four captains—Gower (England), Jamy (Scotland), Macmorris (Ireland), Fluellen (Wales)—fighting side by side in a common cause is regarded by many critics as typifying the union of the crowns, which, at the date of the composition of this play, all felt to be imminent. The fiery Macmorris, the ' marvellous falorous ' Jamy, the impulsive Fluellen, and the self-restrained Gower are singularly characteristic types of their respective nationalities. *Academy Shakespeare.*

Gower, Fluellen, Macmorris, and Jamy represent the four nations, English, Welsh, Irish, and Scottish, of which Henry's army was composed, though there were very few Irish or Scots in it, particularly the latter, who were much readier to fight for the French. There was, however, a Scotchman of the name of James in Henry's last expedition to France—no less a personage than the King of Scotland, James I., who had been a prisoner in England since 1405. Jamy does not take much part in the play, and speaks more like a Yorkshireman than a Scotchman : Macmorris, the Irishman is a fair example of the excitable Celt, though his speech bears no resemblance to a modern Irish brogue : Gower is a good specimen of a solid, rather stupid Englishman—who does not see why he should not speak loud if the enemy does, but accepts Fluellen's rebuke meekly, and evidently has a great admiration for him. *Blackfriars edition.*

Grandpré. III. v. 44 ; III. vii. 129 ; IV. ii. p.38 ; IV. viii. 101.

Appears only in one scene of the play. He led the main body of the French army with the Dukes of Alençon and Bar. He fell on the field of Agincourt.

[One of the twelve great Peers of France. At the battle of Agincourt he was a leader in the main body of the French forces with the Dukes of Bar and Alençon.]

Hampton. II. ii. 91.

> And sworn unto the practices of France,
> To kill us here in Hampton : [II. ii. 90–91.]

= Southampton. The Earl of Cambridge, Lord Scroop and Sir Thomas Grey had entered into a conspiracy to kill Henry at Hampton. *An English Chronicle*, ed. Davies, [Camden Society, No. 64,] says : " Thanne made the kyng redy his ordenaunce necessary forto the warre, commaundyng alle menne that sholde go with him to be redy att Suthamptoun, at Lammesse thanne next folowyng, the iij yeer of his regne. At whiche day, whan the king was redy to take his passage, it was there publisshid and openli knowe that iij lordis, that is to say, ser Richard erlle of Cambrigge brothir to the duke of York, the lord Scroope tresorer of Englond, and ser Thomas Grey, knyghte, hadde receyued an huge summe of money, that is to say, a milion of gold, forto betraie the king and his bretheryn to the Frenshemen ; wherfore thair heddis were smyte of, withoute the northgate at Suthamptoun."

Hampton pier. III. Chorus 4.

> Suppose that you have seen
> The well-appointed king at Hampton pier
> Embark his royalty ; [Chorus iii. 3–5.]

= Southampton. Warton says : " Among the records of the town of Southampton, they have a minute and authentick account (drawn up at that time) of the encampment of Henry the Fifth near the town, before his embarkment for France. It is remarkable, that the place where the army was encamped, then a low level or a down, is now entirely covered with sea, and called Westport."

Harfleur. III. Chorus 17 ; III. iii. 8, 27, 52, 57 ; III. v. 49 ; III. vi. 126.

A seaport on the northern coast of France on the estuary of the Seine. It was taken after a six months' siege by the English under Henry (1415).

" Whanne this was don, the king sailled forth in to Normandie with xvc shippis, and landid at Kitcaux, in the vigily of Assumpcion of our Lady, and fro thennez he wente to Harfleiu, and it besegid be lond and be watir, and commaundyng him forto delyuer the toun, and he saide he wolde not. Wherfore the king commaundid his gonners to bete doun the wallis on euery side, and anon thay of the toune sente out to the king prayyng him of viij daiez respit in hope of rescu, and yf non wolde come, thay wolde delyver the toun : and so thay dede. And thanne the kyng made his vncle, the erl of Dorset, capteyn therof, and commaundid him to put out alle the Frensshe peple, man womman and child, and stuffe the toun with English peple." *An English Chronicle*, ed. Davies, [Camden Society, No. 64]. *See also* Grafton's *Chronicle*, vol. I., pp. 512–514.

Harfleur. III. Chorus 27.

> With fatal months gaping on girded Harfleur.
> [III. Chorus 27.

Harfleur was besieged on every side.

Harry. Prologue 5.

> Then should the warlike Harry, like himself,
> Assume the port of Mars ; and at his heels,
> Leash'd in like hounds, should famine, sword, and fire
> Crouch for employment. [Prologue i. 5–8.]

= King Henry the Fifth. Tollet says : " This image of the war-like Henry very much resembles Montfaucon's description of the Mars discovered at Bresse, who leads a lion and a lioness in couples, and crouching as for employment." Holinshed says that when the citizens of Rouen petitioned Henry V., " he declared that the goddesse of battell, called Bellona, had three handmaidens, euer of necessitie attending vpon hir, as blood, fire, and famine."

Harry. II. Chorus 11.

= King Henry the Fifth. *See* Expectation.

Harry. III. Chorus 29 ; III. i. 34 ; IV. i. 33 ; V. Chorus 35.

= King Henry the Fifth.

Harry. IV. Chorus 47.

> A little touch of Harry in the night. [Chorus iv. 47.]

= King Henry the Fifth. Theobald says : " The poet, addressing himself to every degree

of his audience, tells them he'll show (as well as his unworthy pen and powers can describe it) a little touch or sketch of this hero in the night; a faint resemblance of that cheerfulness and resolution which this brave prince expressed in himself, and inspired in his followers."

Harry England. III. v. 48.

= King Henry the Fifth.

Harry le Roy. IV. i. 49.

= Harry the King.

Harry Monmouth. IV. vii. 48.

= Henry the Fifth, from the place of his birth.

Harry of England. III. vi. 123; III. vii. 131; V. ii. 250, 296.

= King Henry the Fifth.

Harry of Monmouth. IV. vii. 33.

Henry the Fifth, so-called because he was born at Monmouth.

Harry's back-return. V. Chorus 41.

An allusion to Henry the Fifth's return to France in 1417.

Harry the King. IV. iii. 53.

= King Henry the Fifth.

Henry Plantagenet. V. ii. 254.

= King Henry the Fifth.

Henry the Sixth. Epilogue 9.

> Henry the Sixth, in infant bands crown'd King
> Of France and England, did this king succeed.
> [Epilogue 9–10].

Henry the Sixth was only nine months old when his father—Henry the Fifth—died.

Herald, A. IV. viii. p.75.

English Herald. Informs the king of the number of the French slain and taken prisoners in the battle, as well as the number of the English dead.

Three heralds attended Henry V. at Agincourt, namely, Lancaster, Guienne, and Ireland, Kings at Arms. In 1419, March 4, Henry created a new herald, called "Agincourt, king at arms," in honour of his great achievement. In this reign "Lancaster, king at arms," was John Ashwell; "Guienne," was John Wrexworth; and "Ireland," was John Kitteby. Weever, *Ancient Funeral Monuments*. The king also employed "Dorset" herald, on embassies; he is named in a writ, May 13, 1413, "William Bois, Armiger, Dorset le Heraud." Rymer's *Fœdera*.

Hermes. III. vii. 18.

> the basest horn of his hoof
> is more musical than the pipe of Hermes.
> [III. vii. 17–18.]

The shepherd's pipe invented by the god Hermes or Mercury, the music of which was so sweet that it charmed to sleep the hundred-eyed Argus.

Herod's bloody-hunting slaughtermen. III. iii. 41.

An allusion to the slaughter of the innocents. See *St. Matthew*, ii. 16–18.

Hostess of a tavern, formerly Mistress Quickly, and now married to Pistol. II. i. 19, p.27, 78, p.117; II. iii. p.1.

Appears with Nym, Bardolph and her future husband Pistol, in a street before the Boar's Head Tavern in Eastcheap. A quarrel takes place between Nym and Pistol, who are rivals for the hand of the hostess, but it is interrupted by the entry of Falstaff's boy who announces that his master has been taken very ill. Mistress Quickly forthwith departs, and later returns, bidding them come quickly as the old knight is dying:

> As ever you came of women, come in quickly
> to Sir John. Ah, poor heart! he is so shaked
> of a burning quotidian tertian, that it is most
> lamentable to behold. Sweet men, come to him.
> [II. i. 117–120.]

Hound of Crete. II. i. 73.

An allusion to the blood-hounds of Crete which were much prized in antiquity. The expression here is one of Pistol's high-sounding phrases, insinuating that Nym is thirsting for his blood.

Hugh Capet. I. ii. 69, 78, 87.

The founder of the Capetian dynasty of France, son of Hugh the Great whom he succeeded in the duchy of France. Proclaimed king in 987 and reigned till his death in 996. His reign was a troubled one by the revolt of the party that had raised him to the throne and who refused to acknowledge his supremacy. Adelbert, a count of Perigueux usurped the titles of Count of Poitiers and of Tours, and Capet sent a messenger to ask " who made you count ? " and got for answer the counter-challenge " who made you king ? " According to the Archbishop of Canterbury Capet " usurped the crown of Charles the Duke of Lorraine " and " to find his title with some shows of truth, Though, in pure truth, it was corrupt and naught," claimed descent from " Charles the Great " [Charlemagne] through " Lady Lingare."

Huntingdon. V. ii. 85.

John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon ; distinguished himself at the battle of Agincourt, 1415 ; K.G. 1416 ; took part in the siege of Caen and Rouen 1419, and after won the battle of Fresney. Constable of the Tower of London 1429 ; English representative at Arras, 1438, and Governor of Aquitaine 1440. He died in 1447.

Mentioned here as being appointed by Henry the Fifth to attend the Council at Troyes.

Hydra-headed. I. i. 35.

> Nor never Hydra-headed wilfulness
> So soon did lose his seat and all at once
> As in this king. [I. i. 35–37.]

The Hydra was a celebrated monster with nine heads—one of which was immortal—which infested the neighbourhood of Lake Lerna in Peloponnesus. As Hercules cut off one of its heads, two new ones sprang up in its place, but with the help of Iolaus he succeeded in conquering the monster by burning away the heads and thus preventing the growth of more. He then struck off the immortal head and buried it under a rock. Cf. *First Part of King Henry the Fourth*, V. iv. 25 : " Another king ! they grow like Hydra's heads " :

Hyperion. IV. i. 281.

> next day after dawn,
> Doth rise and help Hyperion to his horse,
> [IV. i. 280–281.]

One of the Titans, represented as the son of Heaven and earth, and father of the sun and moon. Often used by poets to signify the sun. Cf. *Titus Andronicus*, V. ii. 56–57 :

> Even from Hyperion's rising in the east
> Until his very downfall in the sea :

Iceland dog. II. i. 41.

> Pish for thee, Iceland dog ! thou prick-ear'd cur of Iceland. [II. i. 41.]

A curly, rough-haired dog, used as a lap-dog. In the time of Shakespeare they were fashionable pets.

Ireland. V. Chorus 31.

> Were now the general of our gracious empress,
> As in good time he may, from Ireland coming,
> Bringing rebellion broached on his sword,
> [V. Chorus 29–31.]

The allusion is to Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex. Macgillivray remarks : " In the spring of 1599 the Earl of Essex was sent to Ireland with a large force to suppress Tyrone's rebellion. His departure was the occasion for such a great outburst of popular enthusiasm that it is said to have aroused the jealousy of the queen. For various reasons, the campaign was a failure, and Essex was recalled in disgrace. This allusion to Essex practically settles the limits of the date of the play—after the spring of 1599 and before the autumn of the same year ; *i.e.* between the departure in triumph and the return in disgrace of Essex."

Ireland. V. ii. 253.

Isabel, Queen of France. V. ii. p.1, p.299.

As Isabel appears but once in the play it is difficult to gather any definite opinion of her character.

She appears to be deeply interested in the affairs of her country, however, as it is by her own wish that she is present at the council convened to arrive at terms of peace, exclaiming ;

> Our gracious brother, I will go with them ;
> Haply a woman's voice may do some good
> When articles too nicely urg'd be stood on.
> [V. ii. 92–94.]

Her approval of Henry's marriage to Katharine is voiced in a speech which expresses a hope that thus a friendship may be formed between England and France, showing that she believed the power of amity to be stronger than that of arms.

> God, the best maker of all marriages,
> Combine your hearts in one, your realms in one!
> As man and wife, being two, are one in love,
> So be there 'twixt your kingdoms such a spousal
> That never may ill office, or fell jealousy,
> Which troubles oft the bed of blessed marriage,
> Thrust in between the paction of these kingdoms,
> To make divorce of their incorporate league;
> That English may as French, French Englishmen,
> Receive each other! God speak this Amen!
> [V. ii. 379–388.]

Daughter of Stephen the Second, Duke of Bavaria. Married King Charles of France in 1385. She was a woman of very dissolute habits. Miss Strickland describes her as the "wicked queen Isabeau" and calls her a "vile woman," while Hallam styles her the "most infamous of women."

Jack-an-napes. V. ii. 144.

An imprudent fellow.

Jack-sauce. IV. vii. 145.

= A saucy fellow.

Jacques of Chatillon. III. v. 43; IV. viii. 95.

Admiral of France, killed at the battle of Agincourt.

Jamy. III. ii. p.78, 79, 80.

Takes but a little part in the play, but it is evident that Shakespeare intended him to represent the Scottish nation in King Henry's troops. Fluellen describes him as "a marvellous falorous gentleman, of great expedition and knowledge in the disciplines of war," who will "maintain his argument as well as any military man in the world."

For Hudson's comment on the character of Jamy *see under* Fluellen.

Jeshu. IV. vii. 115.

Jewry. III. iii. 40.

Judea. *See* Herod's bloody-hunting slaughtermen.

Jove. II. iv. 100.

> In thunder and in earthquake like a Jove, [II. iv. 100.]

Jupiter, represented as having his throne in heaven, and as wielding a thunderbolt in his right hand. King Henry in his invasion of France is here described as descending upon the land like Jove.

Jove. IV. iii. 24.

> By Jove, I am not covetous for gold, [IV. iii. 24.]

Probably used as a substitute for a profane term, as an act was passed in the reign of James the First against profanity on the stage. Johnson remarks: "The king prays like a christian, and swears like a heathen!"

Kate. V. ii. 107, 109, 122, 135, 145, 150, 157, 167, 178, 181, 185, 192, 199, 202, 205, 209, 210, 213, 224, 233, 241, 263, 264, 273, 285, 286, 288, 293, 343, 377, 393.

= Katharine, daughter of Charles and Isabel, King and Queen of France; afterwards Queen to King Henry the Fifth. *See* Katharine.

Katharine. III. Chorus 30; III. iv. p.1; V. ii. p.1, 4, 95, 98, 104, 113, 228, 247, 259.

Appearing only in two scenes of the play, Katharine appears to us as a simple French maid, an impression undoubtedly intended to be formed by the introduction of the English lesson scene.

Although she has some affection for Henry, it seems that she enters the marriage compact rather from a sense of duty than love.

Heine remarks: "We wonder whether Shakespeare really wrote that scene in which Princess Katharine takes an English lesson; and I question whether the French forms of speech so pleasing to the ear of John Bull, are actually Shakespeare's. . . . It was probably an Englishman's ill-will which caused the artist of

the portrait before us to give this French princess rather a comical than a beautiful expression. She has the face of a bird, and her eyes look as if they belonged to someone else. Does she wear parrots' feathers on her head, and do they signify her powers of chattering? Her small white hands have an inquisitive look. She is made up of a vain love of display and a desire to please, and she knows how to play with her fan. I think her feet flirt with the very ground on which she treads."

[Katharine was the youngest daughter of Charles the Sixth and Isabel, and was born at Paris 1401. Married Henry the Fifth at Troyes on the 2nd June, 1420, and was crowned at Westminster 1421; accompanied Henry to France in 1422 and returned with his corpse to England the same year. She subsequently married Owen Tudor, a poor Welch gentleman who is said to have been one of Davy Gam's retinue at Agincourt, and to have saved the life of Henry V. who made him one of his "esquires of the body," an office which he afterwards held to the infant king, Henry VI.]

Kern of Ireland. III. vii. 54.

> and you
> rode, like a kern of Ireland, your French hose
> off, and in your strait strossers. [III. vii. 53–55.]

The kern was a light-armed Irish soldier, who rode without breeches, and therefore *strait trossers*.

King Edward's fame. I. ii. 162.

> To fill King Edward's fame with prisoner kings,
> [I. ii. 162.]

= King Edward the Third. *prisoner kings* = David the Second, and King John of France who was captured at the battle of Poitiers, 1356.

King Edward the Third. I. ii. 248.

= King of England (1327–1377), son of Edward the Second.

King Harry. II. iv. 48, 65; IV. iii. 79, 126.

= King Henry the Fifth.

King Henry the Fifth. Prologue 5; I. ii. p.1; II. Chorus 11; II. ii. p.12; II. iv. 48, 65; III. Chorus 29; III. i. p.1, 34; III. iii. p.1; III. v. 48; III. vi. p.90, 123; III. vii. 131; IV. Chorus 47; IV. i. p.1, 33; IV. iii. p.17, 53, 70, 126; IV. vi. p.1; IV. vii. p. 57; IV. viii. p.23; V. Chorus 35, 37, 41; V. ii. p.1, 23, 250, 296, 359, 361.

It is considered by many that in King Henry V., Shakespeare has created the finest character in all his historical plays. He is represented as possessing all the great qualities of a king, a statesman and a gentleman. His individuality is perfect, for he stands out clearly against the background of his court, a court which is itself composed of some very fine figures.

At the commencement of the play he is discussing his claims to the lands in France, and it is significant of his nature, that instead of immediately rushing to arms against the French king he first of all seeks the advice of the Archbishop of Canterbury as to the exact interpretation of the Salique Law, and his own position in the light of that Statute, in order firmly to establish in his own mind as well as in the minds of his nobles, that the course he is constrained to take is right.

Before going further into the character of Henry as a king, it is well to consider him as we found him in *King Henry IV*. Here he was wild, headstrong and careless of his position, or at least so it then appeared, but was not the experience of life that he so gained the basis of his perfect character as a king? He had learnt to understand the minds of the common people, to share in their very thoughts and so learn to judge between the counsels of the wise and of the foolish so that when we see him as a king he is firm, resolute, and inspiring in his words, a man perfectly fitted to govern in a perfectly fearless and impartial way. He had learnt that to favour unduly did not always mean true allegiance, for many unscrupulous men would take advantage of any favour shown them against the giver.

He is depicted as a man of the greatest courage, and we find him throughout the course of the wars in France ever urging his men on, and inspiring them to gallant deeds.

Also Henry's piety is to be noted; he trusts in the power of God always. On leaving for France he exclaims:

> let us deliver
> Our puissance into the hands of God
> [II. ii. 189–190.]

and again when the English army is seriously depleted through sickness and the remainder of the men worn out with continued marching, he replies to Gloucester, who has expressed a hope that the enemy will not attack at such a time,

> We are in God's hand, brother, not in theirs.
> [III. vi. 175.]

Once more his trust is shown when, just before the battle he offers up that inspiring prayer,

> O God of battles! steel my soldiers' hearts;
> Possess them not with fear; take from them now
> The sense of reckoning, if the opposed numbers
> Pluck their hearts from them. [IV. i. 295–298.]

and the victory having been won he turns once more to Heaven with words of true thankfulness on his lips;

> O God! thy arm was here;
> And not to us, but to thy arm alone,
> Ascribe we all. [IV. viii. 108–110.]

Instances exemplifying Henry's qualities as a statesman, scholar, soldier and even as a lover could be quoted, and the sum of the opinions formed on study of his character can best be expressed by saying that Henry was a great man and a great king.

Commenting on the character of King Henry, Hudson says: "The King is the most complex and many-sided of all Shakespeare's heroes, with the one exception of Hamlet; if indeed even Hamlet ought to be excepted. He is great alike in thought, in purpose, and in performance; all the parts of his character drawing together perfectly, as if there were no foothold for distraction among them. Truth, sweetness, and terror build in him equally. And he loves the plain presence of natural and homely characters, where all is genuine, forthright, and sincere. Even in his sternest actions as king, he shows, he cannot help showing, the motions of a brotherly heart: there is a certain grace and suavity in his very commands, causing them to be felt as benedictions. To be frank, open, and affable with all sorts of persons, so as to call their very hearts into their mouths, and move them to be free, plain-spoken, and simple in his company, as losing the sense of inferior rank in an equality of manhood,—all this is both an impulse of nature and a rule of judgment with him. Nothing contents him short of getting heart to heart with those about or beneath him: all conventional starch, all official forms, all the facings of pride, that stand in the way of this, he breaks through; yet he does this with so much natural dignity and ease, that those who see it are scarcely sensible of it: they feel a peculiar graciousness in him, but know not why. And in his practical sense of things, as well as in his theory, inward merit is the only basis of kingly right and rule: yet he is so much at home in this thought, that he never emphasizes it at all; because he understands full well that such merit, where it really lives, will best make its way when left to itself, and that any boasting or putting on airs about it can only betray a lack of it.

Thus the character of this crowned gentlemen stands together in that native harmony and beauty which is most adorned in being unadorned. And his whole behaviour appears to be governed by an instinctive sense of this. There is no simulation, no disguise, no study for appearances, about him: all got-up dignities, any thing put on for effect, whatever savours in the least of sham or shoddy, is his aversion; and the higher the place where it is used, the more he feels it to be out of place; his supreme delight being to seem just what he is, and to be just what he seems. In other words, he has a stedfast, living operative faith in the plenipotence of truth: he wants nothing better; scorns to rely on any thing else: this is the soul of all his thoughts and designs. The sense of any discrepancy between his inward and his outward parts would be a torment to him. Hence his unaffected heartiness in word and deed. Whatsoever he cannot enter into with perfect wholeness and integrity of mind, that he shrinks from having any thing to do with. Accordingly in all that flows from him we feel the working of a heart so full that it cannot choose but overflow. Perhaps indeed he has never heard it said that 'an honest man 's the noblest work of God'; perhaps he has never even thought it consciously; but it is the core of his practical thinking;

he lives it, and therefore knows it by heart, if not by head. . . .

The character of Shakespeare's Henry the Fifth may almost be said to consist of piety, honesty, and modesty. And he embodies these qualities in their simplest and purest form; all sitting so easy and natural in him that he thinks not of them. Then too, which is well worth the noting, they so draw and work together, that each may be affirmed of the others; that is, he is honest and modest in his piety, pious and modest in his honesty; so that there is nothing obtrusive or showy in his acting of these virtues: being solid and true, they are therefore much within and little without, and are perfectly free from any air of pretence or design. And all the other manly virtues gather upon him in the train of these; while, as before remarked, at the centre of the whole stands a serene faith in the sufficiency of truth. . . .

In respect of piety, the King exemplifies whatever was best in the teaching and practice of his time. Nor, upon the whole, is it altogether certain that any thing better has arisen since his time. What appears as modesty in his dealings with men here takes the form of humility, deep and unaffected; he thinks, speaks, and acts in fear of God: this trait is indeed the central point, the very core of the whole delineation."

[King Henry the Fifth, surnamed Monmouth from the place of his birth, was the eldest son of Henry the Fourth; born 1387, acceded 1413, died 1422. His youthful escapes and his associations with that marvellous creation, Sir John Falstaff form the leading incidents in the *First Part of King Henry the Fourth.* He accompanied his father to Wales in 1400 and succeeded in checking Glendower, assisted his father at Shrewsbury in 1403 where he was wounded; afterwards being appointed the king's lieutenant in Wales. On his accession he claimed the French crown and invaded France, captured Harfleur, and on the 25th of October, 1415, won the battle of Agincourt. Three years later he married the Princess Katharine, daughter of the French king, and in 1420 concluded the peace of Troyes under which he was recognised as regent and heir to the French throne. Returned to France for a third campaign in 1421 when he was seized with illness and died at Vincennes, August 31st, 1422.]

King Lewis, his satisfaction. I. ii. 88.

= the satisfaction of King Lewis' conscience. As mentioned in lines 77–83 Lewis could not wear the crown with a clear conscience "till satisfied That fair Queen Isabel, his grandmother, Was lineal to the Lady Ermengare, Daughter to Charles the foresaid Duke of Lorraine: By the which marriage the line of Charles the Great was reunited to the crown of France."

King of England. V. Chorus 37.

= King Henry the Fifth.

King of Scots. I. ii. 161.

> But taken and impounded as a stray
> The King of Scots; whom she did send to France,
> [I. ii. 160–161.]

David the Second, captured at the battle of Neville's Cross, October 17, 1346, by the English army under Queen Philippa, during the absence of Edward the Third in France. In the anonymous Play of *Edward III.*, John Copland, to whom David surrendered, is represented as taking his prisoner to Calais and handing him over to the king. David was not sent to France, but was held in captivity for eleven years.

King Pepin. I. ii. 65, 87.

"The Short," son of Charles Martel, and founder of the Carlovingian dynasty. He deposed Childeric in A.D. 751. According to the Archbishop, Pepin claimed the crown of France through female descent.

Ladies. V. ii. p.1.

Lady Ermengare. I. ii. 82.

According to Shakespeare, the daughter of Charles, Duke of Lorraine, and an ancestress of King Lewis the Tenth. The name is not mentioned in history.

Lady Lingare. I. ii. 74.

> Convey'd himself as heir to the Lady Lingare,
> Daughter to Charlemain, [I. ii. 74–76.]

Supposed ancestress of Hugh Capet. The name is not mentioned in history. Ritson says: "But then Charlechauve (Charlemain) had only one daughter, named Judith, married, or, as

some say, only betrothed, to our King Ethelwuld, and carried off, after his death, by Baldwin the forester, afterward Earl of Flanders, whom, it is very certain, Hugh Capet was neither heir to, nor any way descended from. This Judith, indeed, had a great-grand-daughter called Luitgarde, married to a Count Wichman, of whom nothing further is known. It was likewise the name of Charlemagne's fifth wife ; but no such female as Lingare is to be met with in any French historian. In fact, these fictitious personages and pedigrees seem to have been devised by the English heralds, to ' find a title with some show of truth,' which, ' in pure truth was corrupt and naught.' It was manifestly impossible that Henry, who had no hereditary title to his own dominions, could derive one, by the same colour, to another person's. He merely proposes the invasion and conquest of France, in prosecution of the dying advice of his father :

> to busy giddy minds
> In foreign quarrels ; that action, thence borne out,
> Might waste the memory of former days :

that his subjects might have sufficient employment to mislead their attention from the nakedness of his title to the crown. The zeal and eloquence of the Archbishop are owing to similar motives."

Le Fer, Monsieur. IV. iv. 26, 27, 28.

A French soldier taken prisoner by Pistol who exhorts a ransom of two hundred crowns from him.

Lestrale. III. v. 45 ; IV. iii. 102.

A French nobleman killed at the battle of Agincourt.

Lewis the Dauphin. II. iv. p.1, 6, 29, 111, 115 ; III. iii. 45 ; III. v. p.1, 64 ; III. vii. p.1, 93 ; IV. ii. p.1 ; IV. v. p.1.

An unworthy youth whose shallowness was mainly responsible for the French defeat. He is dissolute, boastful and arrogant, and his obstinate refusal to be turned from the idea that England

> is so idly king'd
> Her sceptre so fantastically borné
> By a vain, giddy, shallow, humorous youth,
> That fear attends her not. [II. iv. 26–29.]

shows plainly the shallowness of his nature.

We find that even his nobles doubt his courage, and the Constable freely states his mind when he says that the Dauphin " will eat all he kills in the battle."

He appears for the last time at Agincourt, and in the hour of defeat wildly exclaims ;

> Mort de ma vie ! all is confounded, all !
> Reproach and everlasting shame
> Sits mocking in our plumes. O meschante fortune !
> Do not run away. (IV. v. 3–6.]

and

> O perdurable shame ! let 's stab ourselves.
> Be these the wretches that we play'd at dice for ?
> [IV. v. 7–8.]

Gervinus says : " Among the French leaders there is hardly one who does not vie with another in empty boasting and bragging ; not one who does not share the childish delight in dress and military decoration, not one whom the seriousness of things can draw away from insipid witicisms and vain debates, not one who showed even a tinge of the seriousness and of the calm courage and devotion of the English. But the Dauphin surpasses them all in shallow self-complacency, in frivolous arrogance, and in this merry bragging from natural narrowness of capacity."

[The Dauphin was the eldest son of Charles the Sixth of France. He died in 1415 soon after the battle of Agincourt where he was not allowed to be present on account of his impetuousness. Succeeded as Dauphin by his brother John who died in 1417 and then by his brother Charles, afterwards Charles the Seventh, who figures in the *First Part of King Henry the Sixth* under both characters.]

Lewis the emperor. I. ii. 76.

> who was the son
> To Lewis the emperor, and Lewis the son
> Of Charles the Great. [I. ii. 75–77.]

Lewis the Tenth. I. ii. 77.

This should be Lewis the Ninth. Holinshed misled Shakespeare.

London. II. Chorus 34 ; III. ii. 12 ; III. vi. 70 ; V. Chorus 14, 24, 35.

London. An Antechamber in the King's Palace.

The Scene of Act I., Scene i. Opens with a discussion between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Ely relative to a Bill, which, if passed into law, would deprive the Church of a great portion of its wealth. With a view to gaining the support of the king, the Archbishop announces that he has offered on behalf of the Church a large subsidy for the prosecution of the war with France. Comment is also made on the marked change in the king's character since his accession. [According to Holinshed this scene took place at Leicester, where a Parliament was held on the 30th of April, 1414. See *Extract* 1 from Holinshed.]

London. Before a Tavern.

The Scene of Act II., Scene iii. We are back in London. The principal themes in this scene are the death of Sir John Falstaff, and the departure of Nym, Bardolph and Pistol for Southampton to join the army for France.

London. The Presence Chamber.

The Scene of Act I., Scene ii. The Archbishop of Canterbury is summoned by the king who asks him whether the Salique Law bars him from claiming the throne of France. The Archbishop satisfies the king that his claim is just, as the Salique Law originated in Germany, and therefore does not apply to France, and urges the king to stand for his own. Canterbury is supported in this by the Bishop of Ely and the Duke of Exeter, who incite Henry to war, the archbishop again offering a large sum of money, on behalf of the clergy. The king mentions the possibility of a Scottish invasion during the army's absence in France, but this objection is overcome. The French ambassadors are admitted and tell Henry that his claim to certain French dukedoms is rejected, and that the Dauphin has sent him a present of tennis-balls. Henry resents this insult, and war is declared between England and France.

Courtenay remarks: "Modern historians are apt to treat them [Henry's claims] as altogether unrighteous, and dictated by an inordinate ambition; and of this opinion, I fear, is Sir Harris Nicolas, who has so ably described the king's warlike achievements. Now it appears to me that though the claim to the crown could not be sustained, Henry had a just cause of war with France, from her breach of the treaty of Bretigny; and a just right to demand, at the least, all that had been lost since the renewal of hostilities on the part of France, for the provinces taken from his predecessors had not been ceded by any treaty of peace. England had been wrongfully dispossessed of them, and had never renounced her right to recover them."

London. A Street.

The Scene of Act II., Scene i. This comic interlude serves a two-fold purpose. First it acts as a relief to Act I., and secondly it reintroduces those comic characters who appeared in the Play of *King Henry the Fourth*.

Lord Bouciqualt. III. v. 45; IV. viii. 79.

Jean de Meingre, a celebrated Marshal of France. Taken prisoner at the battle of Agincourt; died in England being unable to pay the sum fixed for his ransom.

Lords. II. iv. p.1, p.75; V. ii. p.1, p.299.

Lord Scroop. II. Chorus 24; II. ii. p.12, 13, 58, 67, 94, 148.

One of the three conspirators against Henry's person, and who, with Cambridge and Grey, is accused of high treason. He admits being a party to the conspiracy, and begs Henry's mercy. The king, however, answers him:

> But O!
> What shall I say to thee, Lord Scroop? thou cruel,
> Ingrateful, savage and inhuman creature!
> Thou that didst bear the key of all my counsels,
> That knew'st the very bottom of my soul,
> That almost might'st have coin'd me into gold.
> [II. ii. 93–98.]

and orders his arrest and, subsequently, his execution.

[Henry, third Baron Scrope of Masham, eldest son of Sir Stephen Scrope (one of the characters in *Richard the Second*), second Lord Scrope of Masham, whom he succeeded in 1406; went on a mission with Henry Beaufort to France 1409;

arrested for conspiring to dethrone Henry the Fifth, and, being found guilty was executed in 1415 and his head fixed on one of the gates of York. *See also under* Earl of Cambridge.]

Lucifer. IV. vii. 142.

The morning star. Macgillivray quotes Gr. Phosphoros. " The name is applied by Isaiah to the King of Babylon, and from the time of St. Jerome (331–420) it has been bestowed upon the prince of darkness, whose kingdom in the Apocalypse is denoted by Babylon."

Macedon. IV. vii. 21, 23, 26, 28.

Macedonia, in ancient geography a country of south-eastern Europe. Alexander was born at Pella the capital of Macedonia.

Macmorris. III. ii. 72, p.78, 89, 99, 123, 129, 140.

Is regarded by Fluellen as " an ass, as in the world," having " no more directions in the true disciplines of the wars, than is a puppy-dog." He appears only in Act III., Scene ii., where we find him engaged in a heated argument,—which almost ends in a fight,—concerning " the disciplines of war."

For Hudson's comment on the character of Macmorris *see under* Fluellen.

Mark Antony. III. vi. 15.

I think
in my very conscience he is as valiant a man as
Mark Antony; [III. vi. 13–15.]

Grandson and a warm partisan of Julius Cæsar. After the assassination of the latter, defeated Brutus and Cassius at Philippi, and with Octavius and Lepidus formed a triumvirate. Pistol is considered by Fluellen to be as valiant a man as Mark Antony.

Marle. IV. viii. 102.

A French lord killed at the battle of Agincourt.

Mars. Prologue 6.

The Roman god of war. *See* Harry, Prologue 5.

Mars. IV. ii. 43.

Big Mars seems bankrupt in their beggar'd host,
[IV. ii. 43.]

= The god of war. A contemptuous term applied to Henry by Grandpré.

Masham. II. Chorus 24; II. ii. 13, 67, 148.

A small town in the North Riding of Yorkshire.

May-morn. I. ii. 120.

and my thrice-puissant liege
Is in the very May-morn of his youth, [I. ii. 119–120.]

" His May of youth." *Deighton.* Henry was born in 1387, and was at this time in his twenty-seventh year.

Meisen. I. ii. 53.

Which Salique, as I said, 'twixt Elbe and Sala,
Is at this day in Germany call'd Meisen [I. ii. 52–53.]

Meissen on the Elbe, near Dresden, famous for the manufacture of China.

Messengers. II. iv. p.65; III. vii. p.126; IV. ii. p.14.

Monmouth. IV. vii. 12, 26, 29, 55.

The county town of Monmouthshire and the birthplace of Prince Henry, afterwards King Henry the Fifth.

Monmouth caps. IV. vii. 103.

Monmouth was famous for the manufacture of caps which were formerly much worn by soldiers. The following stanza is from an old ballad *The Caps*, printed in *The Antidote against Melancholy*, 1661:

The soldiers that the *Monmouth* wear,
On castle's tops their ensigns rear.
The seaman with the thrumb doth stand
On higher parts than all the land.

Montjoy, a French Herald. III. v. 36, 61; III. vi. p.119, 144, 164, 168; IV. iii. p.79, 121, 122; IV. vii. p.68.

The name Montjoy is really a title, meaning King-at-arms, or chief herald.

On his first appearance he bears a message of defiance to Henry from the French king; secondly he appears as a messenger from the Constable of France before Henry asking a ransom "before his most assured overthrow." To this Henry replies in a stirring speech, concluding with the words;

> I fear thou wilt once more come again for a ransom.
> [IV. iii. 128.]

and these words are soon to be fulfilled, for on Montjoy's next appearance he says;

> I come to thee for charitable license,
> That we may wander o'er this bloody field,
> To book our dead, and then to bury them;
> [IV. vii. 73–75.]

According to French Montjoy was taken prisoner at Agincourt, and it was from him that Henry V. learned that he had gained the field, and the name of the place, as stated in the play. "Mont-joie" was the battle-cry of the French, as "St. George" was of the English; and in the *Famous Victories* the former are represented as crying: "St. Dennis Mont-joye, St. Dennis!"

Muse of fire. Prologue 1.

> O! for a Muse of fire, that would ascend
> The brightest heaven of invention; [I. Prologue 1–2.]

Shakespeare asks for inspiring influence after the manner of great epic poets. "This goes upon the notion of the Peripatetic system, which imagines several heavens one above another; the last and highest of which was one of fire." *Warburton.* "It alludes likewise," remarks Johnson, "to the aspiring nature of fire, which, by its levity, at the separation of the chaos, took the highest seat of all the elements."

Nell. II. i. 31.

= Dame Quickly, Hostess of a tavern in Eastcheap.

Nell. V. i. 85.

> News have I that my Nell is dead i' the spital
> Of malady of France; [V. i. 85–86.]

= Mrs. Quickly, wife of Pistol, who at this point receives news of her death.

Non nobis. IV. viii. 125.

'Not unto us.' The words are from *Psalm* cxv.

Northumberland. II. Chorus 25; II. ii. 68.

Numbers. I. ii. 98.

> For in the book of Numbers is it writ:
> "When a man dies, let the inheritance
> Descend unto the daughter." [I. ii. 98–100.]

The reference is to Zelophehad, a Manassite, who died during the journey of the Israelites in the wilderness, leaving no male issue. His five daughters successfully asserted their claim to their father's inheritance. See *Numbers* xxvii. 1–11.

Nym. II. i. p.1, 1, 13, 42, 102, 110, 123; II. iii. p.1, 4; III. ii. p.1, 37, 46; IV. iv. 71.

Like Pistol, the chief characteristics of Nym are his cowardice and his boastfulness, but he attempts to conceal his cowardice in an "impressive silence" rather than in a display of high-sounding phrases. The boy admirably characterises him when he says:

> For Nym, he hath
> heard that men of few words are the best men;
> [III. ii. 37–38.]

He invariably appears accompanied by Bardolph, and the Boy describes them as "sworn brothers in filching."

French observes: "The name of Nym is a verb which signifies 'to filch,' or as Pistol softens the expression, 'convey the wise it call.' Nym's peculiar 'humour' may have been taken by Shakespeare from actual observation."

Officers.

Parca's fatal web. V. i. 21.

> Ha! art thou bedlam? dost thou thirst, base
> Trojan
> To have me fold up Parca's fatal web? [V. i. 19–20.]

Pistol's bombastic phrase for 'to die' or 'to kill.' The Three Fates, daughters of Nox and Erebus, all-powerful goddesses who presided over the destiny of man. They dwelt in the

deep abyss of Demogorgon. Their names were Clotho, who held the distaff ; Lachesis, who spun the thread of human life ; and Atropos, who cut it.

> Sad Clotho held the rocke, the whiles the thrid
> By griesly Lachesis was spun with paine,
> That cruell Atropos eftsoones undid,
> With cursed knife cutting the twist in twaine.
> Most wretched men, whose dayes depend on
> thrids so vaine !
>
> Spenser : *Faerie Queene*, IV. ii.

Paris balls. II. iv. 131.

> I did present him with the Paris balls. [II. iv. 131.]

= Tennis balls, as mentioned in Act I., Scene ii. " And at this time, as some writers reporte, the Dolphyn, who heering this message sent to the French king his father, and disdeyning the youth of King Henry, and thinking it was an enterprise farre vnmete for him to take in hande, did therefore in mockage sende to him a Tonne of Tennys balles to play with all, meaning that he had better skill in a Tennys courte, and handling of a Ball, then in the martiall affayres of warre. But the King after he had receyued from the Dolphin his former present, aunswered : that before he had ended with him and his father, he purposed by Gods ayde to tosse as many Balles of Yron with him, which ye best racket he had should not be hable to resist nor returne." Grafton's *Chronicle*.

" And his lords gave him [Henry V.] counsel, to send ambassadors unto the King of France and his council, and that he should give up to him his right heritage, that is to say Normandy, Gascony, and Guienne, the which his predecessors had held before him, or else he would it win with dint of sword, in short time, with the help of Almighty God. And then the Dauphin of France answered our ambassadors, and said in this manner, that the king was over young and too tender of age to make war against him, and was not like yet to be no good warrior to do and to make such a conquest there upon him ; and somewhat in scorn and despite he sent to him a toune full of tennis balls because he would have somewhat for to play withal for him and for his lords, and that became him better than to maintain any war ; and then anon our lords that was ambassadors took their leave and came to England again, and told the King and his Council of the ungoodly answer that they had of the Dauphin, and of the present the which he had sent unto the King ; and when the King had heard their words and the answer of the Dauphin, he was wondrous sore aggrieved . . . and thought to avenge him upon them as soon as God would send him grace and might, and anon made tennis balls for the Dauphin, in all haste ; and they were great gun-stores for the Dauphin to play withal." *Chronicle of King Henry V.*, printed in Nicolas's *Battle of Agincourt*. [From Jones' *York and Lancaster*, 1399–1485.]

Paris Louvre. II. iv. 132.

> He 'll make your Paris Louvre shake for it, [II. iv. 132.]

The Louvre was the ancient palace of the French kings on the bank of the Seine, built in the seventh century.

Pegasus. III. vii. 14.

The fable steed of Bellerophon, which sprung from the blood of Medusa. Immediately he was born he flew up into heaven, or, according to Ovid he fixed his residence on Mount Helicon, where, by striking the ground with his hoof he caused water to spring forth, which formed the fountain called Hippocrene.

Perseus. III. vii. 21.

In Greek mythology the son of Jupiter and Danae. He slew the gorgon Medusa from whose blood Pegasus sprung, and rescued Andromeda, daughter of Cepheus from a dragon and won her as his bride.

Pharamond. I. ii. 37, 41, 58.

A king of the Franks, and the supposed founder of the Salique law. It is said that he visited incognito, the court of King Arthur, and was made a knight of the Round Table.

Philip of Macedon. IV. vii. 21.

King of Macedon, son of Amyntas II. and father of Alexander the Great. Assassinated at Ægae, Macedonia, 336 B.C.

Phœbus. III. Chorus 6.

and his brave fleet
With silken streamers the young Phœbus fanning : [III. Chorus 5–6.]

= Fanning the face of the sun-god Phœbus, or Apollo.

Phœbus. IV. i. 279.

from the rise to set
Sweats in the eye of Phœbus, [IV. i. 278–279.]

= Under the sun's rays. Phœbus was the sun-god.

Pistol. II. i. 3, p.27, 27, 28, 51, 55, 81 ; II. iii. p.1 ; III. ii. p.1, 35 ; III. vi. 18, p.20, 30, 51 ; IV. i. p.35, 62 ; IV. iv. p.1 ; V. i. 6, p.15, 18.

A bully, and as we might expect him to be, a coward as well. He is very much given to boasting, attempting to hide his cowardice under imposing language. He is described by Gower as " an arrant counterfeit rascal, a bawd, a cut-purse." Pistol is also fond of indulging in a display of classical allusions, which although ridiculous, are laughable, and were undoubtedly appreciated by the audiences of Shakespeare's time. Pistol, however, meets his superior in Fluellen, who humbles him by making him eat his Welsh leek, and soundly chastising him.

Dr. Johnson remarks : " " His character has been the model of all the bullies that have yet appeared on the English stage. . . . His language is reminiscent of the playhouse scraps and tags of the period, and, provided the words fill the mouth well, he lets the sense take care of itself. He has a passion for ' alliteration's artful aid,' but with him it is seldom ' apt.' "

Pistol's cock. II. i. 51.

For I can take, and Pistol's cock is up,
And flashing fire will follow. [II. i. 51–52.]

Mason remarks : " I can take fire. Though Pistol's cock was up, yet if he did not take fire, no flashing would ensue." The sentence is a play on Pistol's name.

Pompey the Great. IV. i. 70, 72.

Cneius Pompey, surnamed the Great, Roman General. He served in the social war in 89 B.C., and in the Mithridatic war. Formed against the Senate of Rome—in conjunction with Julius Cæsar and Crassus—the first triumvirate in 60 A.D. and six years later began the civil war against Cæsar, and after a struggle was totally defeated by Cæsar at Pharsalia. He escaped to Egypt and was assassinated by order of Ptolemy XII.

Queen Isabel. I. ii. 81.

Wife of Philippe Auguste, grandmother of Lewis the Ninth.

Quondam Quickly. II. i. 78.

Formerly Mrs. Quickly, Hostess of the Boar's Head Tavern in Eastcheap, now married to Pistol.

Rambures. III. v. 43 ; III. vii. p.1 ; IV. ii. p.1 ; IV. v. p.1 ; IV. v. p.1 ; IV. viii. 96.

Appears in three scenes, but does not take a prominent part in the action of the play. His name appears among those slain in the battle of Agincourt.

[A French lord who at the battle of Agincourt was " Master of the Crossbows." Probably the same person alluded to by Rymer in his *Fœdera* as " David, Seigneur de Ramouxes nostre Cambellain and Maister de Arbalestriers de France," in a treaty between Charles VI and Henry V., dated at Paris, August 22, 1413.]

Richard's body. IV. i. 301.

I Richard's body have interred new, [IV. i. 301.]

The body of Richard the Second—who had been deposed and murdered at Pontefract Castle —had been buried at Langley in Hertfordshire, but Henry V. transferred it to Westminster Abbey. " When all thinges were thus setled and framed to his purpose, he caused the bodie of king Richard the seconde to be remoued, with all funerall pompes conuenient for his estate, from Langley to Westminster, where he was honourably enterred with Queene Anne his first wife, in a solempne Tombe, erected and set vp at the costes and charges of this Noble Prince King Henrie." *Grafton.*

Richard's soul. IV. i. 309.

and I have built
Two chantries, where the sad and solemn priests
Sing still for Richard's soul. [IV. i. 307–309.]

A chantry was a foundation for the chanting of masses. *Two chantries.* One of these monasteries was for Carthusian monks, and was called *Bethlehem;* the other was for religious men and women of the order of Saint Bridget, and was named Sion. They were on opposite sides of the Thames, and adjoined the royal manor of Sheen, now called Richmond. Aldis Wright points out that "according to the charters of foundation of the two religious houses of Bethlehem at Shene and of Sion on the opposite side of the river that Henry did not establish them that masses might be sung for the repose of Richard's soul, yet it is possible that Shakespeare may have derived his information from the following narrative in Fabyan's *Chronicle* (ed. Ellis), "For asmoche as he knewe well that his fader had laboured the meanes to depose the noble prynce Richarde the Seconde, and after was consentyng to his deth, for which offence his said fader had sent to Rome, of y^{t} great cryme to be assayled [absolved], and was by y^{e} pope enioyned, y^{t} lyke as he had beraft hym of his naturall and bodely lyfe for euer in this world, that so, by co*n*tynuel prayer & suffragies of the churche, he shuld cause his soule to lyue perpetuelly in the celestyall worlde: Which penaunce, for that his fader by his lyfe dyd nat perfourme, this goostly knyght in most habundau*n*t maner perfourmyd it: for first he buyldyd .iii. houses of relygyon, as the Charterhous of monkes called Shene, the house of close nunnes called Syon, and the thirde was an house of Obseruau*n*tes buyldyd vpon that other syde of Thamys, & after let fall by hym for the skyll that foloweth, as testyfieth the boke or regyster of mayres. . . . And ouer this great acte of fou*n*ding of thise .ii. religious houses, he ordeyned at Westminster to bre*n*ne perpetuelly w^{t}out extinccon .iiii. tapers of waxe vpon y^{e} sepulture of kyng Richarde; & ouer y^{t} he ordeyned ther, to be co*n*tynued for euer, one day i*n* y^{e} weke, a solempn dirige to be songe, & vpon y^{e} morowe a masse; after which masse endid, certayn money to be gyuen, as before is expressyd, w^{t} other thy*n*ges in ye begyn*n*yng of this kynges reign.'

Roan. III. v. 53, 64.

= Rouen, the former capital of Normandy.

Roman Brutus. II. iv. 37.

And you shall find his vanities forespent
Were but the outside of the Roman Brutus,
Covering discretion with a coat of folly; [II. iv. 36–38.

The reference is to Lucius Junius Brutus who to escape the fate of his brother at the hands of his uncle Tarquinius Superbus feigned madness.

Rome. V. Chorus 26.

Rouen. A Room in the Palace.

The Scene of Act III., Scenes iv. and v.

Act III., Scene iv. Shows us the French princess, Katharine, taking lessons in English from her maid Alice. Critics consider that this scene was not written by Shakespeare. "I have left this ridiculous scene as I found it; and am sorry to have no colour left from any of the editions, to imagine it interpolates." *Warburton.* Johnson says: "Sir T. Hanmer has rejected it. The scene is indeed mean enough, when it is read; but the grimaces of two French women, and the odd accent with which they uttered the English, made it divert upon the stage. It may be observed, that there is in it not only the French language, but the French spirit. Alice compliments the princess upon her knowledge of four words, and tells her that she pronounces like the English themselves. The princess suspects no deficiency in her instructress, nor the instructress in herself. Throughout the whole scene there may be found French servility, and French vanity."

Act III., Scene v. The French king and his nobles discuss the position after which Charles sends Montjoy, his herald, to Henry with a message of defiance, afterwards ordering his nobles to intercept Henry in his march towards Calais.

Roussi. III. v. 44; IV. viii. 101.

A French noble killed at the battle of Agincourt.

Saint Crispian. IV. iii. 46.

See Crispian.

Saint Crispian's day. IV. iii. 67.

See Crispian.

Saint Davy's day. IV. i. 55 ; V. i. 2.

Tell him, I 'll knock his leek about his pate
Upon Saint Davy's day. [IV. i. 54–55.]

Saint David's day is March 1st. The leek is the national emblem of the Welsh and is still worn by Welshmen in their hats on St. David's day. Tradition states that the wearing of the leek dates from a famous victory gained by King Arthur over the Saxons on March 1st, 540. The battle was fought ' in a garden ' where leeks were growing and St. David, whose birthday it was, commanded the Welsh soldiers to wear a leek in their caps in commemoration of the victory.

Saint Denis. V. ii. 190, 216.

Saint Denis be my speed [V. ii. 190.]

= May the patron saint of France help me. Dionysius, Bishop of Paris and patron Saint of France. One of the missionaries sent from Rome in the third century to convert the Gauls. By order of the Roman governor he was tortured and put to death about 270 A.D.

Saint George. III. i. 34 ; V. ii. 217.

The patron saint of England. ' England and Saint George ' was the English battle cry.

Saint Tavy's day. IV. vii. 107.

= Saint David's day (q.v.).

Sala. I. ii. 45, 52, 63.

= the Saale, a tributary of the Elbe. The great part of the kingdom of Saxony lies " between the floods of Sala and of Elbe."

Salique land. I. ii. 39, 40, 44, 51, 52, 56.

" No woman shall succeed in Salique land : "
Which Salique land the French unjustly gloze
To be the realm of France, and Pharamond
The founder of this law and female bar.
Yet their own authors faithfully affirm
That the land Salique is in Germany, [I. ii. 39–44.]

The Salique land was originally a part of Germany, and did not become a part of France until centuries after the death of Pharamond :

Nor did the French possess the Salique land
Until four hundred one and twenty years
After defunction of King Pharamond. [I. ii. 56–58.]

As Pharamond died A.D. 426 and Charles the Great occupied the land beyond the Sala in 805 the interval was 379 years and not 421.

Salique Law. I. ii. 11, 54, 91.

An ancient law in force among the Salic tribes of the Franks—who finally settled in France under their leader Pharamond—which forbad the succession to pass through the female line. On the death of Charles IV. of France, Edward the Third claimed the crown of France through his mother Isabella, but the Salic Law debarred her and her heirs, and Philip the Long acceded to the throne. Queen Victoria was excluded from the throne of Hanover in 1837 by the operation of this law. Cf. *Extract* 2 from Holinshed.

Scotland. I. ii. 168.

See France. I. ii. 167.

Sir Guichard Dauphin. IV. viii. 97.

Great Master of France, killed at the battle of Agincourt.

Sir John. II. i. 118.

= Sir John Falstaff. The hostess at this point enters with the news that Falstaff has suddenly been taken ill.

Sir John. II. iii. 18 ; IV. vii. 53.

= Sir John Falstaff. *See also under* Falstaff.

Sir Richard Ketly. IV. viii. 106.

Killed at the battle of Agincourt, fighting on the side of the English.

Sir Thomas Erpingham. IV. i. p.13, 13, 24, 94, p.291 ; IV. iii. p.1.

Is described by Williams as a " good old commander and a most kind gentleman." He is

present at the battle of Agincourt, where he is placed in command of the archers. Henry greets him before the battle :

> Good morrow, old Sir Thomas Erpingham :
> A good soft pillow for that good white head
> Were better than a churlish turf of France.
> [IV. i. 13–15.]

but the brave old knight answers :

> Not so, my liege : this lodging likes me better,
> Since I may say ' Now lie I like a king,' [IV. i. 16–17.]

and adds his blessing on his king :

> The Lord in heaven bless thee, noble Harry! [IV. i. 33.]

[Sir Thomas Erpingham of Erpingham, Norfolk ; was in the service of John of Gaunt whom he accompanied to Spain in 1386 ; landed with Bolingbroke at Ravenspur and was made by him a K.G., Chamberlain of the Household, and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports ; distinguished himself at Agincourt, 1415. He was the builder of the Erpingham gate-way at Norwich, which forms one entrance to the Cathedral Close. He married first, Joan Walton, and secondly Joan, daughter of Sir William Clopton, knight, and died without issue in 1428. He was a supporter of Wycliffe, for which he incurred some persecution as a " Lollard."]

Sir Thomas Grey. II. Chorus 25 ; II. ii. p.12, 58, 68, 150.

One of the conspirators against Henry, who, with Scroop and Cambridge, is arrested at Southampton for high treason, and subsequently executed.

[Sir Thomas Grey was the son-in-law to the Earl of Westmoreland. This associate of the Earl of Cambridge and Lord Scroop in the conspiracy to dethrone Henry the Fifth was the second son of Sir Thomas Grey of Berwick, Constable of Norham Castle. He was executed at Southampton 1415. *See also under* Earl of Cambridge.]

Soldiers, English. III. i. p.1 ; III. iii. p.1 ; III. vi. p.90 ; IV. i. p.85 ; IV. iii. p.1 ; IV. vi. p.1 ; IV. vii. p.57.

Soldiers, French. IV. iv. p.1.

Somme. III. v. 1.

The ancient Samara. A river in northern France which flows into the English Channel, north-west of Dieppe. See *Extract* 7 from Holinshed, and Grafton's *Chronicle*, vol. I, page 514.

Song.

> The plain-song is most just, for humours do abound :
> Knocks go and come, God's vassals drop and die ;
> And sword and shield,
> In bloody field,
> Doth win immortal fame [III ii. 7–11.]

A snatch of some old ballad.

Plain-song = the simple melody of the song without variations.

Song.

> If wishes would prevail with me,
> My purpose should not fail with me,
> But thither would I hie.
> As duly,
> But not as truly,
> As bird doth sing on bough. [III. ii. 15–20.]

A snatch of some old ballad.

Southampton. II. Chorus 30, 35, 42 ; II. iii. 47.

A seaport in Hampshire from whence Henry the Fifth embarked for France. *See also Hampton.*

Southampton. A Council-chamber.

The Scene of Act II., Scene ii. The English army at Southampton prepares for the crossing to France when a conspiracy to put the king to death is discovered. Henry gives orders for a man imprisoned for insulting him to be liberated. The three conspirators—the Earl of Cambridge, Lord Scroop, and Sir Thomas Grey—unaware that their conspiracy is known, urge the king not to pardon the man, and by so doing pronounce their own doom for Henry hands to each of them a paper which reveals their plot. They are apprehended and sentenced to be beheaded.

Staines. II. iii. 1.

A town near Windsor on the road from London to Southampton.

Talbot. IV. iii. 54.

Fifth Baron Talbot, elder brother of John Talbot, first Earl of Shrewsbury. He is mentioned as one of those who would become "familiar as household words." Wright mentions that "Henry in his will (24th July, 1415) left Gilbert Lord Talbot, 'consanguineo nostro,' a basin and ewer of gold worth a hundred marks."

Tartar. II. ii. 123.

= Tartarus, the classical name for the infernal regions. Cf. *Twelfth Night*, II. v. 212–213 :

> To the gates of Tartar, thou most excellent devil of wit ?

Te Deum. IV. viii. 125.

A hymn of praise so-called from its first words Te Deum laudamus (We praise Thee, O God).

Thames. IV. i. 116.

= River Thames.

Train. II. iv. p.75.

A body of attendants ; a retinue.

Trojan. V. i. 20, 32.

= used here as a term of reproach or abuse.

Troyes in Champagne. An Apartment in the French King's Palace.

The Scene of Act V., Scene ii. The conference was held in St. Peter's Church, Troyes—but for dramatic purposes it is staged in the French King's Palace—in 1420, five years after Henry returned to England after his victory at Agincourt, so that Shakespeare has omitted the campaign of 1417–18 in which campaign Rouen was besieged and taken and Normandy conquered.

[This the final scene of the Play shows the meeting of the English and French monarchs at Troyes, the meeting having been brought about by Philip, Duke of Bergundy. A joint Council is appointed to consider terms of peace and retire to an adjoining room. Henry suggests that Katharine—daughter of the French king—remain behind. Henry woos Katharine and is successful. On the return of the Council the Duke of Burgundy announces that the King of France had acceded to all Henry's demands. This settled, Henry asks for Katharine's hand which is granted, and the play ends with Henry announcing that he will receive the oath of all the French nobles on his wedding-day when he will pledge his own word to Katharine.

"And aftir meny and dyvers tretee3, the xij kalendis of Juyne, the xl yere of king Charlis regne, in the cathedralle chirche of Nogent, kyng Harri withe the duke of Clarence his brothir and othir prince3 and noblis, and Ysabelle quene of Fraunce with the duke of Burgoyne, beyng there for kyng Charlis, thanne labouryng in his seeknesse forsaid, and in thair owen name3 also, and the iij statis of Fraunce, pee3 betuene the ij remes of Englond and of Fraunce was maad, and with certayn condicions approued. And kyng Charlis charged alle his liegemenne on peyne of forfaiture of thair ligeaunce3 to kepe the said pee3 ; and therto thay made thair othe, and plight thair trouthe3 in the hande3 of kyng Harri. And anon quene Ysabelle of Fraunce, and Philippe duke of Burgoyne, in the name of kyng Charlis, swoor vpon the holy gospellis to kepe the said pee3 so concludid for thaym and for their heiris and successours withoute fraude and male engyne for euermore ; and this same oth made quene Ysabel, and the duke of Burgoyne, and the iij statis of Fraunce to kyng Harri, to his heiris and successours. And atte ix kalendis of Juyne, befor quene Ysabel and kyng Charlis counsel, befor the parlement and the iij statis of Fraunce, and othir English prince3 and lordis, contract of matrimony be present wordis betuene kynge Harri and dame Katerine, kyng Charlis doughtir of Fraunce, was there maad and solemny3id. *An English Chronicle*, ed. Davies, [Camden Society, No. 64.] For the full Text of the Treaty of Troyes, see *inter alia* Grafton's *Chronicle ; or, History of England ;* and Rapin's *History of England.*

Tucket. III. vi. p.119 ; IV. iii. p.79.

A flourish on a trumpet.

Turk. V. ii. 219.

'and take the Turk by the beard' is merely a colloquial expression, as the Turks did not gain possession of Constantinople until 1453, when it was taken after fifty-three days' siege by Mahmud II.

Turkish mute. I. ii. 232.

> Like Turkish mute, shall have a tongueless mouth,
> [I. ii. 232.]

An allusion to the practice in Turkey of employing attendants at courts whose tongues had been cut out to prevent them betraying secrets.

Vaudemont. III. v. 43 ; IV. viii. 102.

A French noble, killed at the battle of Agincourt.

Whitsun morris-dance. II. iv. 25.

Originally a Moorish dance. These dances were used on festive, or on festival occasions such as May-day and Whitsuntide. Considered to have been introduced to England from Spain in the time of King Edward the Fourth. For full description see *A Dissertation on the Ancient English Morris Dance*, by Francis Douce.

Williams. IV. i. p.85 ; IV. viii. p.1.

A soldier in the ranks of Henry's army.

He is on sentry duty when Henry appears, and he challenges the king as he does not recognise him. Henry seizes the opportunity to make him talk in order to find out what the common soldiers think of the campaign. Williams is very outspoken, and challenges the king, after which they exchange gages, each vowing to challenge the other to combat should they meet at a more convenient time.

Later Henry gives the gage to Fluellen, and Williams, seeing his gage in Fluellen's cap, strikes him. Henry appears and explanations follow, the king bidding Exeter fill Williams' glove with crowns.

See also under Bates.

Wooden O. Prologue 13.

The Globe Theatre on the Bankside. It was built of wood, was circular within and octagonal without. It is supposed that the Play of *King Henry the Fifth* was first performed at the opening of this Theatre.

Wye. IV. vii. 29, 110.

The river Wye which runs through Monmouth, the birthplace of Prince Henry, who was afterwards Henry the Fifth.

APPENDIX I.

EXTRACTS FROM HOLINSHED[1] THAT ILLUSTRATE *The Life of King Henry the Fifth.*

1. In the second years of his reigne, king Henrie called his high court of parlement, the last daie of Aprill, in the towne of Leicester ; in which parlement manie profitable lawes were concluded, and manie petitions mooued were for that time deferred. Amongst which, one was, that a bill exhibited in the parlement holden at Westminster, in the eleuenth yeare of king Henrie the fourth (which by reason the king was then troubled with ciuill discord, came to none effect), might now with good deliberation be pondered, and brought to some good conclusion. The effect of which supplication was, that *the temporall lands* (deuoutlie *giuen*, and discordinatlie spent by religious, and other spirituall persons) should be seized into the kings hands ; sith the same might suffice to *mainteine, to the honor* of the king, and defense of the realme, *fifteene earles, fifteene hundred knights, six thousand and two hundred esquiers*, and a *hundred almesse-houses*, for *reliefe* onelie *of* the poore, impotent, and needie persons ; *and the king* to haue cleerelie *to* his *coffers* twentie *thousand pounds :* with manie other prouisions and values of religious houses, which I passe ouer.

2. This bill was much noted, and more feared, among the religious sort, whom suerlie it touched verie neere ; and therefore to find remedie against it, they determined to assaie all waies to put by and ouerthrow this bill : wherein they thought best to trie if they might mooue the kings mood with some sharpe inuention, that he should not regard the importunate petitions of the commons. Wherevpon, on a daie in the parlement, Henrie Chichelie archbishop of Canterburie made a pithie oration, wherein he declared, how not onelie the duchies of Normandie and Aquitaine, with the counties of Aniou and Maine, and the countrie of Gascoigne, were by vndoubted title apperteining to the king, as to the lawfull and onelie heire of the same ; but also the whole realme of France, as heire to his great grandfather king Edward the third.

[Chichele inveighed] against the surmised and false fained law Salike, which the Frenchmen alledge euer *against* the kings of England in *barre* of their iust title *to* the crowne of *France*. The verie words of that supposed law are these : *' In terram Salicam mulieres ne succedant ' ;* that is to saie, *' Into* the *Salike land* let not women *succeed.' Which the French* glossers expound *to be the realme of France, and* that *this law* was made by king *Pharamond ;* whereas *yet their owne authors affirme, that the land Salike is in Germanie, betweene* the riuers *of Elbe and Sala ;* and that when *Charles the great* had ouercome *the Saxons*, he placed there certeine *French*men, which hauing *in disdeine* the *dishonest maners of the Germane women*, made a *law*, that the *females should* not succeed to any inheritance with*in* that *land, which at this daie is called Meisen :* so that, if this be true, this *law was not* made *for the realme of France, nor the Frenchmen possessed the land Salike, till foure hundred* and *one and twentie yeares after* the death *of Pharamond*, the *supposed* maker *of this* Salike *law ;* for this Pharamond deceassed *in the yeare* 426, *and Charles the great subdued the Saxons, and* placed *the French*men in those parts *beyond the riuer* of *Sala, in the yeare* 805.

Moreouer, it appeareth by *their* owne *writers*, that *king Pepine, which deposed Childerike*, claimed *the crowne of France, as heire generall*, for that he was *descended of Blithild, daughter to king Clothair* the first. *Hugh Capet also, (who vsurped the crowne* vpon *Charles duke of Loraine*, the *sole heire male of the line and stocke of Charles the great,)* to *make his title* seeme true, and appeare good, (*though in* deed *it was* starke *naught,) conueied himselfe as heire to the ladie Lingard, daughter to* king *Charlemaine, sonne to Lewes the emperour*, that was *son to Charles the great. King Lewes also, the tenth,*[2] (otherwise called saint Lewes,) being verie *heire to the* said *vsurper* Hugh *Capet, could* neuer be *satisfied in his conscience* how he might iustlie keepe and possesse *the crowne of France, till* he was persuaded and fullie instructed, that *queene Isabell his grandmother was lineallie* descended *of the ladie Ermengard, daughter* and heire *to the* aboue named *Charles duke of Loraine ; by the which marriage, the* bloud and *line of Charles the great was* againe *vnited* and restored *to the crowne* & scepter of *France : so that* more *cleere* than *the sunne* it openlie *appeareth*, that the *title* of *king Pepin*, the *claime* of *Hugh Capet*, the possession of *Lewes ;* yea, and *the* French *kings to this daie*, are deriued and conueied from *the* heire *female ;* though *they would*, vnder the colour of such a fained *law, barre* the kings and princes of this realme of England of their right and lawfull inheritance.

The archbishop further alledged out of *the booke of Numbers* this saieng : ' When a man *dieth* without a sonne, *let the inheritance descend to* his *daughter.*'

1. Shakespeare's Holinshed, by W. B. Boswell-Stone. 2. ninth.

[*Chichele*] hauing said sufficientlie for the proofe of the kings iust and lawfull title to the crowne of France, he exhorted him to aduance foorth his banner to fight for his *right*, to conquer his inheritance, to spare neither *bloud, sword*, nor *fire ;* sith his warre was iust, his cause good, and his claime true. And to the intent his louing chapleins and obedient subiects *of the spiritualtie* might shew themselues willing and desirous to aid his maiestie, for the recouerie of his ancient right and true inheritance, the archbishop declared that, in their spirituall conuocation they had granted to his *highnesse such a summe* of monie, *as neuer* by no spirituall persons was to any prince before those daies giuen or aduanced.

When the archbishop had ended his prepared tale, Rafe Neuill, earle of Westmerland, and as then lord Warden of the marches against Scotland, vnderstanding that the king, vpon a couragious desire to recouer his right in France, would suerlie take the wars in hand, thought good to mooue the king to begin first with Scotland ; and therevpon declared how easie a matter it should be to make a conquest there, and how greatlie the same should further his wished purpose for the subduing of the Frenchmen ; concluding the summe of his tale with this old saieng : that, ' Who so *will France win, must with Scotland first begin.*'

Whilest in the Lent season the king laie at Killingworth, there came to him from Charles Dolphin of France certeine ambassadors, that brought with them a barrell of Paris balles ; which from their maister they presented to him for a token that was taken in verie ill part, as sent in scorne, to signifie, that it was more meet for the king to passe the time with such childish exercise, than to attempt any worthie exploit.

Wherfore the K. wrote to him, that yer ought long, he would tosse him some London balles that perchance should shake the walles of *the* best *court* in France.

3. When king Henrie had fullie furnished his nauie with men, munition, & other prouisions perceiuing that his capteines misliked nothing so much as delaie, determined his souldiors to go a ship-boord and awaie. But see the hap ! the night before the daie appointed for their departure, he was crediblie informed, that Richard earle of Cambridge, brother to Edward duke of Yorke, and Henrie lord Scroope of Masham, lord treasuror, with Thomas Graie, a knight of Northumberland, being confederat togither, had conspired his death : wherefore he caused them to be apprehended.

The said lord Scroope was in such fauour with the king, that he admitted him sometime to be his bedfellow ; in whose fidelitie the king reposed such trust, that, when anie priuat or publike councell was in hand, this lord had much in the determination of it. For he represented so great grauitie in his countenance, such modestie in behauiour, and so vertuous zeale to all godlinesse in his talke, that whatsoeuer he said was thought for the most part necessarie to be doone and followed. Also the said Thomas Graie (as some write) was of the kings priuie councell.

These prisoners, vpon their examination, confessed, that for a great summe of monie which they had receiued of the French king, they intended verelie either to haue deliuered the king aliue into the hands of his enimies, or else to haue murthered him before he should arriue in the duchie of Normandie. When king Henrie had heard all things opened, which he desired to know, he caused all his nobilitie to come before his presence ; from whome he caused to be brought the offenders also, and to them said : " Hauing thus *conspired* the death and destruction of me, which " am the head of the realme and gouernour of the people, it maie be (no doubt) but that you like- " wise haue sworne the confusion of all that are here with me, and also the *desolation* of your owne " countrie. To what horror (O lord !) for any true English hart to consider, that such an exe- " crable iniquitie should euer so bewrap you, as for pleasing of a forren enimie to imbrue your " hands in your bloud, and to ruine your owne natiue soile. *Reuenge* herein *touching* my *person*, " though I *seeke* not ; yet for the safegard of you my deere freends, & for due preseruation of all " sorts, I am by office to cause example to be shewed. *Get* ye *hence therefore*, ye *poore miserable* " *wretches*, to the receiuing of *your* iust reward ; wherein *Gods* maiestie *giue you* grace *of his mercie*, " *and repentance of your* heinous *offenses*." And so immediatlie they were had to execution.

4. [Henry] first princelie appointing to aduertise the French king of his comming, therefore dispatched Antelope his purseuant at armes with letters to him for restitution of that which he wrongfully withheld ; contrarie to the lawes of God and man : the king further declaring how sorie he was that he should be thus compelled for repeating of his right and iust title of inheritance, to make warre to the destruction of christian people ; but sithens he had offered peace which could not be receiued, now, for fault of iustice, he was forced to take armes. Neuerthelesse exhorted the French king, *in the bowels* of Iesu Christ, to render him that which was his owne ; whereby effusion of Christian bloud might be auoided. These letters, cheeflie to this effect and purpose, were written and dated from Hampton the fift of August. When the same were presented to the French king, and by his councell well perused, answer was made, that he would take aduise, and prouide therein as time and place should be conuenient : so the messenger [was] licenced to depart at his pleasure.

The Dolphin, who had the gouerance of the realme, bicause his father was fallen into his old disease of frensie, sent for the dukes of Berrie and Alanson, and all the other lords of the councell of France : by whose aduise it was determined, that they should not onelie prepare a sufficient armie to resist the king of England, when so euer he arriued to inuade France, but also to stuffe and furnish the townes on the frontiers and sea coasts with conuenient garrisons of men : . . .

The French king, being aduertised that king Henrie was arriued on that coast, sent in all hast the lord de la Breth constable of France, the seneshall of France, the lord Bouciqualt marshall of France, the seneshall of Henault, the lord Lignie, with other ; which fortified townes with men, victuals, and artillerie, on all those frontiers towards the sea.

[At Winchester,] before the kings presence, sitting in his throne imperiall, the archbishop of Burges made an eloquent and a long oration, dissuading warre, and praising peace ; offering to the king of England a great summe of monie, with diuerse countries, being in verie deed but base and poore, as a dowrie with the ladie Catharine in mariage ; so that he would dissolue his armie, and dismisse his soldiers, which he had gathered and put in a readinesse.

5. The Duke of Glocester, to whome the order of the siege was committed, made three mines vnder the ground ; and, approching to the wals with his engins and ordinance, would not suffer them within to take anie rest.

For although they with their countermining somwhat disappointed the Englishmen, & came to fight with them hand to hand within the mines, so that they went no further forward with that worke ; yet they were so inclosed on ech side, as well by water as land, that succour they saw could none come to them.

6. The king, aduertised hereof, sent them word, that, except they would surrender the towne to him the morow next insuing, without anie condition, they should spend no more time in talke about the matter. But yet at length through the earnest sute of the French lords, the king was contented to grant them truce untill nine of the clocke the next sundaie, being the two and twentith of September ; with condition, that, if in the meane time no rescue came, they should yeeld the towne at that houre, with their bodies and goods to stand at the kings pleasure. . . .

[During the truce,] the lord Bacqueuill was sent vnto the French king, to declare in what point the towne stood. To whome the Dolphin answered, *that* the kings *power* was *not yet* assembled, in such number as was conuenient *to raise so great a siege*. This answer being brought vnto the capteins within the towne, they rendered it vp to the king of England, after that the third daie was expired ; which was on the daie of saint Maurice, being the seuen and thirtith daie after the siege was first laid. The souldiors were ransomed, and the towne sacked, to the great gaine of the Englishmen. . . .

The king ordeined capteine of the towne his vncle the duke of Excester, who established his lieutenant there, one sir Iohn Fastolfe ; with fifteene hundred men, or (as some haue) two thousand, and thirtie six knights.

King Henrie, after the winning of Harflue, determined to haue proceeded further in the winning of other townes and fortresses ; but, bicause the dead time of the winter approched, it was determined by aduise of his councell, that he should in all conuenient speed set forward, and march through the countrie towards Calis by land, least his returne as then homewards should of slanderous toongs be named a running awaie ; and yet that iournie was adiudged perillous, by reason that the number of his people was much minished by the flix and other feuers, which sore vexed and brought to death aboue fifteene hundred persons of the armie : and this was the cause that his returne was the sooner appointed and concluded.

7. The French king, being at Rone, and hearing that king Henrie was passed the riuer of Some, was much displeased therewith, and, assembling his councell to the number of fiue and thirtie, asked their aduise what was to be doone. There was amongst these fiue and thirtie, his sonne the Dolphin, calling himselfe king of Sicill ; the dukes of Berrie and Britaine, the earle of Pontieu the kings yoongest sonne, and other high estates. At length thirtie of them agreed, that the Englishmen should not depart vnfought withall, and fiue were of a contrarie opinion, but the greater number ruled the matter : and so Montioy king at armes was sent to the king of England to defie him as the enimie of France, and to tell him that he should shortlie haue battell.

The noble men had deuised a chariot, wherein they might triumphantlie conucie the king captiue to the citie of Paris ; crieng to their soldiers : " Haste you to the spoile, glorie and honor ! " little weening (God wot) how soone their brags should be blowne awaie.

The Dolphin sore desired to haue beene at the battell, but he was prohibited by his father.

8. The king of England, (hearing that the Frenchmen approched, and that there was an other riuer for him to passe with his armie by a bridge, and doubting least, if the same bridge should be broken, it would be greatlie to his hinderance,) appointed certeine capteins with their bands, to

go thither with all speed before him, and to take possession thereof, and so to keepe it, till his comming thither.

Those that were sent, finding the Frenchmen busie to breake downe their bridge, assailed them so vigorouslie, that they discomfited them, and tooke and slue them; and so the bridge was preserued till the king came, and passed the riuer by the same with his whole armie. This was on the two and twentith day of October.

[During Henry's march there was no] outrage or offense doone by the Englishmen, except one, which was, that a souldiour took a pix out of a church, for which he was apprehended, & the king not once remooued till the box was restored, and the offendor strangled.

[Henry] caused proclamation to be made, that no person should be so hardie, on paine of death, either to take anie thing out of anie church that belonged to the same; or to hurt or doo anie violence either to priests, women, or anie such as should be found without weapon or armor, and not readie to make resistance: . . .

Yet in this great necessitie, the poore people of the countrie were not spoiled, nor anie thing taken of them without paiment, . . .

King Henrie aduisedlie answered: "Mine intent is to doo as it pleaseth God: I will *not seeke* "your maister at this time; but, if he or his seeke me, I will meet with them, God willing. If "anie of your nation attempt once to stop me in my iournie now towards Calis, at their ieopardie "be it; and yet wish I not anie of you so vnaduised, as to be the occasion that I die *your tawnie* "*ground with your red bloud.*"

When he had thus answered the herald, he gaue him a princelie reward, and licence to depart.

9. The cheefe leaders of the French host were these: the constable of France, the marshall, the admerall, the lord Rambures, maister of the crosbowes, and other of the French nobilitie; which came and pitched downe their standards and banners in the countie of saint Paule, within the territorie of Agincourt, . . .

They were lodged euen in the waie by the which the Englishmen must needs passe towards Calis; and all that night, after their comming thither, made great cheare, and were verie merie, pleasant, and full of game.

10. [The French were] incamped not past two hundred and fiftie pases distant from the English.

Fiers were made to giue light on euerie side, as there likewise were in the French host, . . .

[The French,] as though they had beene sure of victorie, made great triumph; for the capteins had determined before how to diuide the spoile, and the soldiers the night before had plaid the Englishmen at dice.

The Englishmen also for their parts were of good comfort, and nothing abashed of the matter; and yet they were both hungrie, wearie, sore trauelled, and vexed with manie cold diseases. Howbeit, reconciling themselues with God by hoossell and shrift, requiring assistance at his hands that is the onelie giuer of victorie, they determined rather to die, than to yeeld, or flee.

Order was taken by commandement from the king, after the armie was first set in battell arraie, that no noise or clamor should be made in the host; so that, in marching foorth to this village, euerie man kept himselfe quiet: . . .

11. When the messenger was come backe to the French host, the men of warre put on their helmets, and caused their trumpets to blow to the battell. They thought themselues so sure of victorie, that diuerse of the noble men made such hast towards the battell, that they left manie of their seruants and men of warre behind them, and some of them would not once staie for their standards: as, amongst other, the duke of Brabant, when his standard was not come, caused a baner to be taken from a trumpet and fastened to a speare; the which he commanded to be borne before him in steed of his standard.

Their armie (as some write) [extended] to the number of threescore thousand horsemen, besides footmen, wagoners, and other.

12. [Henry] determined to make haste towards Calis, and not to seeke for battell, except he were thereto constreined; bicause that his armie by sicknesse was sore diminished: in so much that he had but onelie two thousand horssemen, and thirteene thousand archers, bilmen, and of all sorts of other footmen.

It is said, that as he heard one of the host vtter his wish to another thus: "I would to God "there were with vs now so manie good soldiers as are at this houre within England!" the king answered: "I would not wish a man more here than I haue; we are indeed in comparison to the "enimies but a few, but if God of his clemencie doo fauour vs, and our iust cause, (as I trust he "will,) we shall speed well inough. But let no man ascribe victorie to our owne strength and "might, but onelie to Gods assistance; to whome I haue no doubt we shall worthilie haue cause "to giue thanks therefore. And if so be that for our offenses sakes we shall be deliuered into the

" hands of our enimies, the lesse number we be, the lesse damage shall the realme of England " susteine ; but if we should fight in trust of multitude of men, and so get the victorie, (our minds " being prone to pride,) we should thervpon peraduenture ascribe the victorie not so much to the " gift of God, as to our owne puissance, and thereby prouoke his high indignation and displeasure " against vs : and if the enimie get the vpper hand, then should our realme and countrie suffer " more damage and stand in further danger. But be you of good comfort, and shew your selues " valiant ! God and our iust quarrell shall defend vs, and deliuer these our proud aduersaries " with all the multitude of them which you see (or at the least the most of them) into our hands."

13. Here we may not forget how the French, thus in their iolitie, sent an herald to king Henrie, to inquire what ransome he would offer. Wherevnto he answered, that within two or three houres he hoped it would so happen, that the Frenchmen should be glad to common rather with the Englishmen for their ransoms, than the English to take thought for their deliuerance ; promising for his owne part, that his dead carcasse should rather be a prize to the Frenchmen, than that his liuing bodie should paie anie ransome.

[The king] appointed a vaward, of the which he made capteine, Edward duke of Yorke, who of an haulite courage had desired that office, . . .

14. When the Frenchmen perceiued his intent, they were suddenlie amazed and ran awaie like sheepe ; without order or arraie. Which when the king perceiued, he incouraged his men, and followed so quickelie vpon the enimies, that they ran hither and thither, casting awaie their armour : manie on their knees desired to haue their liues saued.

The Englishmen had taken a great number of prisoners, certeine Frenchmen on horssebacke, whereof were capteins Robinet of Borneuill, Rifflart of Clamas, Isambert of Agincourt, and other men of armes, to the number of six hundred horssemen, (which were the first that fled,) hearing that the English tents & pauilions were a good waie distant from the armie, without anie sufficient gard to defend the same, either vpon a couetous meaning to gaine by the spoile, or vpon a desire to be reuenged, entred vpon the kings campe ; and there spoiled the hails, robbed the tents, brake vp chests, and caried awaie caskets, and slue such seruants as they found to make anie resistance. . . .

But when the outcrie of the lackies and boies, which ran awaie for feare of the Frenchmen thus spoiling the campe, came to the kings eares, he, (doubting least his enimies should gather togither againe, and begin a new field ; and mistrusting further that the prisoners would be an aid to his enimies, or the verie enimies to their takers in deed if they were suffered to liue,) contrarie to his accustomed gentlenes, commanded by sound of trumpet, that euerie man (vpon paine of death) should incontinentlie slaie his prisoner.

15. When this lamentable slaughter was ended, the Englishmen disposed themselues in order of battell, readie to abide a new field, and also to inuade, and newlie set on, their enimies : with great force they assailed the earles of Marle and Fauconbridge, and the lords of Louraie, and of Thine, with six hundred men of armes ; who had all that daie kept togither, but [were] now slaine and beaten downe out of hand.

Some write, that the king, perceiuing his enimies in one part to assemble togither, as though they meant to giue a new battell for preseruation of the prisoners, sent to them an herald, commanding them either to depart out of his sight, or else to come forward at once, and giue battell : promising herewith, that if they did offer to fight againe, not onelie those prisoners which his people alreadie had taken, but also so manie of them as, in this new conflict, which they thus attempted, should fall into his hands, should die the death without redemption.

The Frenchmen, fearing the sentence of so terrible a decree, without further delaie parted out of the field.

In the morning, Montioie king at armes and foure other French heralds came to the K., to know the number of prisoners, and to desire buriall for the dead. Before he made them answer (to vnderstand what they would saie) he demanded of them whie they made to him that request ; considering that he knew not whether the victorie was his or theirs ? When Montioie by true and iust confession had cleered that doubt to the high praise of the king, he desired of Montioie to vnderstand the name of the castell neere adioining : when they had told him that it was called Agincourt, he said, " Then shall this conflict be called the battell of Agincourt."

The daie following was the fiue and twentith of October in the yeare 1415 ; being then fridaie, and the feast of Crispine and Crispinian : a day faire and fortunate to the English, but most sorrowful and vnluckie to the French.

[The King] feasted the French officers of armes that daie, and granted them their request ; which busilie sought through the field for such as were slaine. But the Englishmen suffered them not to go alone, for they searched with them, & found manie hurt, but not in ieopardie of their liues ; whom they tooke prisoners, and brought them to their tents.

The king that daie shewed himselfe a valiant knight, albeit almost felled by the duke of Alanson ; yet with plaine strength he slue two of the dukes companie, and felled the duke himselfe ; whome, when he would haue yelded, the kings gard (contrarie to his mind) slue out of hand.

16. There are taken prisoners : *Charles duke of Orleance, nephue to the* French king ; *Iohn duke of Burbon ;* the *lord Bouciqualt,* one of the marshals of France (he after died in England) ; with a number of *other lords, knights, and esquiers,* at the least *fifteene hundred, besides* the *common* people. There were *slaine* in all of the French part to the *number of ten thousand* men ; whereof were *princes* and noble men *bearing baners one hundred twentie and six ; to these, of knights, esquiers, and gentlemen,* so manie as made vp the number of *eight thousand and foure hundred* (*of the which fiue hundred were dubbed knights* the night before the battell) : so as, of the meaner sort, not past *sixteene hundred.* Amongst those of the nobilitie that were slaine, these were the cheefest : *Charles* lord *de la Breth, high constable of France ; Iaques of Chatilon,* lord of Dampier, *admerall of France ; the lord Rambures, master of the crossebowes ; sir Guischard Dolphin, great master of France ; Iohn duke of Alanson ; Anthonie duke of Brabant, brother to the duke of Burgognie ; Edward duke of Bar ;* the earle of Neuers, an other brother to the duke of Burgognie ; with the *erles of Marle, Vaudemont, Beaumont, Grandpree, Roussie, Fauconberge, Fois, and Lestrake ;* besides a great number of lords and barons of name.

Of Englishmen, there died at this battell, *Edward duke of Yorke ; the earle of Suffolk ; sir Richard Kikelie ;* and *Dauie Gamme, esquier ; and, of all other,* not aboue *fiue and twentie persons,* . . .

And so, about foure of the clocke in the after noone, the king, when he saw no apperance of enimies, caused the retreit to be blowen ; and, gathering his armie togither, gaue thanks to almightie God for so happie a victorie ; causing his prelats and chapeins to sing this psalme : " In exitu Israel de Aegypto " ; and commanded euerie man to kneele downe on the ground at this verse : " *Non nobis,* Domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam." Which doone, he caused *Te Deum,* with certeine anthems to be soong ; giuing laud and praise to God, without boasting of his owne force or anie humane power.

17. When the king of England had well refreshed himselfe, and his souldiers, (that had taken the spoile of such as were slaine,) he, with his prisoners, in good order, returned to his towne of Calis.

After that the king of England had refreshed himselfe, and his people at Calis, . . . the sixt [16th] daie of Nouember, he with all his prisoners tooke shipping, and the same daie landed at Douer, . . . In this passage, the seas were so rough and troublous, that two ships belonging to sir Iohn Cornewall, lord Fanhope, were driuen into Zeland ; howbeit, nothing was lost, nor any person perisht.

The maior of London, and the aldermen, apparelled in orient grained scarlet, and foure hundred commoners clad in beautifull murrie, (well mounted, and trimlie horssed, with rich collars, & great chaines,) met the king on Blackheath ; reioising at his returne : and the clergie of London, with rich crosses, sumptuous copes, and massie censers, receiued him at saint Thomas of Waterings with solemne procession.

The king, like a graue and sober personage, and as one remembring from whom all victories are sent, seemed little to regard such vaine pompe and shewes as were in triumphant sort deuised for his welcomming home from so prosperous a iournie : in so much that he would not suffer his helmet to be caried with him, whereby might haue appeared to the people the blowes and dints that were to be seene in the same ; neither would he suffer anie ditties to be made and soong by minstrels of his glorious victorie, for that he would wholie haue the praise and thanks altogither giuen to God.

[On or about May 1, 1416,] the emperour Sigismund . . . came into England, to the intent that he might make an attonement betweene king Henrie and the French king : . . .

There came to him eftsoones ambassadours from the French king and the duke of Burgognie to mooue him to peace. The king, minding not to be reputed for a destroier of the countrie, which he coueted to preserue, or for a causer of christian bloud still to be spilt in his quarell, began so to incline and giue eare vnto their sute and humble request, that at length, (after often sending to and fro,) and that the bishop of Arras, and other men of honor had beene with him, and likewise the earle of Warwike, and the bishop of Rochester had beene with the duke of Burgognie, they both finallie agreed vpon certeine articles ; so that the French king and his commons would thereto assent.

18. Now was the French king and the queene with their daughter Katharine at Trois in Champaigne ; gouerned and ordered by them, which so much fauoured the duke of Burgognie, that they would not, for anie earthlie good, once hinder or pull backe one iot of such articles as the same duke should seeke to preferre. And therefore what needeth manie words ? a truce

tripartite was accorded betweene the two kings and the duke, and their countries; and order taken that the king of England should send, in the companie of the duke of Burgognie, his ambassadours vnto Trois in Champaigne; sufficientlie authorised to treat and conclude of so great matter. The king of England, being in good hope that all his affaires should take good successe as he could wish or desire, sent to the duke of Burgognie, his vncle the duke of Excester, the earle of Salisburie, the bishop of Elie, the lord Fanhope, the lord Fitz Hugh, sir Iohn Robsert, and sir Philip Hall, with diuerse doctors, to the number of fiue hundred horsse; which in the companie of the duke of Burgognie came to the citie of Trois the eleuenth of March. The king, the queene, and the ladie Katharine them receiued, and hartilie welcomed; shewing great signes and tokens of loue and amitie.

After a few daies they fell to councell, in which at length it was concluded, that king Henrie of England should come to Trois, and marie the ladie Katharine; and the king hir father after his death should make him heire of his realme, crowne, and dignitie. It was also agreed, that king Henrie, during his father in lawes life, should in his steed haue the whole gouernement of the realme of France, as regent thereof: with manie other couenants and articles, as after shall appeere.

[Henry,] mistrusting that the duke of Burgognie was the verie *let* and stop of his desires, said vnto him before his departure: "Coosine, we will haue your kings daughter, and *all* things that "we demand with hir, or we will driue your king and you out of his realme."

[Henry went to Troyes,] accompanied with his brethren the dukes of Clarence and Glocester, the earles of Warwike, Salisburie, Huntington, . . .

The two kings and their councell assembled togither diuerse daies; wherein the first concluded agreement was in diuerse points altered and brought to a certeinetie, according to the effect aboue mentioned.

1. First, it is accorded betweene our father and vs, that forsomuch as by the bond of matrimonie made for the good of the peace betweene vs and our most deere beloued Katharine, daughter of our said father, & of our most deere moother Isabell his wife, the same Charles and Isabell beene made our father and moother: therefore them as our father and moother we shall haue and worship, as it fitteth and seemeth so worthie a prince and princesse to be worshipped, principallie before all other temporall persons of the world.

25. Also *that* our said father, during his life, *shall name*, call, and *write* vs *in French in this* maner: *Nostre treschier filz Henry roy d'Engleterre heretere de France. And in Latine* in this maner: *Præclarissimus filius noster Henricus rex Angliæ & hæres Franciæ.*

[Henry] went to visit the French king, the queene, and the ladie Katharine, whome he found in saint Peters church, where was a verie ioious meeting betwixt them; (and this was on the twentith daie of Maie;) and there the king of England and the ladie Katharine were affianced.

The kings sware for their parts to obserue all the couenants of this league and agreement. Likewise the duke of Burgognie, and a great number of other princes and nobles which were present, receiued an oth, . . .

APPENDIX II.

EXTRACTS FROM *The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth, conteining the Honorable Battell of Agincourt*, utilised by Shakespeare in the *Life of King Henry the Fifth.*[1]

Hen. V. Now my good Lord Archbishop of Canterbury,
What say you to our Embassage into France ?

Archb. Your right to the French Crowne of France,
Came by your great grandmother Izabel,
Wife to King Edward the third,
And sister to Charles the French King :
Now if the French king deny it, as likely inough he wil,
Then must you take your sword in hand,
And conquer the right.
Let the vsurped Frenchman know,
Although your predecessors haue let it passe, you wil not :
For your Countrymen are willing with purse and men,
To aide you.
Then my good Lord, as it hath bene alwaies knowne,
That Scotland hath bene in league with France,
By a sort of pensions which yearly come from thence,
I thinke it therefore best to conquere Scotland,
And thē I think that you may go more easily into France :
And this is all that I can say, My good Lord.

Hen. V. I thanke you, my good lord Archbishop of Canterbury.
What say you my good Lord of Oxford ?

Oxf. And, And please your Maiestie,
I agree to my Lord Archbishop, sauing in this,
He that wil Scotland win, must first with France begin :
According to the old saying.
Therefore my good Lord, I think it best to inuade France,
For in conquering Scotland, you conquer but one,
And conquere France, and conquere both.

Enter Lord of Exeter.

Exe. And please your Maiestie,
My Lord Embassador is come out of France.

Hen. V. Now trust me my Lord,
He was the last man that we talked of,
I am glad that he is come to resolue vs of our answere,
Commit him to our presence.

Enter Duke of Yorke.

York. God saue the life of my soueraign Lord the king.

Hen. V. Now my good Lord the Duke of York,
What newes from our brother the French King ?

York. And please your Maiestie,
I deliuered him my Embassage,
Whereof I tooke some deliberation,
But for the answere he hath sent,
My Lord Embassador of Burges, the Duke of Burgony,
Monsieur le Cole, with two hundred and fiftie horsemen,
To bring the Embassage.

Hen V. Commit my Lord Archbishop of Burges Into our presence.

1. Shakespeare's Library, edited by Hazlitt.

Enter Archbishop of Burges

Now my Lord Archbishop of Burges,
We do learne by our Lord Embassador,
That you haue our message to do
From our brother the French King :
Here my good Lord, according to our accustomed order,
We giue you frée libertie and license to speake,
With good audience.

Archb. God saue the mightie King of England,
My Lord and maister, the most Christian king,
Charles the seuenth, the great & mightie king of France,
As a most noble and Christian king,
Not minding to shed innocent blood, is rather content
To yéeld somewhat to your vnreasonable demaunds,
That if fiftie thousand crownes a yeare with his daughter
The said Ladie Katheren, in marriage,
And some crownes which he may wel spare,
Not hurting of his kingdome,
He is content to yéeld so far to your vnreasonable desire.

Hen. V. Why then belike your Lord and maister,
Thinks to puffe me vp with fifty thousand crowns a yere,
No tell thy Lord and maister,
That all the crownes in France shall not serue me,
Except the Crowne and kingdome it selfe :
And perchance hereafter I wil haue his daughter.

Archb. And may it please your maiestie,
My Lord Prince Dolphin greets you well,
With this present.

He deliuereth a Tunne of Tennis Balles.

Hen. V. What a guilded Tunne ?
I pray you my Lord of Yorke, looke what is in it ?

Yorke. And it please your Grace,
Here is a Carpet and a Tunne of Tennis balles.

Hen. V. A Tunne of Tennis balles ?
I pray you good my Lord Archbishop,
What might the meaning thereof be ?

Archb. And it please you my Lord,
A messenger you know, ought to kéepe close his message,
And specially an Embassador.

Hen. V. But I know that you may declare your message
To a king, the law of Armes allowes no lesse.

Archb. My Lord, hearing of your wildnesse before your
Fathers death, sent you this my good Lord,
Meaning that you are more fitter for a Tennis Court
Then a field, and more fitter for a Carpet then the Camp.

Hen. V. My lord Prince Dolphin is very pleasant with me :
But tel him, that in stéed of balles of leather,
We wil tosse him balles of brasse and yron,
Yea such balles as neuer were tost in France,
The proudest Tennis Court shall rue it.
I and thou Prince of Burges shall rue it.
Therefore get thée hence, and tel him thy massage quickly,
Least I be there before thee : Away priest, be gone.

. . . . . .

Now my Lords, to Armes, to Armes,
For I vow my heauen and earth, that the proudest
French man in all France, shall rue the time that euer
These Tennis balles were sent into England.
My Lord, I wil yt there be prouided a great Nauy of ships,
With all spéed, at South-Hampton.

Enter a Captaine, Iohn Cobler and his wife.

Cap. Come, come, there 's no remedie,
Thou must néeds serue the King.
Iohn. Good maister Captaine let me go,
I am not able to go so farre.
Wife. I pray you good maister Captaine,
Be good to my husband.
Cap. Why I am sure he is not too good to serue ye king ?
Iohn. Alasse no : but a great deale too bad,
Therefore I pray you let me go.
Cap. No, no, thou shalt go.
Iohn. Oh sir, I haue a great many shooes at home to Cobble.
Wife. I pray you let him go home againe.
Cap. Tush I care not, thou shalt go.
Iohn. Oh wife, and you had béen a louing wife to me,
This had not bene, for I haue said many times,
That I would go away, and now I must go
Against my will. *He weepeth.*

. . . . . .

Enters the Theefe.

. . . . . .

Cap. How now good fellow, doest thou want a maister.
Theefe. I truly sir.
Cap. Hold thée then, I presse thée for a souldier,
To serue the King in France.
Der. How now Gads, what doest knowes thinkest ?
Theefe. I, I knew thée long ago.
Der. Heare you maister Captaine ?
Cap. What saist thou ?
Der. I pray you let me go home againe.
Cap. Why what wouldst thou do at home ?
Der. Marry I haue brought two shirts with me,
And I would carry one of them home againe,
For I am sure héele steale it from me,
He is such a filching fellow.
Cap. I warrant thée he wil not steale it from thée,
Come lets away.
Der. Come maister Captaine lets away,
Come follow me.
Iohn. Come wife, lets part lovingly.
Wife. Farewell, good husband.
Der. Fie what a kissing and crying is here ?
Sownes, do ye thinke he wil neuer come againe ?
Why Iohn come away, doest thinke that we are so base
Minded to die among French men ?
Sownes, we know not whether they will laie
Vs in their Church or no : Come M. Captain, lets away.
Cap. I cannot staie no longer, therefore come away. [*Exeunt omnes.*

Enter the King, Prince Dolphin, and Lord high Constable of France.

King. Now my Lord high Constable,
What say you to our Embassage into England ?
Con. And it please your Maiestie, I can say nothing,
Vntil my Lords Embassadors be come home,
But yet me thinkes your grace hath done well,
To get your men in so good a readinesse,
For feare of the worst.
King. I my Lord we haue some in a readinesse,
But if the King of England make against vs,
We must haue thrice so many moe.

Dol. Tut my Lord, although the King of England
Be yoong and wild headed, yet neuer think he will be so
Vnwise to make battell against the mightie King of France.
King. Oh my sonne, although the King of England be
Yoong and wilde headed, yet neuer thinke but he is rulde
By his wise Councellors.

Enter Archbishop of Burges.

Archb. God saue the life of my soueraign lord the king.
King. Now my good Lord Archbishop of Burges,
What news from our brother the English King ?
Archb. And please your Maiestie,
He is so far from your expectation,
That nothing wil serue him but the Crowne
And kingdome it selfe, besides, he bad me haste quickly,
Least he be there before me, and so far as I heare,
He hath kept promise, for they say, he is alreadie landed
At Kidcocks in Normandie, vpon the Riuer of Sene,
And laid his siege to the Garrison Towne of Harflew.
King. You have made great haste in the meane time,
Haue you not ?
Dol. I pray you my Lord, how did the King of
England take my presents ?
Archb. Truly my Lord, in very ill part,
For these your balles of leather,
He will tosse you balles of brass and yron.
Trust me my Lord, I was verie affraide of him,
He is such a hautie and high minded Prince,
He is as fierce as a Lyon.
Con. Tush, we wil make him as tame as a Lambe, I warrant you.

Enter a Messenger.

Mess. God saue the mightie King of France.
King. How Messenger, what newes ?
Mess. And it please your Maiestie,
I come from your poore distressed Towne of Harflew,
Which is so beset on euery side,
If your Maiestie do not send present aide,
The Towne will be yeelded to the English King.
King. Come my Lords, come, shall we stand still
Till our Country be spoyled vnder our noses ?
My Lords, let the Normanes, Brabants, Pickardies,
And Danes, be sent for with all spéede :
And you my Lord high Constable, I make Generall
Ouer all my whole Armie.
Monsieur le Colle, Maister of the Boas,
Signior Deuens, and all the rest, at your appointment.
Dol. I trust your Maiestie will bestow,
Some part of the Battell on me,
I hope not to present any otherwise then well.
King. I tell thée my sonne,
Although I should get the victory, and thou lose thy life,
I should thinke my selfe quite conquered,
And the English men to haue the victorie.
Dol. Why my Lord and father,
I would haue the pettie king of England to know,
That I dare encounter him in any ground of the world.
King. I know well my sonne,
But at this time I will haue it thus :
Therefore come away. [*Exeunt omnes.*

Enters Henry the fifth, with his Lords.

Hen. V. Come my Lords of England,
No doubt this good lucke of winning this Towne,
Is a signe of an honourable victorie to come.
But good my Lord, go and speake to the Captaines
With all spéed, to number the hoast of the French men,
And by that meanes we may the better know
How to appoint the battell.

Yorke. And it please your Maiestie,
There are many of your men sicke and diseased,
And many of them die for want of victuals.

Hen. V. And why did you not tell me of it before ?
If we cannot haue it for money,
We will haue it by dint of sword,
The lawe of Armes allow no lesse.

Oxf. I beséech your grace, to graunt me a boone.

Hen. V. What is that my good Lord ?

Oxf. That your grace would give me the
Euantgard in the battell.

Hen. V. Trust me my Lord of Oxford, I cannot :
For I haue alreadie giuen it to my vnc[l]e ye Duke of York,
Yet I thanke you for your good will.

A Trumpet soundes.

How now; what is that ?

Yorke. I thinke it be some Herald of Armes.

Enters a Herald.

Her. King of England, my Lord high Constable,
And others of the Noble men of France,
Sends me to defie thée, as open enemy to God,
Our Countrey, and vs, and hereupon,
They presently bid thée battell.

Hen. V. Herald tell them, that I defie them,
As open enemies to God, my Countrey, and me,
And as wron[g]full vsurpers of my right :
And whereas thou saist they presently bid me battell.
Tell them that I thinke they knowe how to please me :
But I pray thée what place hath my lord Prince Dolphin
Here in battell.

Her. And it please your grace,
My Lord and King his father,
Will not let him come into the field.

Hen V. Why then he doth me great iniurie,
I thought that he & I shuld haue plaid at tennis togither
Therefore I haue brought tennis balles for him,
But other maner of ones then he sent me.
And Herald, tell my Lord Prince Dolphin,
That I haue inured my hāds with other kind of weapons
Then tennis balles, ere this time of day,
And that he shall finde it, ere it be long,
And so adue my friend :
And tell my Lord that I am readie when he will. [*Exit Herald.*
Come my Lords, I care not and I go to our Captaines,
And ile sée the number of the French army my selfe.
Strike up the Drumme. [*Exeunt omnes.*

Enter French souldiers.

1 *Soul.* Come away Jack Drummer, come away all,
And me will tel you, what me wil doo,
Me wil tro one chance on the dice,
Who shall haue the king of England and his lords.

2 *Soul.* Come away Iacke Drummer,
And tro your chance, and lay downe your Drumme.

Enter Drummer.

Drum. Oh the braue apparrel that the English mans
Hay broth ouer, I wil tel you what
Me ha donne, me ha prouided a hundreth trunkes,
And all to put the fine parel of the English mans in.

1 *Soul.* What do thou meane by trunkea (*sic*) ?

2 *Soul.* A shest man, a hundred shests.

1 *Soul.* Awee, awee, awee, Me wil tel you what,
Me ha put fiue children out of my house,
And all too litle to put the fine apparel of the
English mans in.

Drum. Oh the braue, the braue apparel that we
Haue anon, but come, and you shall sée what we wil tro
At the kings Drummer and Fife,
Ha, me ha no good lucke, tro you.

3 *Soul.* Faith me wil tro at y^e^ Earle of Northumberland
And my Lord a Willowby, with his great horse,
Snorting, farting, oh braue horse.

1 *Soul.* Ha, bur Ladie you ha reasonable good lucke,
Now I wil tro at the king himselfe,
Ha, me haue no good lucke.

Enters a Captaine.

Cap. How now what make you here,
So farre from the Campe ?

2 *Soul.* Shal me tel our captain, what we haue done here ?

Drum. Awée, awée. [*Exeunt Drum and one souldier.*

2 *Soul.* I wil tel you what whe haue doune,
We haue bene troing on shance on the Dice,
But none can win the king.

Cap. I thinke so, why he is left behind for me,
And I haue set thrée or foure chaire-makers a worke,
To make a new disguised chaire to set that womanly
King of England in, that all the people may laugh
And scoffe at him.

2 *Soul.* Oh braue Captaine.

Cap. I am glad, and yet with a kindle of pitie,
To sée the poore king.
Why, who euer saw a more flourishing armie in France
In one day, then here is ? Are not here all the Péeres
of France ?
Are not here the Normans with their firie hand-
Gunnes, and slaunching Curtleaxes ?
Are not here the Barbarians with their bard horses,
And lanching speares ?
Are not here Pickardes with their crosbowes & piercing Dartes.
The Henues with their cutting Glaues, and sharpe Carbuckles
Are not here the Lance knights of Burgondie ?
And on the other side, a site of poore English scabs ?
Why take an English man out of his warme bed
And his stale drinke, but one moneth,
And alas what wil become of him ?
But giue the Frenchman a Reddish roote,
And he wil liue with it all the dayes of his life. [*Exit.*

2 *Soul.* Oh the braue apparel that we shall haue of the English mans.
[*Exit.*

Enters the king of England, and his Lords.

Hen. V. Come my Lords and fellows of armes,
What company is there of the French men ?

Oxf. And it please your Maiestie,
Our Captaines haue numbred them,
And so neare as they can iudge,
They are about thréescore thousand horsemen,
And fortie thousand footemen.

Hen. V. They thréescore thousand,
And we but two thousand.
They thréescore thousand footemen,
And we twelue thousand.
They are a hundred thousand,
And we fortie thousand, ten to one.
My Lords and louing Countrey men,
Though we be fewer, and they many,
Feare not, your quarrel is good, and God wil defend you :
Plucke vp your hearts, for this day we shall either haue
A valiant victorie, or a honourable death.
Now my Lords, I wil that my vncle the Duke of Yorke,
Haue the auantgard in the battell.
The Earle of Darby, the Earle of Oxford,
The Earle of Kent, the Earle of Nottingham,
The Earle of Huntingdon, I wil haue beside the army,
That they may come fresh vpon them.
And I my self with the Duke of Bedford.
The Duke of Clarence and the Duke of Gloster,
Wil be in the midst of the battell.
Furthermore, I wil that my Lord of Willowby,
And the Earle of Northumberland,
With their troupes of horsemen, be cõtinually running
like Wings on both sides of the army :
My Lord of Northumberland, on the left wing.
Then I wil that euery archer prouide him a stake of
A trée, and sharpe it at both endes,
And at the first encounter of the horsemen,
To pitch their stakes downe into the ground before them,
That they may gore themselues vpon them,
And then to recoyle backe, and shoote wholly altogither,
And so discomfit them.

Oxf. And it please your Maiestie,
I wil take that in charge, if your grace be therwith cõtent.

Hen. V. With all my heart, my good Lord of Oxford :
And go and prouide quickly.

Oxf. I thanke your highnesse. [*Exit.*

Hen. V. Well my Lords, our battels are ordeined,
And the French making of bonfires, and at their bankets,
But let them looke, for I meane to set vpon them.
The Trumpet soundes.
Soft, here comes some other French message.

Enters Herald.

Her. King of England, my Lord high Constable,
And other of my Lords, considering the poore estate of thée
And thy poore Countrey men,
Sends me to know what thou wilt giue for thy ransome ?
Perhaps thou maist agrée better cheape now,
Then when thou art conquered.

Hen. V. Why then belike your high Constable,
Sends to know what I wil giue for my ransome ?
Now trust me Herald, not so much as a tun of tennis-bals
No not so much as one poore tennis-ball,
Rather shall my bodie lie dead in the field to féed crowes,
Then euer England shall pay one penny ransome For my bodie.

Her. A kingly resolution.

Hen. V. No Herald, tis a kingly resolution,
And the resolution of a king :
Here take this for thy paines. [*Exit Herald.*
But stay my Lords, what time is it ?

All. Prime my Lord.

Hen. V. Then it is good time no doubt,
For all England praieth for vs :
What my Lords, me thinks you looke chéerfully vpon me ?
Why then with one voice and like true English hearts,
With me throw vp your caps, and for England,
Cry S. George, and God and S. George helpe vs.
Strike Drummer. [*Exeunt omnes.*
The Frenchmen crie within, S. Dennis, S. Dennis,
Mount Ioy, S. Dennis.

The Battell.

Enters King of England, and his Lords.

Hen. V. Come my Lords come, by this time our
Swords are almost drunke with French blood,
But my Lords, which of you can tell me how many of our
Army be slaine in the battell ?
Oxf. And it please your Maiestie,
There are of the French armie slaine
Aboue ten thousand, twentie sixe hundred
Whereof are Princes and Nobles bearing banners :
Besides, all the Nobilitie of France are taken prisoners.
Of your Maiesties Armie, are slaine none but the good
Duke of Yorke, and not aboue fiue or six and twentie
Common souldiers.
Hen. V. For the good Duke of Yorke my vnckle,
I am heartily sorie, and greatly lament his misfortune,
Yet the honourable victorie which the Lord hath giuen vs,
Doth make me much reioyce. But staie,
Here comes another French message.
Sound Trumpet

Enters a Herald and kneeleth.

Her. God saue the life of the most mightie Conqueror,
The honourable king of England.
Hen. V. Now Herald, me thinks the world is changed
With you now, what I am sure it is a great disgrace for a
Herald to kneele to the king of England,
What is thy message ?
Her. My Lord & maister, the conquered king of France,
Sends thée long health, with heartie gréeting.
Hen. V. Herald, his greetings are welcome,
But I thanke God for my health :
Well Herald, say on.
Her. He hath sent me to desire your Maiestie,
To giue him leaue to go into the field to view his poore
Countrymen, that they may all be honourably buried.
Hen. V. Why Herald, doth thy Lord and maister
Send to me to burie the dead ?
Let him bury them a Gods name.
But I pray thée, Herald, where is my Lord hie Constable,
And those that would haue had my ransome ?
Her. And it please your maiestie,
He was slaine in the battell.
Hen. V. Why you may sée, you will make your selues
Sure before the victorie be wonne, but Herald,
What Castle is this so néere adioyning to our Campe ?
Her. And it please your Maiestie,
'Tis cald the Castle of Agincourt.
Hen. V. Well then my lords of England,
For the more honour of our English men,
I will that this be for euer cald the battell of Agincourt.
Her. And it please your Maiestie,
I haue a further message to deliuer to your Maiestie.
Hen. V. What is that Herald ? say on.

Her. And it please your Maiestie, my Lord and maister,
Craues to parley with your Maiestie.
Hen. V. With a good will, so some of my Nobles
View the place for feare of trecherie and treason.
Her. Your grace néeds not to doubt that.
Hen. V. Well, tell him then, I will come.

[*Exit Herald.*

Now my lords, I will go into the field my selfe,
To view my country men, and to haue them honourably
Buried, for the French King shall neuer surpasse me in
Curtesie, while I am Harry King of England.
Come on my lords. [*Exeunt omnes.*

Enters Iohn Cobler and Robbin Pewterer.

Robin. Now Iohn Cobler,
Didst thou sée how the King did behaue himselfe ?
Iohn. But Robin, didst thou see what a pollicie
The King had, to sée how the French men were kild
With the stakes of the trées.
Robin. I Iohn, there was a braue pollicie.

Enters an English Souldier roming.

Soul. What are you my maisters ?
Both. Why we be English men.
Soul. Are you English men, then change your language
For all the Kings Tents are set a fire,
And all they that speake English will be kild.
Iohn. What shall we do Robin ? faith ile shift,
For I can speake broken French.
Robin. Faith so can I, lets heare how thou canst speak.
Iohn. Commodeuales Monsieur.
Iohn. Thats well, come lets be gone. *Drum and Trumpet sounds.*

Enters Dericke roming. After him a Frenchman, and takes him prisoner.

Der. O good Mounser.
French. Come, come, you villeaco.
Der. O I will sir, I will.
French. Come quickly you pesant.
Der. I will sir, what shall I giue you ?
French. Marry, thou shalt giue me,
One, to, tre, foure hundred Crownes.
Der. Nay sir, I will giue you more,
I will giue you as many crowns as will lie on your sword.
French. Wilt thou giue me as many crowns
As will lie on my sword ?
Der. I marrie will I, but you must lay downe your
Sword, or else they will not lie on your sworde.

Here the Frenchman layes downe his sword, and the clowne takes it vp, and hurles him downe.

Der. Thou villaine, darest thou looke vp ?
French. O good Mounsier comparteue
Monsieur pardon me.
Der. O you villaine, now you lie at my mercie,
Doest thou remember since thou lambst me in thy short el ?
O villaine, now I will strike off thy head.

Here whiles he turns his back, the Frenchman runnes his wayes.

Der. What is he gone, masse I am glad of it,
For if he had staid, I was afraid he wold haue sturd again,
And then I should haue béene spilt,
But I will away, to kill more Frenchmen.

Enters King of France, King of England, and attendants.

Hen. V. Now my good brother of France,
My comming into this land was not to shead blood,
But for the right of my Countrey, which if you can deny,
I am content peaceably to leaue my siege,
And to depart out of your land.
Char. What is it you demand,
My louing brother of England.
Hen. V. My Secretary hath it written, read it.
Sec. Item, that immediately Henry of England
Be crowned King of France.
Char. A very hard sentence.
My good brother of England.
Hen. V. No more but right, my good brother of France.
Fr. King. Well, read on.
Sec. Item, that after the death of the said Henry,
The Crowne remaine to him and his heires for euer.
Fr. King. Why then you do not onely meane to
Dispossesse me, but also my sonne.
Hen. V. Why my good brother of France,
You haue had it long inough :
And as for Prince Dolphin,
It skils not though he sit beside the saddle :
Thus I haue set it downe, and thus it shall be.
Fr. King. You are very peremptorie,
My good brother of England.
Hen. V. And you as peruerse, my good brother of France.
Char. Why then belike, all that I haue here is yours.
Hen. V. I euen as far as the kingdom of France reaches.
Char. I for by this hote beginning,
We shall scarce bring it to a calme ending.
Hen. V. It is as you please, here is my resolution.
Char. Well my brother of England,
If you will, giue me a copie,
We will meet you againe to-morrow.
[*Exit King of France, and all their attendants.*
Hen. V. With a good will my good brother of France.
Secretary deliuer him a coppie.
My lords of England goe before,
And I will follow you. [*Exeunt Lords. Speaks to himselfe.*
Hen. V. Ah Harry, thrice vnhappie Harry.
Hast thou now conquered the French King,
And begins a fresh supply with his daughter,
But with what face canst thou seeke to gaine her loue,
Which has sought to win her fathers Crowne ?
Her fathers Crowne said I, no it is mine owne :
I but I loue her, and must craue her,
Nay I loue her and will haue her.

Enters Lady Katheren and her Ladies.

But here she comes :
How now faire Ladie Katheren of France,
What newes ?
Kathren. And it please your Maiestie,
My father sent me to know if you will debate any of these
Vnreasonable demands which you require.
Hen. V. Now trust me, Kate,
I commend thy fathers wit greatly in this,
For none in the world could sooner haue made me debate it
It it were possible :
But tell me swéete Kate, canst thou tell how to loue ?
Kate. I cannot hate my good Lord,
Therefore far vnfit were it for me to loue.

Hen. V. Tush Kate, but tell me in plaine termes,
Canst thou loue the King of England ?
I cannot do as these Countries do,
That spend halfe their time in woing :
Tush wench, I am none such,
But wilt thou go ouer to England ?

Kate. I would to God, that I had your Maiestie,
As fast in loue, as you haue my father in warres,
I would not vouchsafe so much as one looke,
Vntill you had related all these vnreasonable demands.

Hen. V. Tush Kate, I know thou wouldst not vse me so hardly :
But tell me, canst thou loue the King of England ?

Kate. How should I loue him, that hath dealt so hardly
With my father ?

Hen. V. But ile deale as easily with thee,
As thy heart can imagine, or tongue can require,
How saist thou, what will it be ?

Kate. If I were of my owne direction,
I could giue you answere :
But séeing I stand at my fathers direction,
I must first know his will.

Hen. V. But shal I haue thy good wil in the mean season ?

Kate. Whereas I can put your grace in no assurance,
I would be loth to put you in any dispaire.

Hen. V. Now before God, it is a sweete wench.

She goes aside, and speaks as followeth.

Kate. I may thinke my selfe the happiest in the world,
That is beloued of the mighty King of England.

Hen. V. Well Kate, are you at hoast with me ?
Swéete Kate, tel thy father from me,
That none in the world could sooner haue perswaded me to
It then thou, and so tel thy father from me.

Kate. God kéepe your Maiestie in good health. [*Exit Kate.*

Hen. V. Farwel swéet Kate, in faith it is a swéet wench,
But if I knew I could not haue her fathers good wil,
I would so rowse the Towers ouer his eares,
That I would make him be glad to bring her me,
Vpon his hands and knées. [*Exit King.*

Enter Dericke with his girdle full of shooes.

Der. How now ? Sownes it did me good to see how
I did triumph ouer the French men.

Enters Iohn Cobler rouing, with a packe full of apparell.

Iohn. Whoope Dericke, how doest thou ?

Der. What Iohn, Comedeuales, aliue yet.

Iohn. I promise thée Dericke, I scapte hardly,
For I was within halfe a mile when one was kild.

Der. Were you so ?

Iohn. I trust me, I had like bene slaine.

Der. But once kild, why it is nothing,
I was foure or fiue times slaine.

Iohn. Foure or fiue times slaine.
Why how couldst thou haue béene aliue now ?

Der. O Iohn, neuer say so,
For I was cald the bloodie souldier amongst them all.

Iohn. Why what didst thou ?

Der. Why, I will tell thée Iohn,
Euery day when I went into the field,
I would take a straw, and thrust it into my nose,
And make my nose bléed, and then I wold go into the field,
And when the Captaine saw me, he would say,
Peace a bloodie souldier, and bid me stand aside,

Der. (*contd.*) Whereof I was glad :
But marke the chance Iohn.
I went and stood behinde a tree, but marke then Iohn,
I thought I had béne safe, but on a sodaine,
There steps to me a lustie tall Frenchman,
Now he drew, and I drew,
Now I lay here, and he lay there,
Now I set this leg before, and turned this backward,
And skipped quite ouer a hedge,
And he saw me no more there that day,
And was not this well done Iohn ?

Iohn. Masse Dericke, thou hast a wittie head.

Der. I Iohn, thou maist sée, if thou hadst taken my coũsel,
But what hast thou there ?
I thinke thou hast bene robbing the Frenchman.

Iohn. I faith Dericke, I haue gotten some reparrell,
To carry home to my wife.

Der. And I haue got some shooes,
For ile tel thee what I did, when they were dead,
I would go take off all theyr shooes.

Iohn. I, but Dericke, how shall we get home ?

Der. Nay sownds and they take thée, They wil hang thée,
O Iohn, neuer do so, if it be thy fortune to be hangd,
Be hangd in thy owne language whatsoeuer thou doest.

Iohn. Why Dericke the warres is done,
We may go home now.

Der. I but you may not go before you aske the king leaue,
But I know a way to go home, and aske the king no leaue.

Iohn. How is that Dericke ?

Der. Why Iohn, thou knowest the Duke of Yorkes
Funerall must be carried into England, doest thou not ?

Iohn. I that I do.

Der. Why then thou knowest wéele go with it.

Iohn. I but Dericke, how shall we do for to méet them ?

Der. Sownds if I make not shift to méet them, hang me.
Sirra, thou knowst that in euery Towne there wil
Be ringing, and there wil be cakes and drinke,
Now I wil go to the Clarke and Sexton
And kéepe a talking, and say, O this fellow rings well,
And thou shalt go and take a péece of cake, then ile ring,
And thou shalt say, oh this fellow kéepe a good stint,
And then I will go drinke to thée all the way :
But I maruel what my dame wil say when we come home,
Because we haue not a French word to cast at a Dog
By the way ?

Iohn. Why what shall we do Dericke ?

Der. Why Iohn, ile go before and call my dame whore,
And thou shalt come after and set fire on the house,
We may do it, Iohn, for ile proue it,
Because we be souldiers. *The Trumpets sound.*

Iohn. Dericke helpe me to carry my shooes and bootes.

Enters King of England, Lord of Oxford and Exeter, then the King of France, Prince Dolphin, and the Duke of Burgondie, and attendants.

Hen. V. Now my good brother of France,
I hope by this time you haue deliberated of your answere ?

Fr. King. I my welbeloued brother of England,
We haue viewed it ouer with our learned Councell,
But cannot finde that you should be crowned King of France

Hen. V. What not King of France, then nothing,
I must be King : but my louing brother of France,
I can hardly forget the late iniuries offered me,
When I came last to parley,

Hen. V. (*contd.*) The French men had better a raked
The bowels out of their fathers carkasses,
Then to haue fiered my Tentes,
And if I knew thy sonne Prince Dolphin for one,
I would so rowse him, as he was neuer so rowsed,
Fr. King. I dare sweare for my sonnes innocencie
In this matter.
But if this please you, that immediately you be
Proclaimed and crowned heire and Regent of France,
Not King, because I my selfe was once crowned King.
Hen. V. Heire and Regent of France, that is well,
But that is not all that I must haue.
Fr. King. The rest my Secretary hath in writing.
Sec. Item, that Henry King of England,
Be Crowned heire and Regent of France,
During the life of King Charles, and after his death,
The Crowne with all rights to remaine to King Henry
Of England, and to his heires for euer.
Hen. V. Well my good brother of France,
There is one thing I must néeds desire.
Fr. King. What is that my good brother of England ?
Hen. V. That all your Nobles must be sworne to be true to me.
Fr. King. Whereas they haue not stucke with greater
Matters, I know they wil not sticke with such a trifle,
Begin you my Lord Duke of Burgondie.
Hen. V. Come my Lord of Burgondie,
Take your oath vpon my sword.
Burgon. I Philip Duke of Burgondie,
Sweare to Henry King of England,
To be true to him, and to become his league-man,
And that if I Philip, heare of any forraigne power
Comming to inuade the said Henry or his heires,
Then I the said Philip to send him word,
And aide him with all the power I can make,
And thereunto I take my oath. *He kisseth the sword.*
Hen. V. Come Prince Dolphin, you must sweare too. *He kisseth the sword.*
Hen. V. Well my brother of France,
There is one thing more I must néeds require of you,
Fr. King. Wherein is it that we may satisfie your Maiestie ?
Hen. V. A trifle my good brother of France.
I meane to make your daughter Quéene of England,
If she be willing, and you therewith content :
How saist thou Kate, canst thou loue the King of England ?
Kate. How should I loue thee, which is my fathers enemy ?
Hen. V. Tut stand not vpon these points,
Tis you must make vs friends :
I know Kate, thou art not a litle proud, that I loue thée :
What wench, the King of England ?
Fr. King. Daughter let nothing stand betwixt the
King of England and thée, agree to it.
Kate. I had best while he is willing.
Least when I would, he will not :
I rest at your Maiesties commaund.
Hen. V. Welcome swéet Kate, but my brother of France.
What say you to it ?
Fr. King. With all my heart I like it,
But when shall be our wedding day ?
Hen. V. The first Sunday of the next moneth,
God willing. [*Sound Trumpets. Exeunt omnes.*

G-B17
pt.13

The First Part of King Henry the Sixth.

Written. 1589–1591. In the *Diary* of Philip Henslowe, edited by Collier, the following entry appears: "Rd at henery the vj, the 3 of marche 1591 . . . iij[li] xvj[s] v[d]." It was acted by 'my lord Stranges mene,' and proved extremely popular and profitable, the receipts at the first performance amounting to £3 16*s.* 5*d.*

The only external piece of evidence is the reference in Thomas Nash's *Pierce Penniless's Supplication to the Devil:* "How would it haue joy'd braue Talbot (the terror of the French) to thinke that after he had lyne two hundred yeare in his tomb, he should triumph againe on the stage, and haue his bones new embalmed with the teares of ten thousand spectators at least, (at seuerall times), who, in the tragedian that represents his person, imagine they behold him fresh bleeding.

Published. 1623. Considered to be an old Play by one or more authors, which has been re-modelled by Shakespeare. Greene seems to have had the chief hand in the play, and others mentioned are Peele, Marlowe and Nash. It is not mentioned by Meres in his *Palladis Tamia, or, Wit's Treasury.*

Source of the Plot. The *Chronicles* of Raphael Holinshed[1] and Edward Hall. The latter has been extensively used, as his Chronicle *The Union of the two Noble and Illustre Families of Lancaster and York* was specially devoted to the wars between the houses of York and Lancaster.

Henry the Fifth died at Vincennes in France and was buried in Westminster Abbey with great pomp. Before he died he gave instructions for the future ruling of the two kingdoms, his infant son being only nine months old. To his elder brother, the Duke of Bedford, Henry committed the Regency of Kingdom of France; nominated his uncle, Thomas Beaufort Duke of Exeter, as regent of the Kingdom of England and guardian to his son; and appointed the Earl of Warwick as his governor.[2]

Outline of the Play. The *First Part of King Henry the Sixth* continues the story of *King Henry the Fifth.* It covers a period of twenty-two years from the funeral of Henry the Fifth, November 1422, to the overture of marriage made by Suffolk to Margaret of Anjou on behalf of Henry the Sixth towards the end of 1444.

The first Act opens in Westminster Abbey during the funeral of Henry the Fifth. Realising the calamity that has fallen upon the kingdom by the premature death of the king, Bedford very sorrowfully enjoins the "heavens hang themselves with black, yield day to night!" for England has lost the greatest king that ever ruled over her, while Gloucester remarks that "England ne'er had a king until his time," a king whose "deeds exceeded all speech" for he "ne'er lifted up his hand but conquered." Exeter on the other hand advances the opinion that the "subtle-witted French" whom he describes as "conjurers and sorcerers," had by "magic verses contriv'd his

1. *See* Appendix I. 2. *See* Appendix II.

end." The Bishop of Winchester claims that Henry's victories were due to the prayers of the church, averring that the "dreadful judgment-day" will not be so awful to the French, as was the sight of Henry:

> He was a king bless'd of the King of kings.
> Unto the French the dreadful judgment-day
> So dreadful will not be as was his sight.
> The battles of the Lord of hosts he fought:
> The church's prayers made him so prosperous.

but Gloucester—Winchester's rival—tells him that the "church's prayers" were the cause of the king's decline in health, and denounces Winchester as a hypocrite who desires a weak monarch, so that he may have him in subjection:

> The church! where is it? had not churchmen pray'd
> His thread of life had not so soon decay'd:
> None do you like but an effeminate prince,
> Whom, like a school-boy, you may over-awe.

Winchester retorts by telling Gloucester that as protector he wants to "rule the prince and realm," and that his wife, who is proud, "holds him in awe, More than God or religious churchmen," and the face of the haughty prelate flushes with rage as Gloucester, in scornful accents, hurls at him:

> Name not religion, for thou lov'st the flesh,
> And ne'er throughout the year to church thou go'st
> Except it be to pray against thy foes.

"Cease, cease these jars and rest your minds in peace!" entreats Bedford, who earnestly beseeches the "ghost of the dead king" will "Prosper this realm, and keep it from civil broils!" for Henry's soul will make a "far more glorious star Than Julius Cæsar or bright ——." This speech is interrupted by the entry of a messenger with tidings that the English provinces in France: "Guienne, Champaigne, Rheims, Orleans, Paris, Guysors, and Poictiers," have been captured by the French with heavy loss of life. "What say'st thou, man, before dead Henry's corse?" interposes Bedford, "Speak softly" for the "loss of those great towns" would "before dead Henry's corse make him burst his lead and rise from death." Is Paris Lost? is Roan yielded up?" enquires Gloucester, "If Henry was recall'd to life again These news would cause him once more yield the ghost." "How were they lost?" demands Exeter, "what treachery was us'd?" and the messenger replies there was no treachery, but the calamity was due to "want of men and money," owing, as the "soldiers mutter" to the "several factions" in England who are at loggerheads as to who should be appointed generals, instead of showing a united front to the enemy. "Were our tears wanting to this funeral These tidings would call forth her flowing tides," observes Exeter, while Bedford, as Regent of France, immediately calls for his "steeled coat" intending to depart for France forthwith, when a second messenger enters with the news that the Dauphin Charles has been crowned king of France at Rheims; "The Bastard of Orleans with him is join'd; Reignier, Duke of Anjou, doth take his part; The Duke of Alençon flieth to his side." "The Dauphin crowned king! exclaims Exeter with surprise, then all the French will now flock to their king's standard, and "whither shall we fly from this reproach?" "We will not fly, but to our enemies' throats," retorts Gloucester, for if "Bedford be slack, he himself will fight it out," and Bedford asks Gloucester if he doubts his eagerness to meet the emergency, assuring him that he has already mustered in his thoughts an army which will overrun France. This messenger is followed by a third who bears the evil tidings that at the siege of Orleans, the valiant Talbot with scarce "six thousand

men " had been attacked by twenty-three thousand Frenchmen, and after fighting for over three hours, had, owing to the treachery of Sir John Fastolfe, been wounded and taken prisoner, together with the Lords Scales and Hungerford ; and further, that the Earl of Salisbury owing to want of reinforcements could " hardly keep his men from mutiny," being so greatly outnumbered by the French. Bedford, who declares that if Talbot had been slain, he would have slain himself, decides to start for France without delay, and " hale the Dauphin headlong from his throne." On Bedford's departure, Gloucester purposes paying a " hasty visit " to the Tower, to " view th' artillery and munition " ; after which he will " proclaim young Henry king," while Exeter, as " special governor to the young king " proceeds to Eltham. Having gone, Winchester muses to himself that each has his rank and his duty to perform, yet for himself " nothing remains " being " left out," and declaring that he will not be " Jack out of office for long " for he will remove the young king from Eltham, and be the dictator of the realm :

> Each hath his place and function to attend :
> I am left out ; for me nothing remains,
> But long I will not be Jack out of office.
> The king from Eltham I intend to send,
> And sit at chiefest stern of public weal.

In the next scene we are before Orleans, which town the English forces are besieging. At the sound of a trumpet, King Charles with his forces appears, and declares that Mars, whose " true moving " both in the " heavens And in the earth " is unknown, and who had hitherto " smiled " upon the English, has transferred his affections to the French, by whose pleasure they occupy Orleans, and describes the English as " pale ghosts," who " Faintly besiege them one hour in a month." Alençon considers that the unsuccessful efforts of the English to capture Orleans is due to their " want of porridge and their fat bull-beeves " : while Reignier is in favour of " raising the siege " and not " live idly here," for as Talbot is a prisoner there is nothing to fear from the " mad-brain'd Salisbury," who has neither " men nor money to make war." Charles, however, gives the order for attack : " Sound, sound alarum ! we will rush on them," avowing that he will pardon the man who kills him when he sees him retreat " one foot or fly." The Frenchmen are however beaten back by the English with great loss, and Charles, in a rage exclaims :

> Who ever saw the like ? what men have I !
> Dogs ! cowards ! dastards ! I would ne'er have fled
> But that they left me 'midst my enemies.

Reignier describes Salisbury as a " desperate homicide " ; who " fighteth as one weary of his life " ; while the " other lords " he likens to " lions wanting food " who being so famished do " rush upon them as their hungry prey." Alençon quotes Froissart the French chronicler, that during the reign of Edward the Third, England bred none but " Olivers and Rowlands " yet none but " Samsons and Goliases " are sent forth to battle. Charles is however so angry at his men running away that he is in favour of abandoning Orleans, declaring that " hunger will enforce the citizens " —whom he describes as " hare-brain'd slaves "—to be more eager in its defence. At this point the Duke of Orleans enters and addressing Charles, whose " looks are sad," tells him not to be " dismay'd, for succour is at hand," as a " holy maid who claims to have had a vision from heaven, and whose spirit of deep prophecy exceeds the nine sibyls of old Rome," for " What 's past and what 's to come " she can reveal, begs an audience of his majesty. Ordering her to be admitted, Charles, in order to test her prophetic vision, directs Reignier to take his place as monarch, and with stern countenance question the maid, for " By this means shall we sound what skill

she hath." Being ushered in by Orleans, she is asked by Reignier: "Fair maid, is 't thou wilt do these wondrous feats?" and addressing him by his name, asks if he thinks he can "beguile her": "Where is the Dauphin?" demands the maid, and turning round, addresses Charles:

> Come, come from behind;
> I know thee well, though never seen before.
> Be not amazed, there 's nothing hid from me:
> In private will I talk with thee apart.
> Stand back, you lords, and give us leave awhile.

"She takes upon her bravely at first dash," observes Reignier, and going aside the maid informs Charles that she is by birth a shepherd's daughter, to whom the Virgin Mary has appeared and told her to leave her "base vocation and free her country from calamity." She assures Charles that she will answer unpremeditated any question he puts to her, and if he will try her courage by combat he will find that she "exceeds her sex." "Thou hast astonish'd me with thy high terms," remarks Charles, and forthwith challenges the prophetess to "single combat," and if she vanquishes him, he will believe her "words are true; Otherwise he will renounce all confidence." "I am prepared: here is my keen-edg'd sword, Deck'd with five flower-de-luces on each side: The which at Touraine, in Saint Katharine's churchyard, Out of a great deal of old iron I chose forth," is the maid's reply. They fight and Charles being promptly overcome, calls out: "Stay, stay thy hands! thou art an Amazon, And fightest with the sword of Deborah," but the maid unobtrusively replies that it was "Christ's mother who had helped her." Charles then beseeches her aid, offering to be her "servant and not her sovereign," but the maid declares she will not "yield to any rites of love, For my profession 's sacred from above": nor will she "think upon a recompense" until she has "chased all his foes from hence." As Charles and the maid are "very long in talk," Reignier suggests that they "disturb them" for, according to Alençon, "women are shrewd tempters with their tongues." "My lord, where are you?" enquires Reignier, "shall we abandon Orleans, or no?" "Why, no, I say: distrustful recreants! Fight till the last gasp; I will be your guard," interposes the maid, for as she has been specially appointed by heaven to be the "English scourge" she will that very night assuredly relieve Orleans, for "Glory is like a circle in the water, Which never ceaseth to enlarge itself Till by broad spreading it disperse to nought," adding, that "With Henry's death the English circle ends," and with it are "Dispersed the glories it included." Sinking on one knee and addressing the maid, Charles says: "Was Mahomet inspired with a dove? Thou with an eagle art inspired then. Helen, the mother of great Constantine, Nor yet Saint Philip's daughters were like thee. Bright star of Venus, fall'n down on the earth, How may I reverently worship thee enough?" "Leave off delays and let us raise the siege," exclaims Alençon, while Reignier appeals to the maid to do her utmost to save their honour, adding "Drive the English from Orleans and be immortalized," to which Charles retorts "Presently we 'll try," declaring that "No prophet will he trust if she prove false."

We are before the Tower of London in the next scene. The Duke of Gloucester, with his Servingmen in blue coats arrives, in order to "view th' artillery and munition," as, since Henry's death, he fears there has been some artifice, at the same time demanding to know why the warders are not present to open the gates. Arriving on the scene, the first Warder enquires who "knocks so imperiously?" and being told it is the "noble Duke of Gloucester," the second Warder answers that "Whoe'er he be, you may not be let in." "Villains, answer you so the lord protector?" asks the first Servingman. "The Lord protect him! so we answer him: We do no

otherwise than we are will'd," is the first Warder's reply. "Who willed you?" demands Gloucester, "There 's none protector of the realm but I," and orders his men to "break up the gates," for which he will hold himself responsible, adding: "Shall I be flouted thus by dunghill grooms?" As Gloucester's men rush at the gates, the Lieutenant appears on the scene. "What noise is this? what traitors have we here?" is the Lieutenant's query, and on Gloucester peremptorily demanding admittance, the Lieutenant informs him that he has "express commandment" from Winchester that "neither thou nor none of thine" must be allowed to enter. Gloucester denounces Winchester as an "arrogant haughty prelate" whom Henry the Fifth could never tolerate, and charges the lieutenant with being "faint-hearted" and no "friend to God or to the king," and again demands the gates to be opened or he will "shut him out shortly." At this point Winchester appears with his men in tawny coats, and addresses Gloucester in a very curt fashion: "How now, ambitious Humphrey! what means this? and receives an equally insolent reply: "Peel'd priest, dost thou command me to be shut out?" Winchester accuses Gloucester of being a most "usurping proditor, And not protector, of the king or realm," while Gloucester retorts by telling Winchester he is a "manifest conspirator" and threatens to "canvass him in his broad cardinal's hat" if he persists in his insolence. "Stand thou back"; demands Winchester, "I will not budge a foot: This be Damascus, be thou cursed Cain, To slay thy brother Abel, if thou wilt." "I will not slay thee," retorts Gloucester, but will drive thee back, and describes the Cardinal's "scarlet robes" as nothing but a "child's christening-cloth I 'll use to carry thee out of this place." "Do what thou dar'st; I beard thee to thy face," answers Winchester, and Gloucester tells him to "beware of his beard, . . . I mean to tug it, and to cuff him soundly," for in spite of pope and church dignitaries he will stamp his cardinal's hat beneath his feet, and "drag him up and down by his cheeks." "Thou wilt answer this before the pope," is Winchester's remark, to which Gloucester retaliates by "Winchester goose, thou wolf in sheep's array," and commands his men to attack his opponent: "Out, tawny coats! out, scarlet hypocrite!" During the skirmish, in which the Cardinal's men are beaten back, the Lord Mayor appears, and severely reproves them for contumeliously breaking the peace, being "supreme magistrates." Gloucester tells the Lord Mayor that Winchester "regards neither God nor king," having seized the Tower for his own purpose, while Winchester describes Gloucester as a "foe to citizens," who always supports war and never peace, inflicts heavy fines, seeks to overthrow religion, and would "crown himself king." This causes them to renew their skirmish: "I will not answer thee with words, but blows," is Gloucester's retort, and the Lord Mayor has no alternative but to order the riot act to be read:

May. Nought rests for me in this tumultuous strife
But to make open proclamation.
Come, officer; as loud as e'er thou canst,
Cry.

Off. "All manner of men, assembled here in arms
this day against God's peace and the king's, we
charge and command you, in his highness' name,
to repair to your several dwelling-places; and not
to wear, handle, or use any sword, weapon, or
dagger, henceforward, upon pain of death."

Addressing Winchester, Gloucester tells him "he will be no breaker of the law," but when opportunity affords he will "meet him and break their minds at large." Eager for revenge, Winchester declares he will have "Gloucester's heart-blood" and the Lord Mayor threatens to "call for clubs" if they do not depart, describing Winchester as being "more haughty than the devil." "Abominable Gloucester!

guard thy head: for I intend to have it ere long," is Winchester's parting shot as h and his men leave the scene. The Lord Mayor then gives orders to his officer t " See the coast clear'd, and then they will depart," expressing surprise that noble " should such stomachs bear " ; when he himself " fights not once in forty year."

In the next scene we are back again before Orleans, which is invested by th English forces. A Master-gunner and his boy appear on the ramparts of the city which is in danger of being captured by the English who have already the " suburb won." The lad is aware of this having shot at the English with his gun, but ha been unfortunate in his aim. " Now be ruled by me," enjoins his father, and the you will not fail next time, for I am " Chief master-gunner of this town," and mus achieve some success to win favour. He then tells his son that as the spies repor having seen English officers overpeering the city " through a secret grate of iro bars," he has trained a " piece of ordnance " on that gate, and although he ha watched three days " if he could see them " he can now stay no longer, and therefor charges his son to keep a strict watch, and " If thou spy'st any, run and bring m word, And thou shalt find me at the governor's," but the boy, on his father's de parture, mutters to himself: " Father, I warrant you; take you no care; I 'll neve trouble you if I may spy them."

At this point the Lords Salisbury and Talbot, with Sir William Glansdale an Sir Thomas Gargrave appear on the English turrets. Talbot has been released b his captors in exchange for a French nobleman. Salisbury rejoices at Talbot' release, and enquires how he was treated by the French, and how he came to b released :

> Talbot, my life, my joy ! again return'd !
> How wert thou handled being prisoner,
> Or by what means got'st thou to be releas'd,
> Discourse, I prithee, on this turret's top.

and Talbot explains that he was " exchang'd and ransomed " for the " brave Lord Ponton de Santrailles " captured by Bedford, and mentions how wounded at heart he is when he thinks of the treachery of Sir John Fastolfe, whom he threatens to " execute " with his " bare fists " if he only had him in his power. " Yet tell'st thou not how thou wert entertain'd," observes Salisbury, and Talbot replies " With scoffs and scorns and contumelious taunts," being exposed as a public spectacle in the open market-place guarded by a " guard of chosen shot " who had orders to " shoot him to the heart " if he attempted to escape. Salisbury is grieved at the treatment meted out to " brave Talbot " and vows revenge.

Being " supper-time in Orleans " Salisbury invites Talbot to " view through the grate " the French busily fortifying the city, a sight which will " much delight him," and invites Gargrave and Glansdale to give their " express opinions " as to the best place to attack the city. " I think at the north gate; for there stand lords," is Gargrave's opinion, but Glansdale considers the " bulwark of the bridge " is the better place, while Talbot opines that the city must be famished, or can be easily reduced. As they gaze through the " grate," they are observed by the boy on the ramparts. Applying a torch to his cannon there is a flash of light, and a cannon ball bursting on the English fortifications, Salisbury and Gargrave fall mortally wounded: " O Lord ! have mercy on us, wretched sinners," mutters Salisbury, and Gargrave: " O Lord ! have mercy on me, woeful man." " What chance is this that suddenly hath cross'd us ? " observes Talbot, and turning to Salisbury—whom he describes as the " mirror of all martial men " is horrified to see that one of his eyes and cheeks have been blown away. Woefully exclaiming: " Accursed tower ! accursed fatal hand That hath contriv'd this woeful tragedy ! In thirteen battles Salisbury

o'ercame" ; Talbot endeavours to cheer his stricken comrade : " Salisbury, cheer thy spirit with this comfort : Thou shalt not die whiles——" but Salisbury, who is past all human aid, can only faintly smile and beckon with his hand, a token which Talbot interprets as a token for revenge :

> He beckons with his hand and smiles on me,
> As who should say " When I am dead and gone,
> Remember to avenge me on the French."

" Plantagenet, I will be avenged," exclaims Talbot, when there is an alarum, and a terrible storm of thunder and lightning breaks over the scene :

> What stir is this ? what tumult 's in the heavens ?
> Whence cometh this alarum and the noise ?

and a messenger hastily enters with the news that the Dauphin, accompanied " with one Joan la Pucelle A holy prophetess new risen up " is advancing at the head of a large French force to raise the siege. This makes Salisbury rouse himself and groan aloud : " Hear, hear how dying Salisbury doth groan ! It irks his heart he cannot be reveng'd," remarks Talbot, and then turning towards the beleaguered city threatens dire reprisals on the enemy :

> Frenchmen, I 'll be a Salisbury to you ;
> Pucelle or puzzel, dolphin or dogfish,
> Your hearts I 'll stamp out with my horse's heels
> And make a quagmire of your mingled brains,

and giving orders for Salisbury to be conveyed to his tent, Talbot takes Salisbury's place as leader of the English forces.

We are still before Orleans in the next scene. There is an alarum, and French soldiers rush across the bridge and attack the English. There is great commotion, and Talbot enters and pursues the Dauphin, but is discouraged to see his men beaten back by the " holy maid " :

> Where is my strength, my valour, and my force ?
> Our English troops retire, I cannot stay them ;
> A woman clad in armour chaseth them.

Meeting Joan he offers to fight her :

> Here, here she comes. I 'll have a bout with thee ;
> Devil, or devil's dam, I 'll conjure thee :
> Blood will I draw on thee, thou art a witch,
> And straightway give thy soul to him thou serv'st.

With the remark : " Come, come ; 'tis only I that must disgrace thee," she accepts the challenge. They fight, and Talbot, who gets the worst of it, cries out :

> Heaven, can you suffer hell so to prevail ?
> My breast I 'll burst with straining of my courage,
> And from my shoulders crack my arms asunder,
> But I will chastise this high-minded strumpet.

They fight again, and although she is Talbot's equal in the fray, leaves him with the remark :

> Talbot, farewell ; thy hour is not yet come :
> I must go victual Orleans forthwith.

and " scorning his strength " tells him to go and cheer up his half-starved men, and help Salisbury to make his testament, for " This day is ours, as many more shall be." " My thoughts are whirled like a potter's wheel ; I know not where I am, nor what I do " : exclaims Talbot, and declaring that his troops have been beaten back by a

" witch " and not by " force," orders them either to " renew the fight Or tear the lions out of England's coat ; Renounce your soil, give sheep in lions' stead." The fight is therefore renewed, but notwithstanding the bravery of Talbot's men the English are driven back, the siege is raised, and Talbot gives the order for his forces to retire :

> retire into your trenches :
> . . . . . .
> Pucelle is enter'd into Orleans
> In spite of us or aught that we could do,

declaring that if he

> were to die with Salisbury,
> The shame hereof would make him hide his head.

In the final scene of this Act we are still before Orleans. Joan, with Charles, Reignier, Alençon and soldiers, appear on the ramparts of the city, and Joan gives orders for the French colours to be raised on the walls, as the city is now rescued from the English :

> Advance our waving colours on the walls
> Rescued is Orleans from the English.

Charles loudly praises the maid for this great triumph : " Divinest creature, Astræa's daughter, How shall I honour thee for this success ? Thy promises are like Adonis' garden, That one day bloom'd and fruitful were the next." Reignier wishes the bells in the city to be rung in honour of the " victory that God hath given them," while Alençon remarks that " All France will be replete with mirth and joy, When they shall hear how we have play'd the men." But Charles attributes the success to Joan : " 'Tis Joan, not we, by whom the day is won " ; and offers to " divide his crown with her," while " priests and friars in his realm Shall in possession sing her endless praise," promising her at her death to erect a statelier pyramis than " Rhodope's or Memphis' ever was," and her " ashes enclosed in an urn more precious Than the rich-jewell'd coffer of Darius." Declaring that in future she shall be France's patron saint instead of Saint Denis, he invites all present to a banquet to celebrate this " golden day of victory."

We are still before Orleans at the opening of the second Act. Although the English have been defeated and Orleans relieved, Talbot was too an intrepid a general to be disheartened by this reverse. A French Sergeant and two sentinels appear, and the former orders the latter to mount vigilant guard, and report should they hear any noise or see any soldiers near the walls. The Sergeant gone, the first sentinel complains of their hard lot in being " constrain'd to watch in darkness, rain, and cold," when others " sleep upon their quiet beds."

Talbot, Bedford and Burgundy advance quickly with forces and scaling-ladders, their drums beating a dead march. Talbot opines that their opportunity has arrived, as the " Frenchmen are secure, Having all day caroused and banqueted " ; in honour of their victory, while Bedford describes Charles as the " Coward of France," for, instead of being resolute, he had " joined with witches " and invoked the " help of hell ! " to gain success, to which Burgundy adds that " Traitors have never other company." The scaling-ladders having been placed in position, Bedford requests Talbot to ascend and they will follow him, but Talbot considers it would be far better to attack the city from several points, so that if by " chance the one of us do fail " another may succeed. " Agreed : I 'll to yond corner," remarks Bedford, " And I to this," adds Burgundy, while Talbot " will mount here, or make his grave." All being ready, Talbot remarks : " Now, Salisbury, for thee, and for the right of

English Henry, shall this night appear How much in duty I am bound to both," and the signal being given, the English scale the ladders and reach the ramparts of the city. The sentinel gives the alarm : " Arm, arm ! the enemy doth make assault ! " The English, shouting their battle-cry, " St. George," " A Talbot " leap over the walls, and the French, being taken by surprise snatch up their clothes and weapons and scramble over the walls in their shirts. Later Orleans, Alençon and Reignier appear, half ready and half unready, and Alençon remarks : " How now, my lords ! what ! all unready so ? " " Unready ! " ejaculates Orleans. " Yes ! " and lucky they are to have " 'scaped so well," while Reignier observes that it was time to leave their beds when they heard " alarums at their chamber-doors." Alençon confesses that since he " follow'd arms " he has never heard of a " war-like enterprise More venturous or desperate than this." Orleans considers Talbot must be a " fiend of hell," while Reignier is of opinion that if he is not a " fiend " the " heavens, sure, favour him."

Later, Charles and Joan enter, and the former denounces the latter as a " cunning and deceitful dame " :

> Is this thy cunning, thou deceitful dame ?
> Didst thou at first, to flatter us withal,
> Make us partakers of a little gain,
> That now our loss might be ten times so much ?

and Joan implores Charles not to be so " impatient with his friend ? " for if the " watch had been good This sudden mischief never could have fallen." Alençon, Orleans and Reignier all declare that their respective watches were secure, while Charles himself acknowledges having " most part of all this night " passed to and fro to see if the sentinels were on guard. " The English must have found some place, But weakly guarded," is Joan's remark, and suggests that they gather their " scatter'd and dispers'd soldiers together and formulate new plans " to regain the city, when there is an alarum, and an English soldier suddenly enters, crying " A Talbot ! A Talbot ! " The French flee, leaving their clothes behind, which the soldier hastily gathers up, gloating over the fact that his artful trick has been so successful :

> I 'll be so bold to take what they have left.
> The cry of Talbot serves me for a sword ;
> For I have loaden me with many spoils,
> Using no other weapon but his name.

Scene two is enacted within the town of Orleans. It opens with Bedford giving orders to " sound retreat, and cease their hot pursuit." Talbot then orders the body of Salisbury to be brought in the " market-place, The middle centre of this cursed town," and having paid his " vow unto his soul " proclaims that he will, in order that future generations may know the cause the city was despoiled, erect within their chiefest temple, a " tomb wherein his corpse shall be interr'd " : on which shall be " engraved the sack of Orleans, The treacherous manner of his mournful death, And what a terror he had been to France," for every drop of blood drawn from Salisbury's body, at least five Frenchmen have met their death. He then enquires the whereabouts of Charles and Joan. Bedford replies that it was thought that when the fight began they escaped from the city by leaping over the walls for refuge in the field, to which Burgundy facetiously enjoins that he saw them " arm in arm, . . . swiftly running, Like to a pair of loving turtle-doves That could not live asunder day or night," adding, that after they have put matters in order in Orleans, they will " follow them with all the power they have." At this point a messenger enters, and after enquiring " Which of this princely train Call ye the war-like Talbot," informs Talbot

that the " virtuous lady " Countess of Auvergne " modestly " invites him to visit her :

> The virtuous lady, Countess of Auvergne,
> With modesty admiring by renown,
> By me entreats, great lord, thou would'st vouchsafe
> To visit her poor castle where she lies,
> That she may boast she hath beheld the man
> Whose glory fills the world with loud report.

Burgundy—who observes that when " ladies crave to be encounter'd with " wars will turn into a " peaceful comic sport "—tells Talbot he must not " despise her gentle suit," and Talbot bids the messenger to convey to the Countess his " great thanks " and to say he will have pleasure in waiting upon her presently. He then invites his companions to accompany him, but Bedford tells him that " unbidden guests Are often welcomest when they are gone." " Then I must go alone," is Talbot's reply, for I mean to " prove this lady's courtesy," and calling a captain whispers to him " You perceive my mind," to which the captain answers " I do, my lord, and mean accordingly."

The Court of the Castle of Auvergne supplies the next scene. It opens with the Countess ordering the porter to lock the castle gate, and bring the keys to her immediately Talbot has entered. On his departure, she soliloquises on how she will exceed that barbarous woman Tomyris when she gets Talbot into her power :

> The plot is laid : if all things fall out right,
> I shall as famous be by this exploit
> As Scythian Tomyris by Cyrus' death.

Accompanied by the messenger, Talbot enters : " Madam, according as your ladyship desir'd, By message crav'd, so is Lord Talbot come." On being admitted she taunts him on the meanness of his stature : " What ! is this the man ? " " Madam, it is," replies the messenger.

> Is this the scourge of France ?
> Is this the Talbot, so much fear'd abroad
> That with his name the mothers still their babes ?
> I see report is fabulous and false :
> I thought I should have seen some Hercules,
> A second Hector, for his grim aspect,
> And large proportion of his strong-knit limbs.
> Alas ! this is a child, a silly dwarf :
> It cannot be this weak and writhled shrimp
> Should strike such terror to his enemies.

Annoyed at her unflattering remarks, Talbot reminds the Countess that he has been " bold to trouble her " but since her " ladyship is not at leisure " he will choose a more fitting occasion to visit her, and forthwith takes his departure. Ordering the messenger to follow Talbot, and enquire " whither he goes," the messenger entreats Talbot to stay, for " my lady craves To know the cause of your abrupt departure," and Talbot tells him that as the Countess is labouring under a misconception, he goes to prove to her that " Talbot is really here." Just then the Porter re-enters bringing with him the keys, and turning to Talbot she tells him he is her prisoner now. " Prisoner ! " repeats Talbot in surprise, " to whom ? " " To me, blood-thirsty lord " ; retorts the Countess, adding that she intends to wreak vengeance upon him for having " wasted our country, slain our citizens, And sent our sons and husbands captivate." " Ha, ha, ha ! " laughs Talbot, to which she retorts : " Laughest thou, wretch ? thy mirth shall turn to moan." But Talbot tells her " that she has aught but Talbot's shadow," adding that " were the whole frame here,"

her castle would not be large enough to contain it, language which she describes as only coined for the occasion :

> This is a riddling merchant for the nonce ;
> He will be here, and yet he is not here :
> How can these contrarieties agree ?

Winding his horn, drums strike up, there is a peal of ordnance, and soldiers burst into the castle :

> How say you, madam ? are you now persuaded
> That Talbot is but shadow of himself ?
> These are his substance, sinews, arms, and strength,
> With which he yoketh your rebellious necks,
> Razeth your cities, and subverts your towns,
> And in a moment makes them desolate.

Seeing her treacherous designs defeated she craves pardon :

> Victorious Talbot, pardon my abuse :
> . . . . . .
> For I am sorry that with reverence
> I did not entertain thee as thou art.

Talbot assures her that she has not offended him, and requests her not to be dismayed, nor misconstrue his mind as she did mistake the outward composition of his body, for the only satisfaction he craves is that they may " Taste of her wine and see what cates she has ; For soldiers' stomachs always serve them well." " With all my heart," is the Countess' reply, and " think me honoured To feast so great a warrior in my house."

We are now transferred to London, the next scene being the Temple Garden. A Council meeting has been held in the Temple Hall at which a dispute has arisen between Richard Plantagenet—heir to Mortimer—and the Earl of Somerset, and the nobles adjourn to the garden as a more fitting place to continue the dispute :

> *Plan.* Great lords and gentlemen, what means this silence ?
> Dare no man answer in a case of truth ?
> *Suf.* Within the Temple hall we were too loud ;
> The garden here is more convenient,

whereupon Plantagenet enjoins Suffolk to declare at once that he is right, and the " wrangling " Somerset wrong, but Suffolk answers evasively :

> *Plan.* Then say at once if I maintain'd the truth,
> Or else was wrangling Somerset in the error ?
> *Suf.* Faith, I have been a truant in the law,
> And never yet could frame my will to it ;
> And therefore frame the law unto my will.

Somerset then invites Warwick to judge who is right, but Warwick, not to be beguiled, replies :

> Between two hawks, which flies the highest pitch ;
> Between two dogs, which hath the deeper mouth ;
> Between two blades, which bears the better temper ;
> Between two horses, which doth bear him best ;
> Between two girls, which hath the merriest eye ;

he has " some shallow spirit of judgment " ; but " in these nice sharp quillets of the law," he is " no wiser than a daw." " Tut, tut ! " retorts Plantagenet, " here is a mannerly forbearance " : the " truth is so naked on my side," that a short-sighted man can see it, and it is " So well apparell'd, so clear, so shining, and so evident on my side " exclaims Somerset, that even a blind man can catch a glimmer of it.

Plantagenet persists that he is in the right, and as the nobles are " tongue-tied and so loath to speak " he invites them " In dumb significants " to " proclaim their thoughts," and plucks a white rose from a neighbouring bush :

> Let him that is a true-born gentleman
> And stands upon the honour of his birth,
> If he suppose that I have pleaded truth,
> From off this brier pluck a white rose with me,

whereupon Somerset invites those who maintain he is in the right to pluck a red rose from another bush :

> Let him that is no coward nor no flatterer,
> But dare maintain the party of the truth,
> Pluck a red rose from off this thorn with me.

Warwick who " loves no colours " plucks a white rose :

> I love no colours, and without all colour
> Of base insinuating flattery
> I pluck this white rose with Plantagenet,

while Suffolk plucks a red one :

> I pluck this red rose with young Somerset,
> And say withal I think he held the right.

Vernon then suggests that " upon whose side The fewest roses are cropp'd . . . Shall yield the other in the right opinion." To this both parties agree, whereupon Vernon declares himself on the side of Plantagenet :

> Then for the truth and plainness of the case,
> I pluck this pale and maiden blossom here,
> Giving my verdict on the white rose side,

and Somerset retorts :

> Prick not your finger as you pluck it off,
> Lest bleeding you do paint the white rose red,
> And fall on my side so, against your will,

to which Vernon replies :

> If I, my lord, for my opinion bleed,
> Opinion shall be surgeon to my hurt,
> And keep me on the side where still I am.

" Well, well, come on : who else ? " impatiently asks Somerset. The next is a Lawyer who considers that Somerset is in the wrong :

> Unless my study and my books be false,
> The argument you held was wrong in you ;
> In sign whereof I pluck a white rose too.

This makes Plantagenet remark : " Now, Somerset, where is your argument ? " " Here in my scabbard ; meditating that Shall dye your white rose in a bloody red," excitedly exclaims Somerset, and Plantaganet tells Somerset that already his cheeks are so pale with fear that they imitate the white rose, thus showing that the truth is on the side of Plantagenet, and Somerset retorts that it is " not for fear but anger that Plantagenet's cheeks for pure shame do counterfeit the red rose," and yet his tongue will not confess his error. " Hath not thy rose a canker, Somerset ? " taunts Plantagenet, to which Somerset curtly replies : " Hath not thy rose a thorn, Plantagenet ? " and Plantagenet, holding the white rose in his hand, scorns Somerset, calling him a " peevish boy." These and other reproaches cause unpleasantness between the parties, which is accentuated by Somerset accusing Plantagenet of being

the son of a "yeoman," which Warwick repudiates by proving his descent from Lionel, Duke of Clarence. Somerset, who declares he will sustain his words on any "plot of ground in Christendom," then charges Plantagenet with being the son of a traitor, his father, Richard, Earl of Cambridge, having been executed for treason, and Plantagenet resents this accusation, maintaining that his father was "attached and not attainted, condemn'd to die for treason, but no traitor": declaring that he has "noted both Suffolk and Somerset in his book of memory" and will, when the time is ripe, "scourge them for their apprehension: look to it well and say you are well warn'd," to which Somerset retorts that Plantagenet will find both himself and Suffolk ready. Plantagenet swears by his "soul" that he will as "cognizance of his blood-drinking hate" always wear this "pale and angry rose," until it either "wither with him to his grave Or flourish to the height of his degree," whereupon Suffolk takes his departure, remarking to Plantagenet as he leaves: "Go forward, and be chok'd with thy ambition: And so farewell until I meet thee next." Suffolk is followed by Somerset with the parting shot: "Farewell, ambitious Richard." When they are gone, Plantagenet remarks to Warwick how he is insulted, and "must perforce endure it!" and Warwick tells him that the blot against his house shall be wiped out in the next parliament or he will not "live to be accounted Warwick;" adding, that this "brawl" which originated in the Temple Hall and "grown to this faction in the Temple Garden," will

> send between the red rose and the white
> A thousand souls to death and deadly night.

Warwick, Vernon and the Lawyer pledge themselves always to wear the white rose as a token of love and fidelity to Plantagenet. Plantagenet thanks them for their loyalty, afterwards inviting them to dine with him: "Come, let us four to dinner": for he has no doubt that:

> This quarrel will drink blood another day.

The final scene of this Act shows us the Tower of London. Mortimer—a prisoner in the Tower—is brought in a chair by two gaolers:

> Kind keepers of my weak decaying age,
> Let dying Mortimer here rest himself.
> Even like a man new haled from the rack,
> So fare my limbs with long imprisonment;
> And these grey locks, the pursuivants of death,
> Nestor-like aged in an age of care,
> Argue the end of Edmund Mortimer.

Owing to his long imprisonment he is in a weak condition, and is therefore anxious to see his nephew—Richard Plantagenet—before he dies. Being assured by the first gaoler that Plantagenet, whom they have sent for to the Temple will presently arrive, Mortimer remarks that his "soul will then be satisfied," and proceeds to point out to his gaolers how he has been deprived of his just honour and inheritance, and wishes that the troubles of young Plantagenet were over, so that he could regain that which he [Mortimer] had lost. Plantagenet now appears:

> Ay, noble uncle, thus ignobly used,
> Your nephew, late-despised Richard, comes,

and is affectionately embraced by Mortimer:

> Direct mine arms I may embrace his neck,
> And in his bosom spend my latter gasp:
> O! tell me when my lips do touch his cheeks,
> That I may kindly give one fainting kiss.

" Sweet stem from York's great stock, Why didst thou say of late thou wert despised ? " asks Mortimer, and Plantagenet replies : " First, lean thine aged back against mine arm, And in that ease I 'll tell thee my disease," and then relates to his uncle the quarrel between himself and Somerset, who has upbraided him with being the son of a traitor. He then asks his uncle the reason his father was executed :

> Therefore, good uncle, for my father's sake,
> In honour of a true Plantagenet,
> And for alliance sake, declare the cause
> My father, Earl of Cambridge, lost his head.

" That cause, fair nephew," replies Mortimer, " that imprison'd me, And hath detain'd me all my flow'ring youth Within a loathsome dungeon, there to pine, Was cursed instrument of his decease," and Plantagenet asks his uncle to be more explicit " what cause that was," for he is " ignorant and cannot guess," and Mortimer goes on to explain that Richard the Second, grandson of Edward the Third, and lawful heir to the crown, was deposed by his uncle, Henry the Fourth, grandfather of the present king Henry the Sixth. " Finding his usurpation most unjust " the war-like lords endeavoured to place him—Mortimer—as the next heir by birth and parentage—on the throne. As a result these war-like lords lost their lives, and he [Mortimer] was sent a prisoner to the Tower, while the Earl of Cambridge—brother-in-law to Mortimer and father to Plantagenet—was beheaded as a traitor by Henry the Fifth. " Thus the Mortimers, In whom the title rested, were suppress'd." Whispering to Plantagenet that the " fainting words " he has just uttered " warrant death " he tells him " Thou art my heir ; the rest I wish thee gather : But yet be wary in thy studious care," and Plantagenet—who promises to regard with care his uncle's " grave admonishments "—infers that his " father's execution Was nothing less than bloody tyranny." Mortimer counsels caution as the House of Lancaster is firmly fixed upon the throne :

> With silence, nephew, be thou politic :
> Strong-fixed is the house of Lancaster,
> And like a mountain, not to be removed.

Mortimer then tells his nephew that owing to his long incarceration he is at the point of death :

> But now thy uncle is removing hence,
> As princes do their courts, when they are cloy'd
> With long continuance in a settled place,

and Plantagenet wishes he could give " some part of his young years " to prolong his uncle's days, but Mortimer tells him he " wrongs him, as that slaughterer doth Which giveth many wounds when one will kill," and a few moments later—after telling his nephew to " Mourn not, except thou sorrow for my good ; Only give order for my funeral "—bids Plantagenet farewell :

> And so farewell ; and fair be all thy hopes ,
> And prosperous be thy life in peace and war !

Death having extinguished the " dusky torch " of Mortimer, Plantagenet—after musing that he will " lock in his breast " the counsel he has just received—gives the gaolers orders to bear away the body :

> Keepers, convey him hence ; and I myself
> Will see his burial better than his life,

and vowing to avenge himself on Somerset for his insults :

> And for those wrongs, those bitter injuries,
> Which Somerset hath offer'd to my house,
> I doubt not but with honour to redress ;

he forthwith hurries away to the Parliament House :

> Either to be restored to my blood,
> Or make my ill the advantage of my good.

The third Act opens in the Parliament House in London. Gloucester " offers to put up a bill "—a statement of accusations against Winchester. Snatching it out of his hand and tearing it to pieces, Winchester tells Gloucester that if he has anything to lay to his charge, to do it " without invention, suddenly " and not " with deep premeditated lines " and " with written pamphlets studiously devis'd " so that he can answer with " sudden and extemporal speech." Gloucester, who addresses Winchester as " Presumptuous priest ! " tells him that the Parliament House " commands my patience Or thou should'st find thou hast dishonour'd me," and although he preferred to put in writing the " manner of his vile outrageous crimes," Winchester must not consider that he is unable to rehearse them verbatim. Telling Winchester that his " audacious wickedness " is such, that his " lewd, pestiferous, and dissentious pranks, As very infants prattle of his pride," he charges him with being a " most pernicious usurer, Froward by nature, enemy to peace ; Lascivious, wanton, more than well beseems A man of his profession and degree," and accuses him of having at " London Bridge and at the Tower laid a trap to take his life." " Gloucester, I do defy thee," shouts Winchester, and craving permission to speak, tells the nobles that Gloucester is incensed against him because he wants to " sway the realm." " But," adds Winchester, " he shall know I am as good——" " As good ! " ejaculates Gloucester, " Thou bastard of my grandfather ! " " Ay, lordly sir " ; retorts Winchester, " for what are you, I pray, But one imperious in another's throne ? " " Am I not protector, saucy priest ? " demands Gloucester. " And am not I a prelate of the church ? " shouts Winchester. " Yes ! " and like an outlaw keeps in his castle, and uses it to " patronage his theft," is Gloucester's sarcastic retort, to which Winchester ejaculates : " Unreverent Gloucester ! " " Thou are reverent, Touching thy spiritual function, not thy life," angrily retorts Gloucester, and Winchester tells him that " Rome shall remedy this." Somerset considers that Winchester " should be religious," and know the " office that belongs to such," while Warwick expresses the opinion that Winchester should be " humbler " as it is not fitting for a " prelate so to plead." As the quarrel proceeds, Plantagenet [aside] discreetly mutters :

> Plantagenet, I see, must hold his tongue,
> Lest it be said ' Speak, sirrah, when you should ;
> Must your bold verdict entertalk with lords ? '
> Else would I have a fling at Winchester.

Henry then appeals to Gloucester and Winchester as " special watchmen of the weal " to " join their hearts in love and amity " as " Civil dissension is a viperous worm, That gnaws the bowels of the commonwealth." At this point there is a noise and shouts " Down with the tawny coats ! " and on Henry asking what is the meaning of the tumult, Warwick answers " An uproar, I dare warrant, Begun through malice of the bishop's men." This is followed by the throwing of stones, and the Mayor enters and complains that Winchester's and Gloucester's men, who have been " forbidden to carry any weapon Have fill'd their pockets full of pebble stones," and " Do pelt so fast at one another's pate, That many have their giddy brains knock'd out " ; that windows are broken in every street, in consequence of which they have been compelled to close their shops. Servingmen, with bloody pates, now enter, and Henry charges them to keep the peace, and then turning to Gloucester appeals to him to put an end to this strife, but Gloucester's men assert that they are so resolute, that if " forbidden stones, they 'll fall to it with their teeth," and the skirmish breaks out

again. Gloucester appeals to his men to cease fighting, but the first servingman replies that although they know Gloucester to be a " just and upright man " and inferior to none but the king, they and their wives and children are determined to fight to the death, and the tumult being renewed, Gloucester again appeals to his men that if they " love him, as they say they do," to cease fighting. Henry, who enjoins that this " discord doth afflict his soul " then appeals to Winchester to interfere in the interest of peace, for " who should study to prefer a peace If holy churchmen take delight in broils ? " in which he is supported by Warwick, but Winchester refuses to yield unless Gloucester submits. Gloucester therefore, out of compassion for the young king, offers Winchester his hand in token of reconciliation :

> Compassion on the king commands me stoop ;
> Or I would see his heart out ere the priest
> Should ever get that privilege of me,

but as Winchester is very reluctant to meet Gloucester, the king reproaches him for not practising what he preaches :

> Fie, uncle Beaufort ! I have heard you preach
> That malice was a great and grievous sin ;
> And will not you maintain the thing you teach,
> But prove a chief offender in the same ?

Winchester still hesitating, Warwick appeals to him :

> For shame, my lord of Winchester, relent !
> What ! shall a child instruct you what to do ?

whereupon Winchester offers his hand to Gloucester :

> Well, Duke of Gloucester, I will yield to thee ;
> Love for thy love and hand for hand I give,

Gloucester, however, fears that Winchester does not give his hand in good faith, for [aside] he mutters : " Ay ; but, I fear me, with a hollow heart," and then turning to the other lords, he, while clasping Winchester's hand, declares that " This token serveth for a flag of truce Betwixt ourselves and all our followers. So help me God, as I dissemble not ! " and Gloucester's fears are justified, for Winchester [aside] mutters : " So help me God, as I intend it not ! " Henry is " joyful " over this " contract of peace," and urges them to " join in friendship and trouble him no more." Two of the servingmen then repare to the surgeon's to have their wounds dressed, while a third proceeds to the nearest tavern to see what " physic " it can supply.

A petition is then presented to the king by Warwick urging his majesty to restore to Plantagenet his father's titles and estates, which petition Gloucester supports. Plantagenet having sworn " obedience And humble service till the point of death " the king commands him to kneel :

> Stoop then and set your knee against my foot ;
> And, in reguerdon of that duty done,
> I girt thee with the valiant sword of York :
> Rise, Richard, like a true Plantagenet,
> And rise created princely Duke of York.

Rising from his knee, Plantagenet again swears fidelity to the king : " And so thrive Richard as thy foes may fall ! And as my duty springs, so perish they That grudge one thought against your majesty ! " " Welcome, high prince, the mighty Duke of York ! " is the shout of acclamation from all the peers present, save Somerset, who murmurs aside, " Perish, base prince, ignoble Duke of York ! "

Preparations having been made for the crossing over to Paris where the coronation of Henry as King of France is to be solemised, all depart with the exception of Exeter, who soliloquises that the dissension between the peers which " Burns under feigned ashes of forg'd love," will at last break out into a flame, for he fears the realisation of that

> fatal prophecy
> Which in the time of Henry nam'd the Fifth
> Was in the mouth of every sucking babe ;
> That Henry born at Monmouth should win all ;
> And Henry born at Windsor should lose all ;
> Which is so plain that Exeter doth wish
> His days may finish ere that hapless time.

We are before Rouen in the next scene. Joan disguised, and four soldiers with sacks upon their backs, enter. Joan warns the soldiers :

> These are the city gates, the gates of Roan,
> Through which our policy must make a breach :
> Take heed, be wary how you place your words ;
> Talk like the vulgar sort of market men
> That come to gather money for their corn,

otherwise they will be detected, intimating that if they gain entrance owing to the weakness of the watch, she is to give a preconcerted signal to Charles when to attack the city. After one of the soldiers has made the punning remark : " Our sacks shall be a mean to sack the city, And we be lords and rulers over Roan " ; he knocks at the gate, and the watch within demands : " Qui est là ? " [Who is there ?] " Paysans, pauvres gens de France : [Peasants, poor folk of France]. Poor market folks that come to sell their corn," is the reply. Being satisfied the watch opens the gate : " Enter, go in ; the market bell is rung," and as they pass in, Joan with delight, mutters : " Now, Roan, I 'll shake thy bulwarks to the ground."

Charles and his followers enter, and the king invokes St. Denis to bless this happy stratagem, and " once again we 'll sleep secure in Roan," while Alençon, in reply to Orleans adds, that Joan will give the signal for attack by thrusting out a torch from the tower. Almost immediately Joan appears on the tower, and with the remark : " Behold ! this is the happy wedding torch That joineth Roan unto her countrymen, But burning fatal to the Talbotites," thrusts the brand through the casement. " See, noble Charles, the beacon of our friend, The burning torch in yonder turret stands," cries Orleans, and the signal being given the gates are burst open, and the forces under Charles enter. There is an alarum and Talbot, who swears vengeance, enters :

> France, thou shalt rue this treason with thy tears,
> If Talbot but survive thy treachery.
> Pucelle, that witch, that damned sorceress,
> Hath wrought this hellish mischief unawares,
> That hardly we escap'd the pride of France.

There is another alarum and excursions, and Bedford is brought in sick in a chair. Joan, with Charles and others, now appear on the ramparts, and the maid, delighted that her ruse has been so successful, scoffs at the English :

> Good morrow, gallants ! Want ye corn for bread ?
> I think the Duke of Burgundy will fast
> Before he 'll buy again at such a rate.
> 'Twas full of darnel ; do you like the taste ?

and Burgundy bids her " Scoff on, vile fiend and shameless courtesan ! " for before long he will " choke her," and " make her curse the harvest of that corn," to which

Charles enjoins: "Your grace may starve perhaps before that time." Bedford suggests "deeds" and not "words" to avenge this treason, and Joan mockingly retorts:

> What will you do, good grey-beard? break a lance,
> And run a tilt at death within a chair?

and is reproved by Talbot for her insult to a man who is lying sick unto death:

> Foul fiend of France, and hag of all despite,
> Encompass'd with thy lustful paramours!
> Becomes it thee to taunt his valiant age
> And twit with cowardice a man half dead?

after which he challenges her to fight:

> Damsel, I'll have a bout with you again,
> Or else let Talbot perish with this shame,

and Joan asks him whether he is so "hot," yet she must hold her peace, for "If Talbot do but thunder, rain will follow." The English leaders then "whisper together in council," after which Talbot challenges the French to meet them in open battle, and Joan tells him that he must "take them for fools, To try if that our own be ours or no." Talbot reminds her that he is not addressing her: "I speak not to that railing Hecate," but to "Alençon, and the rest," whom he describes as "base muleters of France!" who "Like peasant foot-boys do they keep the walls, And dare not take up arms like gentlemen." "God be wi' you, my lord: we came but to tell you That we are here," is Joan's retort, as she with Charles and others leave the walls, declaring that "Talbot means no goodness by his looks."

Talbot then appeals to Burgundy to assist him in regaining the town consecrated as the place where the "Great Cordelion's heart was buried," but before doing so wishes to remove the dying Bedford to a place of safety, but Bedford, having in mind the "stout Pendragon," who "in his litter sick Came to the field and vanquished his foes," refuses to be moved, preferring to remain beside the walls of the town in order to "revive the soldiers' hearts," a spirit which draws forth the admiration of Talbot:

> Undaunted spirit in a dying breast!
> Then be it so: heavens keep old Bedford safe!

There is an alarum, followed by excursions, and Sir John Fastolfe and a captain appear. "Whither away, Sir John Fastolfe, in such haste?" demands the captain. "Whither away!" repeats Fastolfe, why "to save myself by flight, We are like to have the overthrow again." "What!" exclaims the captain in surprise, "will you fly, and leave Lord Talbot?" and the dishonourable knight replies: "Ay, All the Talbots in the world, to save my life," and is denounced by the captain as a "Cowardly knight! ill fortune follow thee!" More excursions follow, and the French being driven back, Joan, Alençon, and Charles flee from the city, and Bedford, seeing the enemy in flight passes away:

> Now, quiet soul, depart when heaven please,
> For I have seen our enemies' overthrow.
> What is the trust or strength of foolish man?
> They that of late were daring with their scoffs
> Are glad and fain by flight to save themselves.

As the corpse is borne away into the town, Talbot remarks to Burgundy that it is a double honour for Rouen to be lost and recovered in a day, to which Burgundy enjoins that "Talbot's noble deeds are enshrined in his heart." Thanking Burgundy for his compliment, Talbot inquires for Joan and the French, remarking that Roan hangs her head in grief now such a "valiant company are fled." Talbot then

purposes placing some " expert officers " in charge of the town, after which they will depart for Paris to be present at the coronation of the king, in which Burgundy acquiesces, but before doing so they must not forget to celebrate the " exequies " of the " noble Duke of Bedford late-deceas'd," declaring that

> A braver soldier never couched lance,
> A gentler heart did never sway in court ;
> But kings and mightiest potentates must die,
> For that 's the end of human misery.

The third scene shows us the Plains near Rouen where the scattered French forces have gathered together. Joan exhorts Charles and his princes not to be dismayed over " this accident " the loss of Rouen, as " Care is no cure, but rather corrosive, For things that are not to be remedied," adding that Talbot is quite entitled like a " peacock to sweep along his tail " at his temporary triumph, but they will " pull his plumes and take away his train " if Charles will only be ruled by her. To this the Dauphin replies that as they have been guided by her hitherto, and assuring her that " One sudden foil shall never breed distrust," he asks what she purposes doing to retrieve this defeat, and her agile mind devises a plan to weaken Talbot by making use of " fair persuasions mix'd with sugar'd words " to entice Burgundy from the English side. The sound of a drum is heard afar off, and Talbot with his forces marches out of Rouen on their way to Paris to attend the coronation of Henry :

> Hark ! by the sound of drum you may perceive
> Their powers are marching unto Paris-ward.
> There goes the Talbot, with his colours spread,
> And all the troops of English after him.

Presently Burgundy appears at the head of his forces : " Now in the rearward comes the duke and his : Fortune in favour makes him lag behind. Summon a parley ; we will talk with him." A parley is sounded, and Burgundy halts and asks : " Who craves a parley with the Burgundy ? " " The princely Charles of France, thy countryman," replies Joan. Being asked what is his message, Charles turns to Joan and tells her to " Speak, Pucelle, and enchant him with thy words," and, stepping forward, Joan addresses Burgundy :

> Brave Burgundy, undoubted hope of France !
> Stay, let thy humble handmaid speak to thee.

" Speak on ; but be not over-tedious," replies Burgundy, and in a very skilful and captivating speech, the maid addresses him :

> Look on thy country, look on fertile France,
> And see the cities and the towns defaced
> By wasting ruin of the cruel foe.
> As looks the mother on her lowly babe
> When death doth close his tender dying eyes,
> See, see the pining malady of France ;
> Behold the wounds, the most unnatural wounds,
> Which thou thyself hast given her woeful breast.
> O ! turn thy edged sword another way ;
> Strike those that hurt, and hurt not those that help.
> One drop of blood drawn from thy country's bosom
> Should grieve thee more than streams of foreign gore.
> Return thee therefore with a flood of tears
> And wash away thy country's stained spots.

" Either she hath bewitch'd me with her words, Or nature makes me suddenly relent," remarks Burgundy, and seeing his indecision, she, in very subtle language tells him,

that in consequence of his assisting the English all " French and France " throws doubt on his " birth and lawful progeny " ; that Talbot is only using him for " profit's sake," and when he has achieved the end he has in view and " English Henry is lord of France," he will be cast on one side :

> Who join'st thou with but with a lordly nation
> That will not trust thee but for profit's sake ?
> When Talbot hath set footing once in France,
> And fashion'd thee that instrument of ill,
> Who then but English Henry will be lord,
> And thou be thrust out like a fugitive ?
> Call we to mind, and mark but this for proof,
> Was not the Duke of Orleans thy foe,
> And was he not in England prisoner ?
> But when they heard he was thine enemy,
> They set him free without his ransom paid,
> In spite of Burgundy and all his friends.
> See then, thou fight'st against thy countrymen,
> And join'st with them will be thy slaughter-men.
> Come, come, return ; return, thou wand'ring lord ;
> Charles and the rest will take thee in their arms.

Unable to withstand the bewitching words of the maid, Burgundy is won over, and Talbot loses his ally :

> I am vanquished ; these haughty words of hers
> Have batter'd me like roaring cannon-shot,
> And made me almost yield upon my knees.
> Forgive me, country, and sweet countrymen !
> And, lords, accept this hearty kind embrace :
> My forces and my power of men are yours.
> So, farewell, Talbot ; I 'll no longer trust thee.

This makes Joan turn aside and murmur : " Done like a Frenchman : turn, and turn again ! " Charles welcomes the Duke : " Welcome, brave duke ! thy friendship makes us fresh, to which Alençon adds that Joan has played her part very well, and deserves a coronet of gold. The scene closes with Charles inviting the lords to :

> join our powers,
> And seek how we may prejudice the foe.

The final scene of this Act is the Palace at Paris. It opens with Talbot addressing the king and the nobles present, that having heard of their arrival in France he has proclaimed a truce in order to pay homage to his sovereign, and laying his sword at the feet of Henry, and afterwards kneeling in token of obedience, boasts of the many fortresses, cities and walled towns of strength he has subdued :

> In sign whereof, this arm, that hath reclaim'd
> To your obedience fifty fortresses,
> Twelve cities, and seven walled towns of strength,
> Beside five hundred prisoners of esteem,
> Lets fall his sword before your highness' feet ;

He is welcomed by the young king, after being assured by Gloucester that it is " Lord Talbot, That hath so long been resident in France " :

> Welcome, brave captain and victorious lord !
> When I was young, as yet I am not old,
> I do remember how my father said
> A stouter champion never handled sword,

As a reward for his martial services in France, Henry creates him Earl of Shrewsbury :

> Therefore, stand up ; and for these good deserts,
> We here create you Earl of Shrewsbury ;
> And in our coronation take your place.

This done, all leave except Vernon and Basset who quarrel, Vernon taking exception to Basset " Disgracing the colours he wears in honour of the noble Duke of York," while Basset objects to Vernon's " envious barking of his saucy tongue Against my lord the Duke of Somerset." Basset considers Somerset " as good a man as York." " Not so " retorts Vernon " in witness, take ye that " whereupon he strikes Basset, and Basset calling Vernon a " villain," tells him that he knows that " the law of arms is such That whoso draws a sword, 'tis present death, Or else this blow should broach thy dearest blood," but he will crave the king's permission to resort to combat :

> But I 'll unto his majesty, and crave
> I may have liberty to venge this wrong ;
> When thou shalt see I 'll meet thee to thy cost,

to which Vernon replies :

> Well, recreant, I 'll be there as soon as you ;
> And, after, meet you sooner than you would.

The fourth Act opens in a Hall of State in Paris. It opens with the coronation of Henry by Winchester, after which Gloucester requests the Governor of Paris to take the oath of allegiance. Fastolfe now enters with a letter from the Duke of Burgundy : " My gracious sovereign, as I rode from Calais, To haste unto your coronation, A letter was deliver'd to my hands, Writ to your grace from the Duke of Burgundy." Calling Fastolfe a " base knight," Talbot steps forward, and tears from his knee the Insignia of the Garter, declaring how, at the battle of Patay, he shamefully deserted, before even a " stroke was given " :

> Shame to the Duke of Burgundy and thee !
> I vow'd, base knight, when I did meet thee next,
> To tear the garter from thy craven leg ; [*Plucks it off.*
> Which I have done, because unworthily
> Thou wast installed in that high degree.
> Pardon me, princely Henry, and the rest :
> This dastard, at the battle of Patay,
> When but in all I was six thousand strong,
> And that the French were almost ten to one,
> Before we met or that a stroke was given,
> Like to a trusty squire did run away :
> In which assault we lost twelve hundred men ;
> Myself and divers gentlemen beside
> Were there surpris'd and taken prisoners.
> Then judge, great lords, if I have done amiss ;
> Or whether that such cowards ought to wear
> This ornament of knighthood, yea or no.

Gloucester also denounces Fastolfe, describing his act as " infamous " and unworthy even of a common soldier " Much more a knight, a captain and a leader," while Talbot reminds all present that when this noble order was instituted " Knights of the garter were of noble birth, Valiant and virtuous, and full of haughty courage," and Henry tells Fastolfe to be " packing " and banishes him from court :

> Stain to thy countrymen ! thou hear'st thy doom.
> Be packing therefore, thou that wast a knight :
> Henceforth we banish thee on pain of death.

Fastolfe gone, Henry orders Gloucester to read the letter from the Duke of Burgundy. Gazing at the superscription, Gloucester expresses surprise at the blunt manner in which Burgundy addresses Henry :

> What means his grace, that he hath chang'd his style ?
> No more but, plain and bluntly, *To the King !*

" Hath he forgot he is his sovereign ? Or doth this churlish superscription Pretend some alteration in good will ? " " What 's here ? " he exclaims, and proceeds to read :

> " I have, upon especial cause,
> Moved with compassion of my country's wrack,
> Together with the pitiful complaints
> Of such as your oppression feeds upon,
> Forsaken your pernicious faction
> And join'd with Charles, the rightful King of France."

" O monstrous treachery ! Can this be so, That in alliance, amity, and oaths, There should be found such false dissembling guile ? " exclaims Gloucester, and Henry suggests that Lord Talbot shall " talk with Burgundy, And give him chastisement for this abuse," and Talbot having replied that if he had not been ordered, he would have " begg'd to be so employ'd," Henry orders him to

> gather strength and march unto him straight :
> Let him perceive how ill we brook his treason,
> And what offence it is to flout his friends.

and Talbot departs, remarking as he does so :

> I go, my lord ; in heart desiring still
> You may behold confusion of your foes.

Talbot having gone, Vernon and Basset enter, and crave the king's permission to resort to combat to settle their differences, in which they are supported by York and Somerset. Henry requests to be informed of the nature of their quarrel : " Say, gentlemen, what makes you thus exclaim ? And wherefore crave you combat ? or with whom ? First let me know, and then I 'll answer you." Basset—who belongs to the red-rose or Lancaster faction—complains that when crossing the sea from England into France " this fellow here, with envious carping tongue, Upbraided him in vile and ignominious terms about the rose he wears, Saying, the sanguine colour of the leaves Did represent the colour of his master's blushing cheeks." Vernon—a white-rose or York adherent—tells the king that Basset took " exceptions to his badge, Pronouncing that the paleness of the flower Bewray'd the faintness of his master's heart." Henry considers it nothing but madness for men to quarrel over so slight and frivilous a cause, and implores them to be at peace :

> Good Lord ! what madness rules in brainsick men,
> When for so slight and frivolous a cause
> Such factious emulations shall arise !
> Good cousins both, of York and Somerset,
> Quiet yourselves, I pray, and be at peace.

But York and Somerset will not let the matter drop, and request the king to let the dissension be determined by a duel, for the quarrel is " betwixt themselves." As they continue to wrangle, Gloucester exclaims :

> Confirm it so ! Confounded be your strife !
> And perish ye, with your audacious prate !
> Presumptuous vassals ! are you not asham'd
> With this immodest clamorous outrage
> To trouble and disturb the king and us ?

to which Exeter adds : " It grieves his highness : good my lords, be friends." The king then charges them that if they " love him to forget this quarrel and the cause " and " think upon the conquest of his father, His tender years, and let us not forgo That for a trifle that was bought with blood." With the remark : " Let me be umpire in this doubtful strife " he puts on a red rose, and lest any suspicion should arise that he is more inclined to Somerset than York, he claims both as kinsmen, and appoints York " To be our regent in these parts of France," and tells Somerset to " unite His troops of horsemen with his bands of foot " ; and " like true subjects, . . . go cheerfully together and digest their angry choler on their enemies." The king then announces that he will return forthwith to Calais and thence to England where he hopes ere long to hear that they have been victorious over " Charles, Alençon, and that traitorous rout."

The king having gone, Warwick addressing York says : " My Lord of York, I promise you, the king Prettily, methought, did play the orator," to which York replies : " And so he did ; but yet I like it not In that he wears the badge of Somerset," and Warwick tells him it " was but his fancy, blame him not " for he was sure the king meant no harm, and all, with the exception of Exeter, take their departure.

Left alone, Exeter murmurs that York did well to suppress his voice, for if the passions of his heart had burst out, every " simple man would have seen that This jarring discord of nobility, This shouldering of each other in the court, This factious bandying of their favourites, . . . doth presage some ill event," for when

> sceptres are in children's hands ;
> But more when envy breeds unkind division :
> There comes the ruin, there begins confusion.

We are now transferred to Talbot's camp before Bourdeaux. Talbot gives orders to a trumpeter to summon the General in charge of the city to the walls, after which he demands surrender of the city :

> Open your city gates,
> Be humble to us, call my sovereign yours,
> And do him homage as obedient subjects,
> And I 'll withdraw me and my bloody power ;

The General, however, refuses to surrender, and warns Talbot—whom he describes as an " ominous and fearful owl of death "—that he is in great danger, as a large French army under Charles is approaching :

> Thou ominous and fearful owl of death,
> Our nation's terror and their bloody scourge !
> The period of thy tyranny approacheth.
> . . . . . .
> Ten thousand French have ta'en the sacrament
> To rive their dangerous artillery
> Upon no Christian soul but English Talbot.

A drum is heard afar off, and the General exclaims : " Hark ! hark ! the Dauphin's drum, a warning bell, Sings heavy music to thy timorous soul, And mine shall ring thy dire departure out." Realising the danger, which is due to " negligent and heedless discipline," Talbot despatches some light horsemen to " peruse the enemy's wings," and then making an appeal to his soldiers to " sell their lives as dear as his own," prays that " God and Saint George, Talbot and England's right," will

> Prosper our colours in this dangerous fight !

We are on the Plains of Gascony in the next scene, where York, with forces, are assembled. Inquiring whether the " speedy scouts " have returned, a messenger replies that they have returned, and report that the " mighty army of the Dauphin has march'd to Bourdeaux " to give battle to Talbot, and further that " Two mightier troops than that the Dauphin led " have joined with him. York denounces Somerset for not sending him the promised supply of horsemen :

> A plague upon that villain Somerset,
> That thus delays my promised supply
> Of horsemen that were levied for this siege !

and tells the messenger he is unable to march to the assistance of the " noble chevalier " Talbot, being " louted by a traitor villain," and prays that God will " comfort Talbot in this necessity ! " for " If he miscarry, farewell wars in France."

At this point Sir William Lucy spurs into the camp, and telling York that his assistance was never more urgently needed than at this moment, urges him to

> Spur to the rescue of the noble Talbot,
> Who now is girdled with a waist of iron
> And hemm'd about with grim destruction.
> To Bourdeaux, war-like duke ! to Bourdeaux, York !
> Else, farewell Talbot, France, and England's honour.

But York repeats he is helpless without Somerset's promised levies, and wishes Somerset were in Talbot's place, for " we should save a valiant gentleman By forfeiting a traitor and a coward." " O ! send some succour to the distress'd lord," pleads Lucy, and York exclaims : that if " Talbot dies, we lose ; . . . We mourn, France smiles ; we lose, they daily get ; All long of this vile traitor Somerset." " Then God take mercy on brave Talbot's soul ; And on his son young John, whom two hours since I met in travel toward his war-like father. This seven years did not Talbot see his son ; And now they meet where both their lives are done," is Lucy's comment, and York, although professing that " vexation almost stops his breath " that the " noble Talbot should bid his young son welcome to his grave," bids Lucy farewell, and with his soldiers marches away with the words " no more my fortune can But curse the cause I cannot aid the man," while Lucy dashes away to meet Somerset, observing that " Lives, honours, lands, and all hurry to loss," while the " vulture of sedition Feeds in the bosom of such great commanders " as York and Somerset.

We are in another part of the Plains in Gascony in the fourth scene. Somerset, with one of Talbot's captains, enters, and the former tells the latter that it is now too late to send reinforcements to assist Talbot, who has, by his rashness, tarnished all his former honour, by this " unheedful, desperate, wild adventure." He declares that the expedition was too " rashly plotted " by York and Talbot, the former setting the latter on to fight and die in shame so that York—on Talbot's death—might bear the name. At this moment Sir William Lucy enters. " How now, Sir William ! whither were you sent," asks Somerset, and Lucy, in angry tones replies :

> Whither, my lord ? from bought and sold Lord Talbot ;
> Who, ring'd about with bold adversity,
> Cries out for noble York and Somerset,
> To beat assailing death from his weak legions :
> And whiles the honourable captain there
> Drops bloody sweat from his war-wearied limbs,
> And, in advantage lingering, looks for rescue,
> You, his false hopes, the trust of England's honour,
> Keep off aloof with worthless emulation.

Let not your private discord keep away
The levied succours that should lend him aid,
While he, renowned noble gentleman,
Yields up his life unto a world of odds :
Orleans the Bastard, Charles, Burgundy,
Alençon, Reignier, compass him about,
And Talbot perisheth by your default.

Somerset blames York : " York set him on ; York should have sent him aid," to which Lucy retorts that York blames him : " And York as fast upon your grace exclaims ; Swearing that you withhold his levied host Collected for this expedition." " York lies," shouts Somerset, adding that if York had sent he could have had the promised reinforcements, although he " owes him little duty, and less love," and Lucy in despair exclaims that it is the " fraud of England, not the force of France," that " Hath now entrapp'd the noble-minded Talbot. Never to England shall he bear his life, But dies, betray'd to fortune by your strife." Being conscience-stricken, Somerset promises to despatch reinforcements forthwith, but Lucy declares it is too late, by now he is a prisoner or slain, for fly he never would, declaring that :

His fame lives in the world, his shame in you.

We are back again in the English Camp near Bourdeaux in the fifth scene, which consists of a conversation between Talbot and his son John. It opens with the father telling his son that he has sent for him " To tutor him in stratagems of war, That Talbot's name might be in him reviv'd When sapless age and weak unable limbs Should bring his father to his drooping chair," but having now come unto a " feast of death," he urges the boy to " mount the swiftest horse " and seek safety in flight. " Is my name Talbot ? and am I your son ? And shall I fly ? " asks the boy, and requests his father not to make a " slave of him " for " The world will say, he is not Talbot's blood That basely fled when noble Talbot stood." " Fly, to revenge my death if I be slain," urges his father, but the boy replies that " He that flies so will ne'er return again," and when his father tells him that if they both stay they are both sure to die, the boy implores his father to let him stay, and urges his father to escape himself, for " Flight cannot stain the honour he has won." Talbot, however, refuses to leave his followers to fight and die without him, as his age was never tainted with such shame. " Why should my youth be guilty of such blame ? " asks the boy, and tells his father to

Stay, go, do what you will, the like do I ;
For live I will not if my father die.

Both having decided to remain the father takes an affectionate farewell of his son :

Then here I take my leave of thee, fair son,
Born to eclipse thy life this afternoon,
Come, side by side together live and die,
And soul with soul from France to heaven fly.

Scenes six and seven show us the Field of Battle. Scene six opens with Talbot crying : " Saint George and victory ! fight, soldiers, fight ! " for York not having sent the promised reinforcements they are left to the rage of France. Talbot's son is hemmed in by the foe, and is rescued by his father from the sword of Orleans. " Art thou not weary, John ? how dost thou fare ? " enquires the old man, and is again urged by his father to escape in order to avenge his [Talbot's] death, and to preserve the house of Talbot :

Wilt thou yet leave the battle, boy, and fly,
Now thou art seal'd the son of chivalry ?
Fly, to revenge my death when I am dead ;
. . . . . .

If I to-day die not with Frenchmen's rage,
To-morrow I shall die with mickle age :
By me they nothing gain an if I stay ;
'Tis but the short'ning of my life one day.
In thee thy mother dies, our household's name,
My death's revenge, thy youth, and England's fame.
All these and more we hazard by thy stay ;
All these are sav'd if thou wilt fly away.

but young Talbot refuses to quit the battle-field, declaring that if he flies he is not Talbot's son, and therefore tells his father " to talk no more of flight," for if he is " son to Talbot, he will die at Talbot's foot." The old man is proud at the bravery shown by his young son, and rushing back into the fight, exclaims :

Thy life to me is sweet :
If thou wilt fight, fight by thy father's side,
And, commendable proved, let 's die in pride.

Scene seven shows us another part of the Field of Battle. Led in by a servant, Talbot enquires for his son :

Where is my other life ? mine own is gone ;
O ! where 's young Talbot ? where is valiant John ?
Triumphant death, smear'd with captivity,
Young Talbot's valour makes me smile at thee.

The servant replies : " O ! my dear lord, lo ! where your son is borne," and soldiers enter bearing the body of young Talbot. Talbot gives them orders to lay the body in his arms, and embracing his son bids him an affectionate farewell :

Come, come, and lay him in his father's arms :
My spirit can no longer bear these harms,

and then crying :

Soldiers, adieu ! I have what I would have,
Now my old arms are young John Talbot's grave,

the brave old man passes away.

Charles, Alençon, Burgundy, Orleans and La Pucelle, with forces, enter. Charles admits that the day would have been a bloody one had York and Somerset come to the aid of Talbot. Orleans relates how valiantly young Talbot fought, and the maid tells how he disdained to encounter her, considering it unworthy to fight with a " giddy wench " :

Once I encounter'd him, and thus I said :
' Thou maiden youth, be vanquish'd by a maid ' ;
But with a proud majestical high scorn,
He answer'd thus : ' Young Talbot was not born
To be the pillage of a giglot wench.'
So, rushing in the bowels of the French,
He left me proudly, as unworthy fight.

" Doubtless he would have made a noble knight," exclaims Burgundy, and noticing young Talbot lying dead in the arms of his father, adds : " See, where he lies inhearsed in the arms Of the most bloody nurser of his harms." Orleans proposes the bodies be quartered : " Hew them to pieces, hack their bones asunder, Whose life was England's glory, Gallia's wonder," but Charles enjoins him to refrain : " O, no ! forbear ; for that which we have fled During the life, let us not wrong it dead."

Preceded by a French herald, Lucy now enters and requests to be conducted to Charles' tent. " On what submissive message art thou sent ? " asks Charles. " Submission, Dauphin ! " remarks Lucy with surprise, " 'tis a mere French word " ; and we English warriors do not know what it means, adding that he had come to

ascertain what prisoners have been taken, and to inspect the bodies of the slain. "For prisoners ask'st thou? hell our prison is," remarks Charles, but whom dost thou seek? Lucy replies that he seeks Lord Talbot, and forthwith proceeds to call out the numerous titles borne by that warrior:

> But where 's the great Alcides of the field,
> Valiant Lord Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury?
> Created, for his rare success in arms,
> Great Earl of Washford, Waterford, and Valence;
> Lord Talbot of Goodrig and Urchinfield,
> Lord Strange of Blackmere, Lord Verdun of Alton,
> Lord Cromwell of Wingfield, Lord Furnival of Sheffield,
> The thrice-victorious Lord of Falconbridge,
> Knight of the noble order of Saint George,
> Worthy Saint Michael and the Golden Fleece,
> Great marshal to Henry the Sixth
> Of all his wars within the realm of France?

Joan describes these as "a silly stately style indeed!" for even the "Turk, that two-and-fifty kingdoms hath, Writes not so tedious a style as this," adding that the man he "magnifiest with all these titles Stinking and fly-blown lies here at our feet." Learning that Talbot the "Frenchmen's only scourge" lies dead, Lucy wishes his "eyeballs might into bullets be turned" so that he could "in a rage shoot them at their faces," after which he begs the bodies in order to give them fitting burial. Joan describes Lucy as an "upstart" who "speaks with such a proud commanding spirit," that he must be "old Talbot's ghost," and advises that for "God's sake" he be given permission to remove the bodies, as their presence "would but stink and putrefy the air." As they are being carried away, Lucy remarks that "from their ashes shall be rear'd A phœnix that shall make all France afeard." Charles retorts "So we be rid of them, do with him what thou wilt," and then announces that they will proceed to Paris in this conquering vein; for:

> All will be ours now bloody Talbot's slain.

We are transferred to London at the opening of the fifth Act, the first scene being enacted in the Palace. It opens with the king enquiring if Gloucester has perused the letters from the pope, the emperor and the Earl of Armagnac. Gloucester replies in the affirmative, adding that the letters are entreaties for a peace between England and France. Realising the hopelessness of the struggle, Gloucester is in favour of accepting the terms as the "only means To stop effusion of our Christian blood," in which he is supported by the king who considers it "impious and unnatural" for "professors of one faith" to shed each other's blood. To further "bind this knot of amity" Gloucester announces that the Earl of Armagnac, a near relative of Charles, has offered his daughter in marriage with Henry, together with a large and sumptuous dowry, and the king although "his years are young and fitter is his study and his books than wanton dalliance with a paramour" is prepared to be "well content with any choice" which "Tends to God's glory and his country's weal," and forthwith gives orders for the ambassadors to be admitted. Winchester in Cardinal's habit, a Legate and two ambassadors being ushered in, Exeter expresses surprise to see that Winchester has been made a Cardinal:

> What! is my lord of Winchester install'd,
> And call'd unto a cardinal's degree?
> Then I perceive that will be verified
> Henry the Fifth did sometime prophesy:
> 'If once he come to be a cardinal,
> He'll make his cap co-equal with the crown.'

Henry then informs the ambassadors that their " several suits Have been consider'd and debated on," and they are prepared to conclude a peace with France, to which Gloucester adds that the king, having been informed of the " virtuous gifts, the beauty, and the value of her dower," is willing to accept the daughter of Armagnac in marriage. Henry confirms this by handing to Gloucester for the lady " a jewel, the pledge of his affection," afterwards giving him orders to see them safe to Dover and there to " Commit them to the fortune of the sea," and all, except Winchester and the Legate, leave the chamber.

Winchester and the Legate being left alone, the former pays the sum of money promised to the pope for exalting him to the rank of cardinal :

> Stay, my lord legate : you shall first receive
> The sum of money which I promised
> Should be deliver'd to his holiness
> For clothing me in these grave ornaments,

after which he [aside] mutters that in his new sphere he will not be " inferior to the proudest peer " neither will he be overborne " in birth or for authority " by Humphrey of Gloucester, but on the other hand will

> either make him stoop and bend his knee,
> Or sack this country with a mutiny.

The Plains in Anjou supply the next scene. Charles announces that news—which will " cheer their drooping spirits "—has been received that the " stout Parisians " have revolted against the English. Alençon and Joan are therefore urging Charles to march to Paris, when a Scout enters, and reports that the " English army, that divided was Into two parties, is now conjoin'd in one, And means to give battle presently." Charles considers the " warning very sudden " but they will " presently provide for them," while Burgundy trusts the ghost of Talbot will not be there, and then they will have nothing to fear. Joan describes " fear " as the " most accurs'd " of all " base passions," and prophesies victory for the French :

> Command the conquest, Charles, it shall be thine ;
> Let Henry fret and all the world repine.

We are before Angiers in the next scene, where a battle is in progress. There are alarums and excursions, and desperate fighting follows, during which the French are beaten back. Seeing the French forces retreating, Joan calls up " ye charming spells and periapts " and " ye choice spirits " that inform her of future events to aid her in her " enterprise." To the accompaniment of thunder and lightning the Fiends appear, their " speedy and quick appearance " being proof how diligent they are in her service. Addressing them as " ye familiar spirits " that are gathered from the infernal regions she asks them for their help in order that the French may conquer, but they " walk and speak not." Appealing to them not to hold her in suspense she offers in place of her blood with which she was accustomed to feed them, to cut off one of her limbs and give it to them, if they will " condescend to help her " but the fiends hang down their heads. Then " My body shall Pay recompense if you will grant my suit," but the spirits shake their heads. " Then take my soul " ; she exclaims, my body, soul, and all before that England give the French the foil, but the fiends depart, and Joan remarks :

> See ! they forsake me. Now the time is come
> That France must vail her lofty plumed crest,
> And let her head fall into England's lap.
> My ancient incantations are too weak.
> And hell too strong for me to buckle with :
> Now, France, thy glory droopeth in the dust,

There are more excursions, followed by hand-to-hand fighting, and York takes Joan captive :

> Damsel of France, I think I have you fast :
> Unchain your spirits now with spelling charms,
> And try if they can gain your liberty.
> A goodly prize, fit for the devil's grace !
> See how the ugly witch doth bend her brows,
> As if with Circe she would change my shape.

" Chang'd to a worser shape thou canst not be," retorts the maid, and York retaliates by telling her that only the shape of Charles the Dauphin can please her " dainty eye." As she is led away she curses both York and Charles, hoping that both of them will be murdered while sleeping on their beds :

> A plaguing mischief light on Charles and thee !
> And may ye both be suddenly surpris'd
> By bloody hands, in sleeping on your beds !

" Fell banning hag, enchantress, hold thy tongue ! " demands York, and Joan craves permission to " curse awhile," but York retorts by telling her she can curse when she is brought to the stake.

More alarums follow, and Suffolk enters with Lady Margaret of Anjou as his prisoner. " Be what thou wilt, thou art my prisoner. O fairest beauty ! do not fear nor fly, For I will touch thee but with reverent hands. I kiss these fingers for eternal peace, And lay them gently on thy tender side." " Who art thou ? say, that I may honour thee," asks Suffolk, and she replies " Margaret my name, and daughter to a king, The King of Naples, whosoe'er thou art," and Suffolk makes answer : " An earl I am, and Suffolk am I call'd. Be not offended, nature's miracle, Thou art allotted to be ta'en by me : So doth the swan her downy cygnets save, Keeping them prisoner underneath her wings. Yet, if this servile usage once offend, Go and be free again, as Suffolk's friend." As she attempts to leave, Suffolk exclaims : " O, stay ! I have no power to let her pass ; My hand would free her, but my heart says no." Muttering to himself that he would be glad to woo her, but as he dare not speak, he will call for " pen and ink and write his mind," and exclaiming " Fie, de la Pole ! I have a tongue " he asks himself why he should destroy the power of action, or be " daunted at a woman's sight ? " Perplexed at his unusual manner, she asks what ransom she must pay in order to go free. As he does not answer her, she enquires " Why speak'st thou not ? what ransom must I pay ? " " She 's beautiful and therefore to be woo'd ; She is a woman, therefore to be won," he mutters. " Wilt thou accept of ransom, yea or no ? " demands Margaret, and Suffolk mutters to himself that he must remember that " he has a wife " otherwise he would marry Margaret. " He talks at random ; sure, the man is mad," observes Margaret, and as he will not hear she will leave him. " I 'll win this Lady Margaret. For whom ? Why, for my king : tush ! that 's a wooden thing," he again mutters to himself, to which Margaret ejaculates : " He talks of wood : it is some carpenter," and turning to her Suffolk tells her he has a " secret to reveal " and asks her to condescend to listen to what he has to say. " Perhaps I shall be rescu'd by the French ; And then I need not crave his courtesy," mutters Margaret to herself. Again appealing to her to hear him, she retorts : " Tush ! women have been captivate ere now," and when asked why she speaks so disdainfully she apologises, still it is only *quid* for *quo*. " Would you not suppose Your bondage happy to be made a queen ? " asks Suffolk, and Margaret tells him that a " queen in bondage " is more worthless than a " slave in base servility ; For princes should be free." " And so shall you," exclaims Suffolk, " If happy England's royal king be free," and when she enquires of what concern is the king of England's freedom to her, Suffolk undertakes to make her

queen of England, and put a golden sceptre in her hand, and set a precious crown upon her head. But when she replies that she is " unworthy to be Henry's queen," Suffolk tells her he is unworthy to " woo so fair a dame to be Henry's wife," and earnestly begs of her to consent to be queen of England. Replying that she is willing if it please her father, a parley is sounded and Reignier appears on the walls. Seeing his daughter captive, he asks what remedy there is, as he is a " soldier, and unapt to weep Or to exclaim on fortune's fickleness," and Suffolk tells him that the remedy is that he gives consent for his " daughter to be wedded to his king." Trumpets sound, and Reignier descends from the walls to discuss the matter with Suffolk, and eventually gives his consent conditionally upon being allowed to

> Enjoy mine own, the country Maine and Anjou,
> Free from oppression or the stroke of war.

Setting Margaret free : " That is her ransom ; I deliver her " ; and guaranteeing Reignier that his stipulation in respect to the two counties of Maine and Anjou shall be carried out, Suffolk promises to return to England forthwith and make arrangements for the marriage to be solemnised. He then bids Reignier farewell, enjoining upon him to

> set this diamond safe
> In gólden palaces, as it becomes.

and Reignier embraces Suffolk as he would

> embrace
> The Christian prince, King Henry, were he here.

Margaret too bids Suffolk farewell :

> Farewell, my lord. Good wishes, praise and prayers
> Shall Suffolk ever have of Margaret,

and Suffolk takes leave of her, but before doing so asks her if she has

> No princely commendations to his king ?

" Such commendations," replies Margaret, as " becomes a maid, A virgin and his servant." Suffolk considers her words are " sweetly placed and modestly directed," and apologising for troubling her again enquires if she has

> No loving token to his majesty ?

to which she replies :

> Yes, my good lord ; a pure unspotted heart,
> Never yet taint with love, I send the king.

" And this withal," rejoins Suffolk, at the same time kissing her, and Margaret tells him that is for himself, for she would not be so presumptuous as

> To send such peevish tokens to a king.

Reignier and Margaret having gone, Suffolk soliloquises that although he cannot win her for himself :

> O ! wert thou for myself. But, Suffolk, stay ;
> Thou may'st not wander in that labyrinth ;
> There Minotaurs and ugly treasons lurk,

he will " Solicit Henry with her wondrous praise," her " virtues " and her " natural graces," so that when

> thou com'st to kneel at Henry's feet,
> Thou may'st bereave him of his wits with wonder,

The Camp of the Duke of York in Anjou supplies the next scene. It opens with York ordering that "sorceress, condemn'd to burn," to be brought forth. As she enters guarded, a shepherd—her father—appears, who exclaims:

> Ah, Joan, this kills thy father's heart outright!
> Have I sought every country far and near,
> And, now it is my chance to find thee out,
> Must I behold thy timeless cruel death?
> Ah, Joan, sweet daughter Joan, I 'll die with thee!

but to his surprise she repudiates him, calling him a "Decrepit miser! base ignoble wretch! Thou art no father nor no friend of mine," claiming to have "descended of a gentler blood." But the old shepherd tells York and the other lords that her mother is still alive who can testify to Joan being their daughter. "Graceless!" exclaims Warwick, "wilt thou deny thy parentage?" to which York adds that it "argues what her kind of life hath been: Wicked and vile; and so her death concludes." Another appeal is made to her by her father to admit her parentage, but Joan tells him to be gone, and turning to York declares that the old man has been "suborn'd Of purpose to obscure her noble birth." Her father then asks her to kneel down and take his blessing, but as she refuses the old man calls down imprecations on her head, wishing that "some ravenous wolf had eaten her," and finally casts her off as a "cursed drab," and bids them "burn her, burn her: hanging is too good." York then gives orders for her to be taken away having lived too long already "To fill the world with vicious qualities," but before being led away she claims that she is descended from the "progeny of kings, virtuous and holy" and "chosen from above, By inspiration of celestial grace" to work miracles upon earth. She declares she has been a "virgin from her tender infancy, Chaste and immaculate in very thought," and that her "maiden blood, thus rigorously effused, Will cry for vengeance at the gates of heaven." But York with a wave of the hand orders her away to execution, while Warwick gives orders to "Spare for no faggots, let there be enow: Place barrels of pitch upon the fatal stake, that so her torture may be shortened." She then claims the "privilege of the law" declaring herself to be with child, and when Warwick suggests that any progeny of Charles should not be allowed to live, Joan tells them she has deceived them, and names Alençon and Reignier. But York replies that all her entreaty is in vain, for "Strumpet, thy words condemn thy brat and thee," As she is led away she curses York, hoping that the sun will never shine upon that country where he "makes abode" and that the shadow of death may so haunt him and the other lords that they will either "break their necks," or be driven to self-destruction:

> Then lead me hence; with whom I leave my curse:
> May never glorious sun reflex his beams
> Upon the country where you make abode;
> But darkness and the gloomy shade of death
> Environ you, till mischief and despair
> Drive you to break your necks or hang yourselves!

and York wanly retorts:

> Break thou in pieces and consume to ashes,
> Thou foul accursed minister of hell!

Winchester now enters, and after greeting York "With letters of commission from the king" informs him that the king earnestly implores that peace shall be concluded with France. This does not meet with York's approval, after the

> slaughter of so many peers,
> So many captains, gentlemen, and soldiers,
> That in this quarrel have been overthrown,
> And sold their bodies for their country's benefit,

and turning to Warwick, exclaims :

> O ! Warwick, Warwick, I forsee with grief
> The utter loss of all the realm of France.

Warwick counsels patience : " Be patient, York " : for

> if we conclude a peace,
> It shall be with such strict and severe covenants
> As little shall the Frenchmen gain thereby.

Charles, accompanied by Alençon, Orleans, Reignier and others now enters, and asks to be informed of the conditions of peace. York requests Winchester to speak, for

> boiling choler chokes
> The hollow passage of my poison'd voice,
> By sight of these our baleful enemies.

Winchester then informs Charles that Henry " gives consent Of mere compassion and of lenity " to conclude a peace with France, conditionally upon France " become true liegemen to his crown," and that Charles, provided he will " swear to pay tribute and submit himself," shall be appointed " viceroy under him, And still enjoy his regal dignity." Alençon considers these conditions as " absurd and reasonless " as Charles would be nothing more than a " shadow of himself," but Charles reminds him that he is already " possess'd with more than half the Gallian territories. " Insulting Charles ! " retorts York, " hast thou by secret means Us'd intercession " to obtain a peace, and now wish to compromise ; adding, that he must, without challenge, accept the conditions as laid down, or be " plagued with incessant wars." Reignier opines that they should not be " obstinate " and " cavil " at the terms offered, for another opportunity may not present itself if they allow this one to pass, and Alençon—who admits it is " policy for Charles to save his subjects from massacre "—advises him to agree to the terms, adding " Although you break it when your pleasure serves." Charles accepts the conditions offered with one reservation, that England

> claim no interest
> In any of our towns of garrison,

after which Charles swears allegiance, and peace is concluded.

The final scene of the Play is enacted at the Royal Palace in London. It opens with Henry expressing to Suffolk—who has given the king a brilliant account of Margaret of Anjou's charm and beauty—his astonishment at the " wondrous rare description " the noble earl has related of her " virtues graced with external gifts," virtues and gifts which do " breed love's settled passions in his heart " ; but Suffolk replies : " Tush ! my good lord," this superficial tale is but a " preface of her worthy praise," for if he had " sufficient skill to utter the chief perfections of that lovely dame " it would make a " volume of enticing lines." Henry then asks Gloucester as Lord Protector to give his consent that " Margaret may be England's royal queen," and Gloucester reminds him that he is already " betrothed to another lady of esteem," and therefore cannot " dispense with that contract," without " defacing his honour with reproach." Suffolk describes her as a " poor earl's daughter," unfit to be England's queen, and therefore the " contract may be broken without offence." Gloucester considers Margaret is scarcely more, her " father being no better than an earl, Although in glorious titles he excel," but Suffolk retorts : " Yes, my lord, her father is a king, The king of Naples and Jerusalem ; And of such great authority in France As his alliance will confirm our peace, And keep the Frenchmen in allegiance."

Gloucester claims the same authority for the Earl of Armagnac on account of being a near kinsman to Charles, to which Exeter adds that the Earl being wealthy had offered a large and sumptuous dowry with his daughter. " A dower, my lords ! " exclaims Suffolk, " disgrace not so your king," for Henry is able to " enrich his queen, And not to seek a queen to make him rich," adding :

> Whom should we match with Henry, being a king,
> But Margaret, that is daughter to a king ?
> Her peerless feature, joined with her birth,
> Approves her fit for none but for a king :
> Her valiant courage and undaunted spirit,
> More than in women commonly is seen,
> Will answer our hope in issue of a king ;
> . . . . . .
> Then yield, my lords ; and here conclude with me
> That Margaret shall be queen, and none but she.

To this speech Henry remarks that he cannot tell whether it is the " force of Suffolk's report " or his " tender youth which was never yet attaint with any passion of inflaming love," but he is so " sick of such fierce alarums of hope and fear working in his thoughts," that he forthwith decides the matter himself, and straightway gives Suffolk orders to " take shipping " and cross over to France, and safely conduct Margaret to England to be " crown'd King Henry's faithful and anointed queen," and authorising him to " gather up a tenth " of the kingdom's revenue for his " expenses and sufficient charge," tells him to " Be gone " ; for " till you do return I rest perplexed with a thousand cares," and begging Gloucester to " excuse This sudden execution of his will," forthwith leaves the room with the words :

> And so conduct me, where from company
> I may resolve and ruminate my grief,

to which Gloucester sadly exclaims :

> Ay, grief, I fear me, both at first and last.

All having left, Suffolk, exalted at the victory he has gained, triumphantly declares : " Thus Suffolk hath prevail'd " ; and like Paris who carried off to Troy Helen the wife of Menelaus, the most beautiful woman in the world, so he will cross over to France with hope to " prosper better than the youthful Trojan did " ; and as there flashes through his mind visions of still greater triumphs to come, in an ecstasy of joy, exclaims :

> Margaret shall now be queen, and rule the king ;
> But I will rule both her, the king, and realm.

Scene : Partly in England and partly in France.

CHARACTERS, PLACE-NAMES, ETC.

Abel. I. iii. 40.

> This be Damascus, be thou accursed Cain,
> To slay thy brother Abel, if thou wilt. [I. iii. 39–40.]

See Damascus.

Adonis. I. vi. 6.

> Thy promises are like Adonis' garden,
> That one day bloom'd and fruitful were the next.
> [I. vi. 6–7.]

In Greek mythology a youth, a model of beauty, beloved by Aphrodite. The allusion is to the pots of earth, planted with fennel and lettuce by the ancient Greeks, called 'Adonis' garden,' on account of these plants being reared for the annual festival of Adonis which was a special favourite with women. Spenser in his *Faerie Queene* gives an account of the Garden of Adonis, and Pliny in his *Natural History* makes reference to them.

Alarum. I. ii. p.22 ; I. v. p.1, p.15 ; II. i. p.78 ; III. ii. p.36, p.41, p.104, p.115 ; IV. vi. p.1 ; IV. vii. p.1 ; V. iii. p.1, p.45.

A summons to arms ; to give notice of approaching danger.

Alcides. IV. vii. 60.

Hercules, the son of Alcæus, noted for his great strength. Sir William Lucy here compares Talbot with Alcides : "But where 's the great Alcides of the field."

Alton. IV. vii. 65.

See Earl of Washford.

Amazon. I. ii. 104.

> Stay, stay thy hands ! thou art an Amazon, [I. ii. 104.]

The Amazons were a fabled race of female warriors. According to Herodotus they were inhabitants of Scythia. The term is now applied to a woman of masculine habits.

Ambassadors. V. i. p.28.

Messengers from France who bring to Henry letters praying for peace between England and France, and the Earl of Armagnac's offer of his daughter's hand in marriage.

On Gloucester's advice the proposals are accepted, and Henry orders the ambassadors to be escorted to Dover bearing a jewel, "In argument and proof of his contract" with the daughter of Armagnac.

Angiers, Before.

The Scene of Act V., Scene iii. A battle is in progress between the English and French forces. Joan calls up familiar spirits to aid her, offering her "body, soul and all" if only France can gain the victory, but the spirits shake their heads and leave, which Joan takes as a symbol of defeat. York and Joan fight hand to hand, and York takes her captive. Later Suffolk enters with Margaret of Anjou as a prisoner, and proposes her union with Henry, which ultimately receives the approval of her father—Reignier, duke of Anjou—and Suffolk returns home and suggests the proposed alliance to the king. [Needless to say Suffolk did not take Margaret prisoner, and it was not until 1444—or some fourteen years after Joan of Arc was captured—that Suffolk was employed as the king's proxy to negotiate the marriage between Margaret and Henry.]

Anjou. V. iii. 147.

An old province of France. In V. iii. 154 it is called "County." By the marriage of Geoffrey Plantagenet Count of Anjou with Matilda, daughter of Henry I., their son Henry II. became Count of Anjou. The province was lost in 1203 during the reign of John, and again came into the possession of the English during the reigns of Henry V. and VI., but reverted to France in 1444, and in 1584 it passed under the direct rule of the kings of France.

Anjou. V. iii. 154.

See Maine.

Artois. II. i. 9.

An ancient province of France. It came into the possession of the Dukes of Burgundy in 1384. Mentioned here as being friendly to the English.

Astræa. I. vi. 4.

> Divinest creature, Astræa's daughter,
> How shall I honour thee for this success? [I. vi. 4–5.]

In classical mythology the goddess of Justice, daughter of Astræus and Eos, or according to another account, of Zeus and Themis. She lived among men on earth during the golden age, and in the brazen age was the last to withdraw into the sky, where she shines as the constellation of Virgo. Should the golden age ever return it is believed she will re-establish her home on earth again. Many poets make reference to this theory, but the best known is Dryden's *Astræa Redux*.

Attendants. IV. vii. p.1.

Auvergne. Court of the Castle.

The Scene of Act II., Scene iii. There is no historical authority for the story of Talbot's visit to the Countess of Auvergne.

Basset, of the Red-Rose or Lancaster Faction. III. iv. p.1; IV. i. p.78.

Only appears in two scenes, with Vernon, with whom he quarrels over their allegiance.

[French says: "The family of Basset was one of great eminence in the 13th, 14th, and 15th, centuries, and several of its members were barons, highly distinguished in the wars of Henry III., and of the three Edwards. The person in this play may have been one of the heroes of Agincourt, either Robert Basset, who was one of the lances in the train of the earl marshal, or Philip Basset, a lance in the retinue of Lord Botreaux.

A Red Rose was the badge of John of *Gaunt*, as the White Rose was of his brother, Edmund of *Langley*; hence the origin of their adoption afterwards by the partizans of their families, as symbols of strife. These badges are found as illustrations in the Missal of Nicholas Litlington, Abbot of Westminster, written between A.D. 1373 and 1377. Shakespeare has given a poetical charm to the selection of the Red and White Roses, by the Lancaster and York factions, in the Temple Garden.]

Bastard of Orleans. I. i. 93; I. ii. p.46, 47, p.64; II. i. p.39; III. ii. p.18, p.41, 123; III. iii. p.1, 69; IV. iv. 26; IV. vi. 14, 16, 25, 42; IV. vii. p.33; V. ii. p.1; V. iv. p.116.

First appears before Charles the Dauphin with the news that he has discovered Joan La Pucelle, saying:

> A holy maid hither with me I bring, [I. ii. 51.]

He does not take any important part in the development of the action of the play, but appears with the French forces on several occasions.

[This renowned warrior, "the brave Dunois," was John, an illegitimate son of Louis, Duke of Orleans, by Marie D'Engheim, wife of his chamberlain, Albert, Lord of Cawny. In 1439 he was legitimated as of the blood-royal, and created Count of Dunois and Longueville. It is under the first title that he is known as the best knight in France, and one of the greatest captains of the age; Monstrelet calls him, "one of the most eloquent men in all France." He compelled the Earl of Warwick to raise the siege of Montargis in 1429, and chiefly directed the sallies of Joan of Arc from Orleans. Dunois gained many important victories in Normandy and Guienne, and his martial exploits have made him hero of song and romance. The count by his second wife, Mary, daughter of James, Count of Tancarville, had a son, Francis, Count of Dunois, nearly as famous a soldier as his warlike father; he is introduced by Sir Walter Scott in *Quentin Durward*. He married Agnes of Savoy, a younger sister of the "Lady Bona," in the *Third Part of King Henry VI.*, and their son, Francis II., was created Duke of Longueville. *French.*]

Blois. IV. iii. 45.

Capital of the department of Loire on the river Loire. Mentioned here as being lost to England.

Bolingbroke. II. v. 83.

Henry Bolingbroke, Duke of Hereford, afterwards King Henry the Fourth.

Bourdeaux. IV. ii. 1 ; IV. iii. 4, 8, 22.

Bourdeaux was the birthplace of Richard the First, his father Edward the Black Prince having had his residence here when Governor of Aquitaine. The attack on Bourdeaux by Talbot as here related is unhistorical.

Bourdeaux, Before.

The Scene of Act IV., Scene ii. [Between Act IV., Scene i., and Act IV., Scene ii., there is a lapse of over twenty years, from Henry's coronation in 1431 to Talbot's last campaign in 1453, during which period the English lost nearly the whole of their English possessions.] In Act IV., Scene ii., Talbot appears before Bourdeaux and demands surrender of the town. The General in charge of the garrison refuses to surrender, and warns Talbot that he is in great danger due to the approach of a large French force. [According to history, Talbot was admitted into Bourdeaux without resistance.]

Bourdeaux. A Field of Battle.

The Scene of Act IV., Scenes vi. and vii.

In Act IV., Scene vi., young Talbot is hemmed in by the enemy, and is rescued by his father from the sword of Orleans.

In Act IV., Scene vii., both father and son are among the slain. Sir William Lucy enters and begs the bodies in order to give them fitting burial, to which Charles consents.

Cæsar. I. ii. 139.

> Now am I like that proud insulting ship
> Which Cæsar and his fortune bare at once.
> [I. ii. 138–139.]

Probably an allusion to the story in the *Life of Julius Cæsar*, by Plutarch (North's translation). During the war with Pompey, when the latter's navy had command of the seas, Cæsar " In the end, followed a dangerous determination, to imbark unknown in a little pinnace of 12 oars only, to pass over the sea again unto Brundusium, the which he could not do without great danger, considering that all that sea was full of Pompey's ships and armies. So he took ship in the night, apparelled like a slave, and went aboard upon this little pinnace, and said never a word, as if he had been some poor man of mean condition. The pinnace lay in the mouth of the river of Anius, the which commonly was wont to be very calm and quiet, by reason of a little wind that came from the shore, which every morning drave back the waves far into the main sea. But that night (by ill fortune) there came a great wind from the sea, that overcame the landwind, insomuch as, the force and strength of the river fighting against the violence of the rage and waves of the sea, the encounter was marvellous dangerous, the water of the river being driven back, and rebounding upward, with great noise and danger, in turning of the water. Thereupon the master of the pinnace, seeing that he could not possibly get out of the mouth of this river, bade the mariners to cast about again, and to return against the stream. Cæsar hearing that, straight discovered himself unto the master of the pinnace, who at the first was amazed when he saw him ; but Cæsar then taking him by the hand, said unto him : " Good fellow, be of good cheer, and forwards hardily ; fear not, for thou hast Cæsar and his fortune with thee."

Cain. I. iii. 39.

> This be Damascus, be thou cursed Cain,
> To slay thy brother Abel, if thou wilt. [I. iii. 39–40.]

See Damascus.

Calais. IV. i. 9, 170.

A seaport on the Strait of Dover. Edward III., invested it in September, 1346, and after enduring a siege for nearly a year surrendered in August, 1347. The French made an unsuccessful attempt to regain possession in 1349. At the close of Henry VI's reign it remained as the sole vestige of the English conquests in France. The privilege of representation in the English Parliament was granted to Calais by Henry VIII., which was continued until 1558 when it was captured by the Duke of Guise. On April 24th, 1596, the town was taken by the Spaniards and two years later was restored to France.

Camp of the Duke of York in Anjou.

The Scene of Act V., Scene iv. Shows us the condemnation of Joan of Arc to be burned as a witch, which took place on the 31st of May, 1431. Beaufort announces that Henry is ready to conclude peace with France, but this does not meet with York's approval. Terms of peace are, however, concluded, Charles consenting to pay

tribute and act as Henry's Viceroy. [There are several inaccuracies in this scene. Beaufort is substituted for Suffolk, who was the real negotiator of the treaty, and York did not oppose it, neither was Charles compelled to agree to ignominious terms. The terms of the truce are extant, and contain no condition of allegiance or submission on either side.]

Cardinal's Men. I. iii. p.57.

See Men in tawny coats.

Champaigne. I. i. 60.

An ancient province of France. Mentioned here as being lost to England, but this is unhistorical.

Charles, Dauphin, and afterwards King of France. I. i. 92, 96, 137, 149, 163; I. ii. p.1, p.22, 47, 66, 72, 112; I. iv. 101; I. v. p.1; I. vi. p.1; II. i. 48, p.50, 55; II. ii. 19, 28; III. ii. 9, p.18, 29, 34, p.41, p.110, 123; III. iii. p.1, 8, 38, 39, 77; IV. i. 60, 173; IV. ii. 21, 39; IV. iii. 2, 7; IV. iv. 26; IV. vi. 10; IV. vii. p.33, 51, 54; V. i. 17; V. ii. p.1, 4, 19; V. iii. 37, 39; V. iv. 68, 71, 77, 100, p.116, 123, 129, 147, 165; V. v. 45.

Seeking to overthrow the English rule in France, Charles attacks Orleans, and when we first meet him before that city he remarks that England's power is waning.

> Mars his true moving, even as in the heavens
> So in the earth, to this day is not known.
> Late did he shine upon the English side;
> Now we are victors; upon us he smiles. [I. ii. 1–4.]

The Bastard of Orleans enters saying:

> Methinks your looks are sad, your cheer appaled.
> Hath the late overthrow wrought this offence?
> Be not dismay'd, for succour is at hand:
> A holy maid hither with me I bring,
> Which by a vision sent to her from heaven
> Ordained is to raise this tedious siege,
> And drive the English forth the bounds of France.
> [I. ii. 48–54.]

Charles receives La Pucelle, and on her inviting him to "try her courage by combat, if he dar'st," accepts the challenge, only to be overcome at which he acknowledges her power, and at first wishes to make her his love rather than his leader, saying:

> Whoe'er helps thee, 'tis thou that must help me.
> Impatiently I burn with thy desire;
> My heart and hands thou hast at once subdued.
> [I. ii. 107–109.]

She refuses his advances and vigorously repudiates the suggestion of abandoning Orleans, to which Charles readily agrees.

The town is taken, and Charles attributes their success to Joan, exclaiming:

> 'Tis Joan, not we, by whom the day is won; [I. vi. 17.]

Later, when Orleans is recaptured by the English forces, Charles declares that the first victory was but a trick of Joan's:

> Is this thy cunning, thou deceitful dame?
> Didst thou at first, to flatter us withal,
> Make us partakers of a little gain,
> That now our loss might be ten times so much.
> [II. i. 50–54.]

and then accuses the Duke of Alençon of negligence in setting the guard.

We next meet Charles before Rouen which is also taken by the French, but is speedily recaptured by the English, and the Dauphin, although a little mistrustful of La Pucelle, remarks:

> We have been guided by thee hitherto,
> And of thy cunning had no diffidence;
> One sudden foil shall never breed distrust.
> [III. iii. 9–11.]

Burgundy is now won over to the French side and is welcomed by Charles.

> Welcome, brave duke! thy friendship makes us fresh.
> [III. iii. 86.]

Later, before Bordeaux, Charles secures a further victory, and cries:

> And now to Paris, in this conquering vein;
> All will be ours now bloody Talbot's slain.
> [IV. vii. 95–96.]

News is brought that 'the stout Parisians do revolt And turn again unto the war-like French,' but immediately another messenger enters with the tidings that the English army is united, and ready for battle.

In the fight which ensues the French are routed, and we next find that terms of peace between France and England are being sought.

Charles appears before the Duke of York, and says:

> Since, lords of England, it is thus agreed
> That peaceful truce shall be proclaim'd in France,
> We come to be informed by yourselves
> What the conditions of that league must be.
> [V. iv. 116–119.]

to be informed by Winchester :

> Charles, and the rest, it is enacted thus :
> That, in regard King Henry gives consent,
> Of mere compassion and of lenity,
> To ease your country of distressful war,
> And suffer you to breathe in fruitful peace,
> You shall become true liegemen to his crown.
> And, Charles, upon condition thou wilt swear
> To pay him tribute, and submit thyself,
> Thou shalt be placed as viceroy under him,
> And still enjoy thy regal dignity. [V. iv. 123–132.]

Charles demurs at the terms, but ultimately agrees, being advised to do so by Alençon, who remarks in an undertone :

> And therefore take this compact of a truce,
> Although you break it when your pleasure serves.
> [V. iv. 163-164.]

The scene closes with Charles and his followers swearing allegiance to Henry.

[This prince, third son of Charles VI., became Dauphin in 1417, in succession to his brothers, Louis and John. Although at the date when the second scene of this play occurred he was really king by the death of his father, and had been crowned at Poitiers in 1423, he continued to be styled the Dauphin, until he was conducted by Joan of Arc, according to her promise, to be solemnly inaugurated at Rheims, where the kings of France had been usually crowned. This ceremony occurred July 17, 1429, although it is prematurely alluded to in the first scene.

Charles VII., married Mary of Anjou, sister of King René, and by her was father of Louis XI., who is a character in the *Third Part of King Henry the Sixth*.]

Circe. V. iii. 35.

> See how the ugly witch doth bend her brows,
> As if with Circe she would change my shape.
> [V. iii. 34–35.]

An allusion to Circe the enchantress, who lived on the island of Ææa, described by Homer as " fair-haired, a clever goddess, possessing human speech." When Ulysses on his return from the Trojan war visited her coasts, Circe turned his companions into swine, but Ulysses resisted this metamorphosis by a herb called Moly which he had received from Mercury.

Constantine. I. ii. 142.

Roman Emperor 306–337 A.D.

Cordelion's heart. III. ii. 83.

> As sure as in this late-betrayed town
> Great Cordelion's heart was buried,
> So sure I swear to get the town or die. [III. ii. 82–84.]

King Richard the First, surnamed Cœur-de-Lion. Holinshed says that Richard " willed his heart to be conueied vnto Rouen, and there buried ; in testimonie of the loue which he had euer borne vnto that citie for the stedfast faith and tried loialtie at all times found in the citizens there," and Grafton : " And within three dayes after the king was hurt, he dyed that is to say, the ix. day of Aprill, and was buryed as he himselfe willed at Fount Ebrard or Euerard at the Feete of his father. Howbeit his hart was buryed at Roan, and his bowelles in Poytiers, when he had reigned ix. yeres, ix. monethes and odde dayes, leauing after him none issue."

Countess of Auvergne. II. ii. 38 ; II. iii. p.1.

Anxious to secure notoriety the Countess causes a messenger to be sent to Lord Talbot, desiring his presence at her castle so that she may congratulate him on his valiant deeds, and claim the honour of having had an interview with so famous a man. The messenger states :

> The virtuous lady, Countess of Auvergne,
> With modesty admiring thy renown,
> By me entreats, great lord, thou would'st vouchsafe
> To visit her poor castle where she lies,
> That she may boast she hath beheld the man
> Whose glory fills the world with loud report.
> [II. ii. 38–43.]

and Talbot says to the messenger :

> I return great thanks,
> And in submission will attend on her. [II. ii. 51–52.]

This message is all part of a plot by which the Countess hopes to secure the capture of Talbot, and she gives orders to her porter to :

> remember what I gave in charge ;
> And when you have done so, bring the keys to me.
> [II. iii. 1–2.]

On the porter's departure she soliloquises :

> The plot is laid ; if all things fall out right,
> I shall as famous be by this exploit
> As Scythian Tomyris by Cyrus' death. [II. iii. 4–6.]

Talbot now enters, accompanied by a messenger, and the Countess exclaims :

> Is this the scourge of France ?
> Is this the Talbot, so much fear'd abroad
> That with his name the mothers still their babes ?
> [II. iii. 14–16.]

continuing in a sarcastic vein :

I see report is fabulous and false :
I thought I should have seen some Hercules,
A second Hector, for his grim aspect,
And large proportion of his strong-knit limbs.
Alas ! this is a child, a silly dwarf :
It cannot be this weak and writhled shrimp
Should strike such terror to his enemies. [II. iii. 17–23.]

At this Talbot turns to go, and the Countess exclaims :

If thou be he, then art thou prisoner. [II. iii. 32.]

and goes on to say how she will :

chain these legs and arms of thine,
That hast by tyranny these many years
Wasted our country, slain our citizens,
And sent our sons and husbands captivate.
[II. iii. 38–41.]

Lord Talbot then says he is " but shadow of himself " and " were the whole frame here, It is of such a spacious lofty pitch, Your roof were not sufficient to contain it."

The Countess is mystified at these riddling words and demands an explanation which Talbot gives by blowing a horn, and without there is a sound of gun-fire and his soldiers march into the castle.

Seeing her plot defeated the Countess weakly craves indulgence, saying :

Victorious Talbot, pardon my abuse :
. . . . . .
For I am sorry, that with reverence
I did not entertain thee as thou art. [II. iii. 66–71.]

and Talbot says he will be quite satisfied if he and his men, " may Taste of your wine and see what cates you have " :

Thus the Countess was humiliated as she well deserved to be, for presuming that she could so easily trap the brave Lord Talbot.

[Courtenay remarks : " I do not know where Shakespeare found the story of Talbot and the Countess of Auvergne." This lady, introduced in Act II., Scene iii., may be intended for Mary, daughter of Godefroi D'Auvergne, wife of Bertrand III., Lord de la Tour, Count of Auvergne ; from a branch of this house have descended the Princes De la Tour-Auvergne.]

Crete. IV. vi. 54.

Then follow thou thy desperate sire of Crete,
Thou Icarus. [IV. vi. 54–55.]

See Icarus.

Cyrus. II. iii. 6.

I shall as famous be by this exploit
As Scythian Tomyris by Cyrus' death. [II. iii. 5–6.]

The founder of the Persian Empire, son of Cambyses a Persian noble, and of a daughter of Astyages, king of Media ; defeated Astyages and took him prisoner and united Media with Persia, B.C. 559 ; conquered the kingdom of Lydia and took Crœsus prisoner, B.C. 546 ; conquered Babylon, B.C. 538. He then marched with a great army against the Massagetæ in Scythia. Tomyris, queen of the Massagetæ, met and defeated him, and cutting off his head threw it into a vessel filled with human blood, remarking as she did so, ' There, drink thy fill.' Dante refers to this incident in his *Purgatorio*, xii. 55–57 :

Displayed the ruin and the cruel carnage
That Tomyris wrought, when she to Cyrus said,
' Blood didst thou thirst for, and with blood I glut thee !'

And in Sackville's *A Mirrour for Magistraytes* (The Complaynt, 1587) we read :

Consyder Cyrus . . .
He whose huge power no man might overthrowe.
Tomyris queen with great despite hath slowe,
His head dismembered from his mangled corps,
Herself she cast into a vessel fraught
With clotted blood of them that felt her force,
And with these words a just reward she taught—
' Drynke now thy fyll of thy desired draught.'

Damascus. I. iii. 39.

This be Damascus, be thou cursed Cain,
To slay thy brother Abel, if thou wilt. [I. iii. 39–40.]

An allusion to the legend that Damascus was built on the site of Abel's grave.

" About four miles from Damascus is a high hill, reported to be the same on which Cain slew his brother Abel." Maundrel's *Travels*.

" And in that place where *Damascus* was founded, *Kaym* sloughe *Abel* his brother." Maundeville's *Travels*, 1725.

" *Damascus* is as moche to saye as shedynge of blood. For there *Chaym* slowe *Abell*, and hidde hym in the sonde." *Polychronicon*.

Darius. I. vi. 25.

Her ashes, in an urn more precious
Than the rich-jewell'd coffer of Darius. [I. vi. 24.25.]

" When Alexander the Great took the city of Gaza, the metropolis of Syria, amidst the other spoils and wealth of Darius treasured up there,

he found an exceeding rich and beautiful little chest or casket, and asked those about him what they thought fittest to be laid up in it. When they had severally delivered their opinions, he told them, he esteemed nothing so worthy to be preserved in it as Homer's Iliad." *Plutarchum in Vitâ Alexandri Magnie. Theobald.*

The very words of the text are found in Puttenham's *Arte of English Poesie*, 1589: "In what price the noble poems of Homer were holden with Alexander the Great, insomuch as everie night they were layd under his pillow, and by day were carried in *the rich jewel coffer of Darius*, lately before vanquished by him in battaile." *Malone.*

See Plutarch's *Life of Alexander the Great.*

Deborah. I. ii. 105.

> Stay, stay thy hands! thou art an Amazon,
> And fightest with the sword of Deborah. [I. ii. 104–105.]

An allusion to the story of Deborah and Barak. *See* Judges, chapters iv. and v.

Dover. V. i. 49.

> And so, my lord protector, see them guarded
> And safely brought to Dover; [V. i. 48–49.]

Henry gives orders for the ambassadors to be "guarded And safely brought to Dover;".

Duke of Alençon. I. i. 95; I. ii. p.22; I. vi. p.1; II. i. p.39, 60; III. ii. p.18, p.41, 65, p.110; III. iii. p.1, p.33, 36, 37; IV. i. 173; IV. iv. 26; IV. vi. 14; IV. viii. p.33; V. ii, p.1; V. iv. 73, 74, p.116.

A noble who assists the Dauphin in his actions against the English.

He appears with the French forces at Orleans and Rouen, and at the latter city, exclaims to La Pucelle, urging her to assist them:

> We 'll set thy statue in some holy place,
> And have thee reverenced like a blessed saint:
> Employ thee then, sweet virgin, for our good.
> [III. iii. 14–16.]

On the plains in Anjou, hearing that the Parisians are revolting in favour of the French, Alençon urges the Dauphin:

> Then march to Paris, royal Charles of France,
> And keep not back your powers in dalliance.
> [V. ii. 4–5.]

He finally appears with the Dauphin and others before York and Warwick when the peace terms are presented, and advises Charles, in the words:

> To say the truth, it is your policy
> To save your subjects from such massacre
> And ruthless slaughters as are daily seen
> By our proceeding in hostility;
> And therefore take this compact of a truce,
> Although you break it when your pleasure serves.
> [V. iv. 159–164.]

[The Duke of Alençon, was John II., son of the brave prince, John I., who was slain at Agincourt, after his personal encounter with Henry V., who endeavoured to save the life of his noble enemy. He was released on *parole* after he was taken prisoner by Fastolfe, in 1424, at Verneuil; and he commanded the French forces in 1429 at Jergeau, where the Earl of Suffolk was taken prisoner. He was present at the coronation of Charles VII., at Rheims, but joined the faction of Louis the Dauphin against the royal authority in 1440, but was allowed to retire to his *apanage*. In 1456 Alençon was arrested on a charge of intriguing with the English cabinet, tried and pronounced guilty of treason, October 10, 1448, and condemned to die; but though his life was spared, he was kept in close confinement, and did not regain his liberty until the accession of his friend the Dauphin as Louis XI., in 1461, against whom in turn he rebelled, and being once more arrested, this time by the celebrated Tristan l'Hermite, this turbulent prince ended his days in prison, in 1476. By his wife Joan, daughter of Charles, Duke of Orleans, and Isabel of France, he left a son, René, who succeeded as Duke of Alençon. *French.*]

Duke of Anjou. I. i. 94; V. iii. 95.

= Reignier, Duke of Anjou (q.v.), and father of Margaret.

Duke of Bedford. Uncle to the King, and Regent of France. I. i. p.1, 99; I. iv. 27; II. i. p.8, 8; II. ii. p.1; III. ii. p.41, 87, 93, 100, 132.

Bedford opens the play with a speech bemoaning the death of King Henry V., saying:

> England ne'er lost a king of so much worth. [I. 1-7.]

Messengers enter with news that the French have revolted, and Bedford, exclaiming 'I 'll

hale the dauphin headlong from his throne' immediately departs for France.

We next meet him before Orleans and with Talbot he attacks the town. The assault being successful, Bedford orders the retreat to be sounded.

His next appearance is before Rouen. La Pucelle and a number of soldiers having gained admission to the town by a ruse, it is taken by the forces under Charles. Bedford is brought in sick in a chair, and urges the nobles around him to 'let no words, but deeds, revenge this treason.'

Talbot endeavours to persuade him to let them 'bestow him in some better place, Fitter for sickness and for crazy age,' but Bedford stubbornly refuses, saying:

> Lord Talbot, do not so dishonour me,
> Here will I sit before the walls of Roan,
> And will be partner of your weal and woe.
> [III. ii. 90–92.]

Further encounters take place between the opposing forces and finally the French are routed, Bedford at this point exclaiming:

> Now, quiet soul, depart when heaven please;
> For I have seen our enemies' overthrow.
> [III. ii. 110–111.]

and passes away.

After his body has been borne out Talbot pays tribute to his sterling qualities in the words:

> A braver soldier never couched lance,
> A gentler heart did never sway in court.
> [III. ii. 134–135.]

[In this part the 'Prince John of Lancaster,' of former plays, closes his career of military glory and wise administration, sullied, however, by one blot,—his treatment of the heroine, Joan of Arc. Hume calls him 'the most accomplished prince of the age." This great general gained the famous battle of Verneuil, August 27, 1424, against the combined French and Scots, and after achieving many other victories died at Rouen, the seat of his government, September 14, 1435, *after* the execution of Joan of Arc, although in the play his own death is made to occur before that of the Maid of Orleans. Bedford's first wife, 1423, was Anne, sister of Philip the *Good*, Duke of Burgundy, the character of this play; she died November 14, 1432, and very shortly after he married secondly Jacqueline, daughter of Peter, Count of Luxemburg, a vassal of the Duke of Burgundy, who was highly offended at the hasty alliance. The Duke had no children by either of his wives, and his widow Jacqueline soon after his death, being then only seventeen, married Richard Woodville, and one of their children, Elizabeth, became the Queen of Edward the Fourth.

The duke was buried in the church of St. Marie at Rouen, and the following inscription was placed on his tomb: "Cy gist fu de noble memoire tres-haut & puissant prince Johan en son vivant Regent le Roialme de France, Duc de Bedford; pour lequel est fondre une Messe estre chez un jour perpetuellement celebre a cest autel par le college des Clementines incontinent apres prime. Et tres-passa le xiv jour de Septembre 1, an Mill. ccccxxxv, au quel xiv jour semblablement est fonde pour luy une solempnele en ceste Eglise. Dieu face pardon a son ame." *Buswell.* Greatly to his praise, Louis XI. refused to deface the monument to Bedford's memory when urged to do so, declaring,—"Let his body rest in quiet, which when he was living would have disquieted the proudest of us all; and as for his tomb, which I assure you is not so worthy as his acts deserve, I account it an honour to have his remains in my dominions." *Banks.*]

Duke of Burgundy. II. i. p.8, 8; II. ii. p.1; III. ii. p.41, 42, 77, 101, p.115, 116, 118, 130; III. iii. 19, p.41, 73; IV. i. 12, 13, 49, 64; IV. iv. 26; IV. vi. 14; IV. vii. p.33; V. ii. p.1.

A noble, who appears first on the side of the English, but later forsakes his allegiance and supports the Dauphin.

After Rouen has been finally captured by the English forces and Talbot and Burgundy and their forces are marching away, La Pucelle orders a parley to be sounded that she may speak with Burgundy.

She flatters him at first to gain his confidence:

> Brave Burgundy, undoubted hope of France!
> Stay, let thy humble handmaid speak to thee.
> [III. iii. 41–42.]

and then goes on to describe how France, his country, has been despoiled by the wars, and seeing he is inclining to her view continues:

> thou fight'st against thy countrymen,
> And join'st with them will be thy slaughter-men.
> [III. iii. 74–75.]

Her earnest appeal succeeds, and Burgundy exclaims :

> I am vanquished ; these haughty words of hers
> Have batter'd me like roaring cannon-shot,
> And made me almost yield upon my knees.
> Forgive me, country, and sweet countrymen !
> And, lords, accept this hearty kind embrace :
> My forces and my power of men are yours.
> [III. iii. 78–83.]

He sends a letter to Henry announcing his decision, and Talbot is sent to fight him.

After this he appears but twice, and does not take any further part in the action of the play.

[In this play the duke is the Count de Charolois, the same Duke of Burgundy that appears in the last act of *Henry V.*, Philip, called the " Good," born in 1396, who succeeded his father, John the *Fearless*, in 1418. Duke Philip for a long time was in alliance with England, and the Duke of Bedford resigned to him the Regency of France in 1429 ; but though the defection of Burgundy from the English is in the play made to occur through the persuasion of Joan of Arc, he did not really fall off, and become reconciled to France, until 1435.

In reality the only interview between Burgundy and Joan of Arc was at her capture ; the " fair persuasions, mix'd with sugar'd words," employed by the heroine in Act III., Scene iii., were addressed to the duke in a letter, wherein she implored him, as first vassal to the crown of France, to return to his allegiance. *Barante.*

The Duke of Burgundy's first wife was Michelle, daughter of Charles VI., she died in 1422 ; he married secondly, Bona, daughter of Philip, Count of Eu, who died in 1425 ; and thirdly, in 1430, Isabella of Portugal, daughter of John I., and Philippa, the daughter of John of *Gaunt* by his first duchess, Blanche of Lancaster. By his third wife, a woman of great talent and spirit, Duke Philip had two sons, who died during infancy, and a third son, who succeeded at his father's death in 1467 as Duke of Burgundy, and is known in history as " Charles the Bold " ; he is alluded to in the *Third Part of King Henry VI.*, Act IV., Scene vi.—" I like not of this flight of Edward's ; For doubtless Burgundy will yield him help." Charles *the Bold's* third wife was Margaret Plantagenet, 1467, sister of Edward IV., she was the Duchess of Burgundy, who supported, if she did not suggest, the impostures of Lambert Simnel, and Perkin Warbeck. In honour of his third marriage Philip *the Good* established the Order of the Golden Fleece of Burgundy, at Bruges, January 18, 1430. He was elected a Knight of the Garter in the reign of Henry V., as his son, Charles the Bold, was in that of Edward IV.]

Duke of Gloucester. Uncle to the King, and Protector. I. i. p.1, 37, 100 ; I. iii. p.1, 4, 6, 8, 16, 18, p.29, 29, 52, 62, 82, 87 ; II. iv. 118 ; III. i. p.1, 3, 27, 49, 65, 78, 89, 134, 142, 184 ; III. iv. p.1, 13 ; IV. i. p.1 ; V. i. p.1, 58 ; V. v. p.1.

In this play we see a good deal of the rivalry between Gloucester and Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester.

Both are anxious to secure supreme and unquestioned power and the determined efforts of Winchester to override Gloucester being continually to the fore.

Gloucester is the one who would rather work amicably and this is shown in Act III. when he offers to present a bill against Winchester, but finally after the two have been appealed to by Henry he offers his hand in reconciliation which is reluctantly, and then formally, accepted.

He is in favour of Henry's marriage with the daughter of the Earl of Armagnac rather than with Margaret of Anjou, and reminds the king of his previous betrothal when Suffolk is persuading him to accept Margaret as his queen, perceiving that Suffolk intends to further his own ends in arranging the match.

[The brave Humphrey Plantagenet, who fought so well at Agincourt, figures in this play as the chief guardian to the young king, his nephew ; and in the very first scene he is brought into collision with the proud priest, the Bishop of Winchester, better known as Cardinal Beaufort, in foretaste of the bitter hatred and struggle for power between them, which ceased not until the ' good Duke Humphrey ' came to an untimely end by his envious rival's means.]

[The Duke of Gloucester is also a character in the *Second Part of King Henry the Sixth* (q.v.).]

Duke of Maine. V. iii. 95.

= Reignier (q.v.).

Earl of Armagnac. V. i. 2, 17 ; V. v. 44.

> The Earl of Armagnac, near knit to Charles,
> A man of great authority in France,
> Proffers his only daughter to your grace
> In marriage, with a large and sumptuous dowry.
> [V. i. 17–20.]

= John IV., Count of Armagnac, who offered his daughter in marriage to Henry VI.

Holinshed says : " He (Armagnac) sent solemne ambassadours to the king of England, offering him his daughter in mariage, with promise to be bound (beside great summes of monie, which he would giue with hir) to deliuer into the king of Englands hands, all such castels and townes, as he or his ancestors deteined from him within anie part of the duchie of Aquitaine, either by conquest of his progenitors, or by gift and deliuerie of anie French king : and further to aid the same king with monie for the recouerie of other cities within the same duchie, from the French king ; or from anie other person that against king Henrie vniustlie kept, and wrongfullie withholden them." See *Extract* 38 from Holinshed, *and under* Emperor and Pope.

Armagnac was part of Gascony, now mostly included in the department of Gers.

After the murder of the Duke of Orleans, in 1407, France became a prey to two rival factions, the Burgundians and the Armagnacs. The latter received this name from their leader, Bernard, Count of Armagnac, father-in-law to the Duke of Orleans. The Armagnacs, in May, 1412, entered into negotiations with Henry IV., of England. Their leader was massacred by the Burgundians and the citizens of Paris, with four thousand of his adherents, June 12, 1418. Louis XI., before he came to the French throne, put himself at the head of a body of ruffians, called Armagnacs, the disbanded mercenaries of the English war, and invaded Switzerland, where he was defeated in 1444. The Armagnacs were almost exterminated by Louis XI., in 1473. *Townsend.*

Earl of Cambridge. II. v. 54, 84.

Second son of Edmund of Langley, Duke of York. Created Earl of Cambridge in 1414. Executed at Southampton for conspiracy against Henry V. in 1415. Hall says : " For diuerse write that Richard earle of Cambridge did not conspire with the lorde Scrope and sir Thomas Graye to murther kyng Henry to please the Frenche kyng withal, but onely to theintent to exalte to the croune his brotherinlawe Edmond earle of Marche as heyre to duke Lyonel. After whose death consideryng that the earle of Marche for diuerse secrete impediments was not hable to haue generacion, he was sure that the croune should come to him by his wife, or to his children. And therefore it is to be thought that he rather cōfessed him selfe for nede of money to be corrupted by the Frēche kyng, then he would declare his inwarde mynd and open his very entent. For surely he sawe that if his purpose were espied, the earle of March should haue dronken of the same cup that he did, and what should haue come to his owne children he muche doubted. And therfore beyng destitute of comfort and in dispayre of life, to saue his children he fayned that tale, desiryng rather to saue his succession then him selfe, which he did in dede. For Richard duke of Yorke his sonne not priuely but openly claimed the croune, and Edward his sonne both claimed and gained it as hereafter you shall heare, which thyng at this time if kyng Henry had foresene I doubt whether either euer that line should haue either claimed the garlande or gained the game." In II. v. 88–89, Mortimer says that Cambridge " Levied an army, weening to redeem and have install'd me [Mortimer] in the diadem." In respect to this passage Malone says : " Here is again another falsification of history. Cambridge levied no army, but was apprehended at Southampton, the night before Henry sailed from that town for France, on the information of this very Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March." Grafton remarks : " Shortly after the king beyng in a readinesse to aduaunce forwarde, sodeinly, he was credibly informed, that Richard, Erle of Cambridge, brother to Edward Duke of Yorke, and Henry Lorde Scrope, and Sir Thomas Gray had conspired his death and vtter destruction, wherfore he caused them forthwith to be apprehended. And after these prisoners were examined, they not onely confessed the conspiracie but also declared that for a great somme of money which they had receyued of the French king, they entended eyther to delyuer the king alive into the handes of his enemyes, or else to murther him before that he shoued arriue in Normandie."

Earl of Salisbury. I. i. 159; I. ii. 15, 25; I. iv. p.23, 73, 78, 82, 86, 90, 104, 106, 110; I. v. 17, 34, 38; II. i. 35; II. ii. 4.

The Earl of Salisbury is in charge of the English forces at Orleans at the commencement of the play, and a messenger reports that he is in dire need:

> The Earl of Salisbury craveth supply,
> And hardly keeps his men from mutiny,
> Since they, so few, watch such a multitude.
> [I. i. 159–161.]

He is not taken to be of much account by the French leaders who are assaulting the city. Reigner remarks:

> Remaineth none but mad-brain'd Salisbury,
> And he may well in fretting spend his gall;
> Nor men not money hath he to make war.
> [I. ii. 15–17.]

and further:

> Salisbury is a desperate homicide;
> He fighteth as one weary of his life: [I. ii. 25–26.]

Later when in a chamber of a tower overlooking the walls of the town, he greets Talbot who has been released by the French, and while they are talking with Sir Thomas Gargrave, and Sir William Glansdale as to which is the best point to attack the town, a shot rings out, and Salisbury and Sir Thomas fall to the ground mortally wounded.

[In this play the valiant Thomas Montacute closes his long and glorious career at Orleans in 1428. He has been styled "a person more of an old Roman courage, than one of his age." Camden states that he was the first English gentleman that was slain by a cannon-ball. The earl was a patron of Lydgate the poet and historian, who dedicated his works to Salisbury, and the copy in the British Museum has in the frontispiece portraits of the earl and the poet. Thomas Montacute married first, Eleanor Holland, daughter of Thomas, second Earl of Kent, and their only daughter, Alice Montacute, married Richard Nevill, who is the "Earl of Salisbury" in the *Second Part of King Henry the Sixth*. The Earl in this play married secondly, Alice, daughter of Thomas Chaucer (the poet's son) but had no issue by her. His daughter, Alice Nevill, inherited her father's baronies of Montacute and Monthermer. *French.*]

Earl of Suffolk. II. iv. p.1, 78, 80, 100, 114, 122; III. i. p.1; III. iv. p.1; IV. i. p.1; V. iii. p.45, 53, 59, 67, 72, 132, 141, 142, 174, 187; V. v. p.1, 80, 103.

First appears in the Temple garden, and plucks a red rose in token of his allegiance to the house of Lancaster.

He does not take any important part until he appears before Angiers and leads in Reigner's daughter Margaret, whom he has taken prisoner.

He is at first disposed to make love to her, but decides that he will make her Henry's queen, and makes this offer to her father, saying:

> Consent, and for thy honour give consent,
> Thy daughter shall be wedded to my king,
> [V. iii. 136–137.]

This is readily agreed to, and Suffolk determines to:

> Solicit Henry with her wondrous praise: [V. iii. 190.]

He returns to the king and extols Margaret's virtues, and Henry remarks:

> Your wondrous rare description, noble earl,
> Of beauteous Margaret hath astonish'd me:
> [V. v. 1–2.]

Suffolk exercises his influence over the king by his flattering words, and he is sent to France to fetch Margaret for the marriage.

At the close of the play we are told in his own words why Suffolk was so anxious to arrange the match:

> Thus Suffolk hath prevail'd; and thus he goes,
> As did the youthful Paris once to Greece;
> With hope to find the like event in love,
> But prosper better than the Trojan did.
> Margaret shall now be queen, and rule the king;
> But I will rule both her, the king, and realm.

[This noble was William de la Pole, fourth earl, brother and successor of Michael de la Pole, third earl, who fell gloriously at Agincourt, and to whose large possessions the fourth earl eventually became heir. At the death of Henry V. he was left in France, and held a high command at the famous battle of Verneuil, second only in importance to Agincourt, under the regent, Bedford, and with Salisbury for a colleague, at whose death Suffolk succeeded to the chief command at Orleans. At the siege of Jergeau, May 18, 1429, he was taken prisoner by a French esquire, to whom Suffolk yielded his sword, having first knighted him with it; his captor was named

Guillaume Renaud. The earl was present in Paris at the coronation of Henry VI., and was sent into Sicily to negociate that king's marriage with Margaret of Anjou ; this *First Part* concludes with Suffolk's departure on his embassy. He is continued in the *Second Part* with increase of rank, the consequence of his successful mission. He was made a K.G. in the reign of Henry V. *French.*]

[The Earl—as Duke—of Suffolk is also a character in the *Second Part of King Henry the Sixth.*]

Earl of Valence. IV. vii. 63.

One of Lord Talbot's titles. Valence is the name of a city in France. *See* Earl of Washford.

Earl of Warwick. I. i. p.1 ; II. iv. p.1, 10 ; II. iv. 120 ; III. i. p.1, 152 ; III. iv. p.1 ; IV. i. p.1 ; V. iv. p.1, 111.

Warwick is the Duke of York's champion throughout the play, and is the first to show his allegiance to him in the Temple garden, promising to see that his rights are asserted :

> This blot that they object against your house
> Shall be wip'd out in the next parliament,
> [II. iv. 116–117.]

and presents the petition to Henry :

> Accept this scroll, most gracious sovereign,
> Which in the right of Richard Plantagenet
> We do exhibit to your majesty. [III. i. 149–151.]

and when York is about to burst out at Henry's donning Somerset's colour, quietly rebukes him for his own good, saying :

> Tush ! that was but his fancy, blame him not ;
> I dare presume, sweet prince, he thought no harm.
> [IV. i. 178–179.]

knowing that a brawl at this point would be most impropitious to his cause.

He finally appears with York when Joan La Pucelle is brought before him for trial, and later in the same scene when Cardinal Beaufort appears asking for peace on behalf of the dauphin, appeals to his leader to :

> Be patient, York : if we conclude a peace,
> It shall be with such strict and severe covenants
> As little shall the Frenchmen gain thereby.
> [V. iv. 113–115.]

[The Richard Beauchamp of the two preceding plays is appropriately continued in this *First Part of King Henry VI.*, whom he carried in his arms at fourteen months old, on being presented to his Peers in Parliament. In the " Rous Roll," the Earl of Warwick is depicted holding his young charge on his arm. He succeeded the Duke of Bedford as lieutenant-general in France and Normandy, and died at Rouen, April 30, 1439 ; he was buried at Warwick, where his tomb, in the Church of St. Mary, is considered to be the most magnificent and beautiful of its kind in England. He married first, Elizabeth, only daughter and heir of Thomas, fifth Lord Berkeley, Viscount Lisle, and by her had three daughters : (1) Margaret Beauchamp, who was the second wife of the illustrious Talbot of this play ; (2) Alianor Beauchamp, who married first, Thomas, ninth Lord de Ros, and secondly, Edmund Beaufort, second Duke of Somerset ; (3) Elizabeth Beauchamp, who married George Nevill, Lord Latimer. The Earl of Warwick's second wife was Isabel le Despencer, daughter of Thomas, Earl of Gloucester, by whom he had one son, his successor, Henry Beauchamp, created Duke of Warwick, and a K.G. ; and one daughter, Anne Beauchamp, who became the wife of Richard Nevill, who is the great " Earl of Warwick " in the two next Parts. Fuller says of Richard Beauchamp, " His deeds of charity, according to the devotion of those days, were little inferior to the achievements of his valour." *French.*]

[According to the *Henry Irving Edition of Shakespeare* " There are supposed to be two Earls of Warwick introduced in this play. The first, who, according to this supposition, appears only in Act I., Scene i., and is a *persona muta*, was, undoubtedly, Richard Beauchamp, who succeeded to the title, in 1401, on the death of his father, Thomas Beauchamp, condemned as a traitor in the reign of Richard II., but not executed. He was made lieutenant and deputy-regent in France by the Duke of Bedford when he was sent for into England by Cardinal Beaufort in 1425. In 1427 he was recalled from France and appointed ' governor ' of the young king, Henry VI., and held this office nine years. In 1437 he was appointed Regent of France, and died at Rouen in 1439. He is the same Warwick who appears in Henry V., and also frequently in Henry IV., where Shakespeare makes the mistake of causing the king to address him as ' Nevil,' and not as ' Beauchamp.'

The second Earl of Warwick of this play is

supposed to be Richard Neville, called 'the king-maker,' who is undoubtedly one of the principal characters in the *Second and Third Parts of Henry VI.*"]

Earl of Washford. IV. vii. 63.

> But where 's the great Alcides of the field,
> Valiant Lord Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury ?
> Created, for his rare success in arms,
> Great Earl of Washford, Waterford, and Valence ;
> Lord Talbot of Goodrig and Urchinfield,
> Lord Strange of Blackmere, Lord Verdun of Alton,
> Lord Cromwell of Wingfield, Lord Furnival of Sheffield,
> The thrice-victorious Lord of Falconbridge,
> Knight of the noble order of Saint George,
> Worthy Saint Michael and the Golden Fleece,
> Great marshal to Henry the Sixth
> Of all his wars within the realm of France ?
>
> [IV. vii. 60–71.]

This long list of Talbot's titles is taken from the *Epitaph* on his tomb at Roüen in Normandy. It appears in Richard Crompton's *Mansion of Magnanimitie*, 1599, and is given by Boswell-Stone in his *Shakespeare's Holinshed :* "Here lieth the right noble knight, *Iohn Talbott Earle of Shrewsbury, Washford, Waterford, and Valence, Lord Talbot of Goodrige, and Vrchengfield, Lord Strange of the blacke Meere, Lord Verdon of Alton, Lord Crumwell of Wingfield,* Lord Louetoft of Worsop, *Lord Furniuall of Sheffield, Lord Faulconbri[d]ge, knight of the* most *noble order of S. George, S. Michaell, and the Golden fleece, Great Marshall to* king *Henry the sixt of his realme of France ;* who died in the battell of Burdeaux in the yeare of our Lord 1453." Burke says that "The Earl's Monument at Whitchurch repeats nearly the whole of this list of honours."

Camden in his *Britannia*, says : "and next, White-church, or the White Monaftery, famous for fome monuments of the Talbots, but more particularly for that of our Englifh Achilles *John Talbot*, the firft Earl of Shrewfbury of this family, whofe Epitaph I here infert, not that it comes up to the character of fuch an Hero, but only for a Specimen, how the ftile of every age varies in framing their monumental Infcriptions." Camden gives the inscription in Latin and English, "ORATE PRO ANIMA PRÆNOBILIS DOMINI," etc., that is : "Pray for the foul of the right honourable Lord, Lord John Talbott, fometime Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Talbott, Lord Furnivall, Lord Verdon, Lord Strange of Blackmere, and Marfhal of France, who died in battel, at Burdews, VII. of July, MCCCCLIII.

Earl of Waterford. IV. vii. 63.

One of Lord Talbot's titles. Burke says that "He was subsequently re-constituted lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and elevated to the peerage of that kingdom, 17 July, 1446, as *Earl of Waterford*, having been appointed at the same time lord-high-steward of Ireland." *See* Earl of Washford.

Edmund Langley, Duke of York. II. v. 85.

Fifth son of King Edward the Third ; accompanied his father to the French wars ; created Earl of Cambridge, 1362 ; and Duke of York, 1385. He is one of the characters in *King Richard the Second.*

Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March. II. v. p.1, 2, 7, 122.

Mortimer is a prisoner in the Tower of London, and we see him brought in by gaolers. He is in a very weak condition owing to his long imprisonment, and feeling that he is about to die, expresses his wish to see his nephew Richard Plantagenet.

The gaoler tells him that Plantagenet has promised to come, and presently he arrives with the words :

> Your nephew, late-despised Richard comes. [II. v. 36.]

Mortimer enquires the meaning of these words, and is told of the dissention between Somerset and himself, and of the disparaging terms used concerning his father's (Richard, Earl of Cambridge) death.

Mortimer then tells of how his house is in the direct line for the sovereignty of England, and Plantagenet having sworn he will see that all these wrongs are expiated, the aged earl dies, and his body is borne out by the keepers.

[Shakespeare has varied from the truth of history, to introduce this scene (II. v.) between Mortimer and Richard Plantagenet. Edmund Mortimer served under Henry V., in 1422, and died unconfined in Ireland in 1424. Holinshed says, that Mortimer was one of the mourners at the funeral of Henry V. His uncle, Sir John Mortimer, was indeed a prisoner in the Tower, and was executed not long before the Earl of March's death, being charged with an attempt

to make his escape in order to stir up an insurrection in Wales. *Steevens.*

The error concerning Edmund Mortimer, brother-in-law to Richard, Earl of Cambridge, having been 'kept in captivity until he died,' seems to have arisen from the legend of Richard Plantagenet, Duke of Yorke, in *The Mirrour for Magistrates*, 1575. *Malone.*]

Edward King. II. v. 66.

= King Edward the Third.

Edward, King of England. II. iv. 84.

= King Edward the Third.

Edward the Third. I. ii. 31.

Eltham. I. i. 170.

> To Eltham will I, where the young king is,
> Being ordain'd his special governor; [I. i. 170–171.]

Grafton says: "The Citie of Mouns thus being reduced into the English mens hands, the lorde Talbot departed to the towne of Alanson. After which marciall feate manfully acheeued, the Erle of Warwike departed into Englande, to be gouernour of the yong king, in stead of Thomas duke of Excester, late departed to God. In whose steede was sent into Fraunce, the lord Thomas Mountacute Erle of Salisburie, with fiue thousand men, which landed at Calice, and so came to the Duke of Bedford in Paris."

Eltham. I. i. 176.

Eltham, a town in Kent, now part of the Borough of Woolwich. It contains the ruins of a palace which was a royal residence from Henry III to Henry VIII. It was much frequented by Elizabeth and other monarchs for hunting purposes. In *The Paston Letters* under date A.D. 1460, 12 Oct., we have: "As for tythyngs here, the Kyng is way at Eltham and at Grenewych to hunt and to sport hym there, bydyng the Parlement and the Quene and the Prynce byth in Walys alway. And is with hir the Duc of Excestre and other, with a fewe mayne, as men seythe here."

Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, afterwards Cardinal, planned to remove Henry VI. from Eltham to Windsor some four years after the young king's accession. Item 2 of the Articles of Accusation says: "My sayde Lorde of Winchester, without the aduise and assent of my sayde Lorde of Gloucester, or of the kings counsayle, purposed and disposed him to set hand on the kings person, and to haue remoued him from Eltham, the place that he was in, to Windsore, to the entent to put him in gouernaunce as him liste."

Eltham-place. III. i. 156.

See Eltham.

Emperor. V. i. 2.

> Have you perused the letters from the pope,
> The Emperor, and the Earl of Armagnac? [V. i. 1–2.]

Sigismund, king of the Romans, son of Charles IV. In 1435 he arrived in England to mediate between England and France. He was a distant relative of Henry by marriage and had visited England in 1416 to mediate between Henry V. and Charles VI. of France. Cf. *Henry V.*, Act V., Chorus 37–39.

See also under Earl of Armagnac and Pope.

England. I. i. 7, 8; I. ii. 30; III. i. 187; IV. i. 89, 171; IV. iv. 38; V. i. 6; V. iii. 23, 167; V. iv. 116, 171, 172; V. v. 90.

England. III. iii. 70.

> Was not the Duke of Orleans thy foe,
> And was he not in England prisoner?
> But when they heard he was thine enemy,
> They set him free without his ransom paid,
> In spite of Burgundy and all his friends.
> [III. iii. 69–73.]

Inaccurate. The Duke of Orleans captured at Agincourt 1415 was kept a prisoner in England for twenty-five years, being released at the end of 1440, or about five years after the Duke of Burgundy had deserted the English forces.

England. IV. iv. 36.

> The fraud of England, not the force of France,
> Hath now entrapp'd the noble-minded Talbot.
> [IV. iv. 36–37.]

The quarrel between the Red and White Rose factions, and not the might of France has "entrapp'd the noble-minded Talbot."

England's coat. I. i. 81.

> Cropp'd are the flower-de-luces in your arms
> Of England's coat, one half is cut away. [I. i. 80–81.]

Hart (*Arden edition*) says: "Your arms of England's *coat*" is equivalent to "your English *coat* of arms," spoken by a foreign messenger who already uses English nobility in a foreign manner.

England's coat. I. v. 28.

> Hark, countrymen! either renew the fight
> Or tear the lions out of England's coat: [I. v. 27–28.]

An allusion to the armorial dress of the kings of England.

England's fame. IV. vi. 39.

England's glory. IV. vii. 48.

England's honour. IV. iii. 23; IV. iv. 20.

England's lap. V. iii. 26.

England's queen. V. i. 45.

> He doth intend she shall be England's queen. [V. i. 45.]

Daughter of the Earl of Armagnac. See *Extract* 38 from Holinshed.

England's right. IV. ii. 55.

See Talbot, A! a Talbot!

England's royal king. V. iii. 115.

= King Henry the Sixth.

England's royal queen. V. v. 24.

= Margaret, daughter of Reignier, Duke of Anjou. See *Extracts* 46, 47, 48 *and* 49 from Holinshed.

England's timorous deer. IV. ii. 46.

English Camp near Bourdeaux.

The Scene of Act IV., Scene v. The whole scene is a conversation between Talbot and his son John.

English Henry. II. i. 36.

= King Henry the Sixth.

Europe. I. i. 156.

Fiends appearing to Joan la Pucelle. V. iii. p.8.

Seeing the French forces fleeing, Joan calls upon the 'choice spirits that admonish her, and give her signs of future accidents' to aid her. They appear but do not speak, and when Joan offers them even her body and soul if they will come to her aid, they shake their heads and depart. This Joan takes as a sign of France's defeat and says:

> Now the time is come
> The France must vail her lofty plumed crest,
> And let her head fall into England's lap
> My ancient incantations are too weak,
> And hell too strong for me to buckle with:
> Now, France, thy glory droopeth to the dust.
> [V. iii. 24–29.]

France. I. i. 58, 84, 90, 102, 139, 153; I. ii. 54; I. iv. 97; I. vi. 8, 15, 27; II. i. 16; II. ii. 17, 36; III. i. 180, 187; III. ii. 14, 36, 40, 52, 68, 78; III. iii. 22, 25, 41, 44, 49, 60, 64; III. iv. 13; IV. i. 89, 147, 163; IV. iii. 16, 18, 23, 32; IV. v. 55; IV. vi. 48; IV. vii. 71, 82, 93; V. i. 6, 40; V. ii. 21; V. iii. 12, 25, 29, 30; V. iv. 112, 117; V. v. 41, 87.

France. II. iii. 14.

> Is this the scourge of France?
> Is this the Talbot, so much fear'd abroad
> That with his name the mothers still their babes?
> [II. iii. 14–16.]

See *Extract* 21 from Holinshed.

France. IV. i. 138.

> And you, my lords, remember where we are;
> In France, amongst a fickle wavering nation.
> [IV. i. 137–138.]

Hart (*Arden edition*) quotes Dr. Johnson: "The inconstancy of the French was always the subject of satire: I have read a dissertation written to prove that the index of the wind upon our steeples was made in form of a cock, to ridicule the French for their frequent changes."

France. IV. iv. 36.

See England, IV. iv. 36.

France. Before Orleans.

The Scene of Act I., Scenes ii., iv., v., and vi. Act II., Scene i.

Act I., Scene ii. The French army under Charles marching to the relief of Orleans, which is being besieged by the English forces under Salisbury, is repulsed. Charles is in favour of retiring, when Joan of Arc is introduced, who promises that by nightfall she will assuredly raise the siege.

Act I., Scene iv. A master-gunner and his son appear on the ramparts of the city. Talbot is released in exchange for a French nobleman and returns to the English camp. The Earl of Salisbury and Sir Thomas Gargrave are killed by a shot from the walls. Talbot takes Salisbury's place as leader of the English forces.

Act I., Scene v. An encounter takes place between the English and French forces, and the French being victorious, succeed in gaining an entrance into Orleans. During the skirmish, a hand to hand fight takes place between Talbot and Joan of Arc.

Act I., Scene vi. Joan and Charles appear on the walls of the city, and the French colours are raised over the ramparts. Charles loudly praises Joan for this great triumph.

[In the preceding four scenes we have the same contempt for dates, the French before Orleans; the Dauphin, Alençon, Reignier, rejoice at the capture of Talbot; they are then beaten by Salisbury, and Joan is introduced. Salisbury who came over in 1428, obtained some successes before Orleans, and was killed, with Sir Thomas Gargrave by a shot from the town as described in Scene iv. Apparently Talbot was under the command of Salisbury, who was succeeded by the Earl of Suffolk. Talbot's release from a French prison is imaginary as he was not taken prisoner until after the death of Salisbury, and not released until 1431.]

Act II., Scene i. In this scene Orleans is recovered by Talbot, the English scaling the walls by means of scaling-ladders. Taken by surprise, the French escape in their night attire, and when next heard of are before Rouen in Act III., Scene ii.

[The recovery of Orleans by Talbot is a stretch of the imagination, for it was not long after the abandonment of Orleans that he was defeated and taken. The story of the French leaping from the walls in their shirts is transferred to Orleans from Mans.]

France. Before Rouen.

The Scene of Act III., Scene ii. Joan by strategy succeeds in gaining an entrance into Rouen. [There does not appear to be any historical foundation for this story, unless it be a story which Holinshed relates of the capture of Evreux, by six strong fellows, apparelled like men of the country, with sack and baskets, as carriers of corn and victuals.] The Duke of Bedford is brought in a chair sick. Joan and Charles appear on the walls and taunt the English. More fighting follows, and the English succeed in recovering the city. Bedford passes away, and Talbot gives orders for his burial after which preparations are made to depart for Paris to attend the coronation of Henry as King of France.

[Courtenay remarks: "Of all this I find no trace in the Chronicle, except that this brave duke died in September, 1435, and was buried at Rouen. The Duke of Burgundy is made to cheer him in his dying moments: but the defection of that prince had, in truth, occurred upon inducements connected with the English part of our history to which I have referred, *before* the Duke of Bedford's death. There is, therefore, a compound anachronism in the following scene, in which *Joan* is made to persuade Burgundy to separate himself from the English cause."]

France his sword. IV. vi. 3.

> The regent hath with Talbot broke his word,
> And left us to the rage of France his sword.
> [IV. vi. 2–3.]

= The King of France's sword.

France. Plains in Anjou.

The Scene of Act V., Scene ii. News is received that the Parisians have revolted against the English. A scout enters, and reports the conjunction of the two parts of the English army, an event which happened some years previously than represented in this scene.

Courtenay says : " Here the chronology makes an attempt to right itself, by carrying us back to the year 1436, when soon after the death of the Duke of Bedford, the Parisians returned under the allegiance of their native king. But then comes an event (the conjunction of the two parts of the English army) which happened in the year 1430."

France. The Plains near Rouen.

The Scene of Act III., Scene iii. Talbot marches out of Rouen at the head of the English forces on his way to Paris to attend the coronation of Henry. He is followed by the Duke of Burgundy who, being intercepted by Joan, is won over to the side of Charles. *See* Extract from Courtenay, *under* France. Before Rouen.

France's saint. I. vi. 29.

But Joan la Pucelle shall be France's saint.
[I. vi. 29.]

Joan of Arc shall be France's patron saint in place of Saint Denis.

French Sergeant. II. i. p.1.

Froissart. I. ii. 29.

Jean Froissart, French historian. His history deals with the period between 1326 and 1400. He was secretary for many years to Philippa of Hainault, wife of Edward III.

Funeral of King Henry the Fifth. I. i. p.1.

The play opens with the Playing of the Dead March, during which the corpse of Henry the Fifth is brought in, in state.

Gallia. IV. vi. 15.

Beat down Alençon, Orleans Burgundy,
And from the pride of Gallia rescu'd thee.
[IV. vi. 14–15.]

= Full power of France.

Gallia's wonder. IV. vii. 48.

= Talbot, the wonder of France.

Gascony, Plains in.

The Scene of Act IV., Scene iii. A messenger meets the Duke of York and reports that a large French army is marching towards Bourdeaux to intercept Talbot. Sir William Lucy appears and urges York to send aid to Talbot but York replies that he is unable to succour him owing to the failure of Somerset in sending himself the promised levies. [The presence of York in this scene is not in accordance with history ; he was at this time in England fomenting civil strife.]

Gascony, Other Plains in.

The Scene of Act IV., Scene iv. In this scene we meet Somerset in another part of the plains of Gascony. Sir William Lucy appears and urges Somerset to send reinforcements to Talbot, but Somerset declares his inability to spare any part of his force, declaring that the expedition was too hastily planned by York and Talbot. [The presence of Somerset in this scene is not historical ; he was at this time in England fomenting civil strife.]

General of the French Forces in Bourdeaux. IV. ii. p.3.

Is called to the walls by Talbot, who demands immediate surrender, which terms are stubbornly refused by the General :

On us thou canst not enter but by death ;
For, I protest, we are well fortified,
And strong enough to issue out and fight :
[IV. ii. 18–20.]

[French says : " The great Talbot surprised the garrison of Bordeaux, and captured the city, October 23rd, 1452. At the battle of Castillon, where he and his son John Talbot were slain, fighting against overwhelming numbers, the French forces were commanded by two Marshals, Andreas de Valle, Lord of Loheauc, and the Sieur de Jalognes, July 7th, 1453."]

Golden Fleece. IV. vii. 69.

A distinguished Order of Knighthood, held by Lord Talbot. It was founded by Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, on the occasion of his marriage with the Infanta Isabella of Portugal.

Goliases. I. ii. 33.

For none but Samsons and Goliases
It sendeth forth to skirmish. [I. ii. 33–34.]

Goliath was a Philistine giant whose spear " was like a weaver's beam."

Goodrig. IV. vii. 64.

Probably Goodrich in Herefordshire. *See* Earl of Washford.

Governor of Paris. IV. i. p.1, 3.

At the coronation in Paris of King Henry the Sixth as King of France, the Governor is required by Gloucester to take the oath of allegiance to the new king.

> Now, governor of Paris, take your oath,
> That you elect no other king but him,
> Esteem none friends but such as are his friends,
> And none your foes but such as shall pretend
> Malicious practices against his state :
> This shall ye do, so help you righteous God !
> [IV. i. 3–8.]

[John, Duke of Bedford, when Paris was captured by the English, appointed as its governor, John of Luxemburg, who may therefore be the person introduced, as present at the coronation of Henry VI., December 7, 1431, to take the oath of fealty to him, as King of France, in Act IV., Scene i.]

Greece. V. v. 104.

See Paris.

Guienne. I. i. 60.

With Gascony the ancient Aquitania, an old province in the south-west of France. By the marriage of Henry II. of England with Eleanor of Aquitaine in 1152 Guienne became an English province. It remained an English possession until 1451, although the messenger who enters declares it to be lost in 1422.

Guysors. I. i. 61.

> Paris, Guysors, Poictiers, all are quite lost. [I. i. 61.]

The ancient capital of the Norman Vexin. It was surrendered in 1449, or twenty-seven years later than represented in the play.

Hannibal. I. v. 21.

> A witch, by fear, not force, like Hannibal,
> Drives back our troops and conquers as she lists :
> [I. v. 21–22.]

An allusion to Hannibal's stratagem of affixing blazing torches to the horns of two thousand oxen and driving them against the Romans in order to divert their attention, while he made his escape.

Hecate. III. ii. 64.

In Mythology Hecate was the goddess of witchcraft.

Hector. II. iii. 19.

An allusion to Hector "the bravest of the Trojans."

Helen. I. ii. 142.

> Helen, the mother of great Constantine,
> Nor yet Saint Philip's daughters were like thee.
> [I. ii. 142–143.]

"This was St. Helena, the first wife of Constantius Chlorus, and mother of Constantine the Great. Little is known of her origin except that she was not of high birth. In A.D. 292 according to some, according to others 296, Constantius divorced her at the bidding of Diocletian, in order to marry Theodora. Some of the historians say she was not married to him ; but if so, she could not be divorced from him. One legend makes her the daughter of King Coel of Colchester and a native of Britain. When she was 64 years old she is said to have discovered, buried on Mount Calvary, the true cross on which our Lord was crucified. [In the time of Shakespeare two frescoes representing this legend adorned the Guild Chapel at Stratford-on-Avon.] She died about the age of 80." *Irving edition.*

Joan of Arc is here declared by Charles as being greater than Helen,

Henry. III. i. 196, 198.

> And now I fear that fatal prophesy
> Which in the time of Henry nam'd the Fifth.
> [III. i. 195–196.]

= King Henry the Fifth. For the fatal prophecy see *Extract* 27 from Holinshed.

Henry. I. i. 47.

= King Henry the Fifth.

Henry. I. i. 162.

> Remember, lords, your oaths to Henry sworn,
> Either to quell the Dauphin utterly,
> Or bring him in obedience to your yoke. [I. i. 162–164.]

See *Extract* 5 from Holinshed.

Henry. I. i. 169.

= King Henry the Sixth.

Henry. I. iii. 24.

> Arrogant Winchester, that haughty prelate,
> Whom Henry, our late sovereign, ne'er could brook ?
> [I. iii. 23–24.]

= Henry the Fifth. Hart (*Arden edition*) says : " The Duke of Bedford . . . landed at Calice, with whome also passed the seas, Henry Bishop of Winchester, which in the sayde towne was invested with the Habite, Hat, and dignitie of a Cardinall, with all Ceremonies to it apperteynyng. Which degree King Henrie the fift, knowying the haute courage, and the ambicious minde of the man, prohibited him on his allegeance once [altogether], either to sue for or to take : meaning y^{t} [that] Cardinals Hats should not presume to be egal with princes. But now the king beyng yong, and the Regent his friend, he obteyned that dignitie . . . so was he surnamed the rich Cardinall of Winchester, and neyther called learned Bishop, nor virtuous Priest." See *Extracts* 39 *and* 40 from Holinshed.

Henry Beaufort, Great-uncle to the King, Bishop of Winchester, and afterwards Cardinal. I. i. p.1 ; I. iii. 19, 23, p.29, 53, 60, 80 ; II. iv. 118 ; III. i. p.1, 64, 65, 78, 107, 112, 122, 126, 127, 132, 162 ; III. iv. p.1 ; IV. i. p.1 ; V. i. p.28, 28, 39, 56 ; V. iv. p.93, 120.

Depicted as being extremely ambitious and unscrupulous, Winchester is one of the principal characters in the play.

He is anxious to secure absolute power over the young king, and to override Gloucester who is protector of the realm.

At the end of the first scene we learn his intentions, for he says :

> Each has his place and function to attend ;
> I am left out ; for me nothing remains.
> But long I will not be Jack out of office.
> The king from Eltham I intend to send,
> And sit at chiefest stern of public weal. [I. i 173–177.]

He persuades Woodville the lieutenant of the Tower to refuse Gloucester admission to view the armaments, and appears on the scene with his men, who engage in a fight with Gloucester's followers.

This is followed by the appearance of the Lord Mayor of London who causes the riot act to be read, and the tumult dies down while Winchester remarks :

> Abominable Gloucester ! guard thy head ;
> For I intend to have it ere long. [I. iii. 87–88.]

A further battle of words takes place in the Parliament House and Henry appeals to Winchester and Gloucester to ' join their hearts in love and amity ' when a tumult is heard outside, which proves to be a skirmish between the followers of the dissenting nobles.

On Henry further appealing to them they agree to cease their enmity, but Winchester remarks, aside :

> So help me God, as I intend it not ! [III. i. 140.]

Winchester succeeds in obtaining a Cardinal's degree from the Pope in order to secure more power, and pays the Pope's legate remarking :

> you shall first receive
> The sum of money which I promised
> Should be deliver'd to his holiness
> For clothing me in these grave ornaments, [V. i. 51–54.]

and then, soliloquising, remarks :

> [*Aside.*] Now Winchester will not submit, I trow,
> Or be inferior to the proudest peer.
> Humphrey of Gloucester, thou shalt well perceive
> That neither in birth or for authority
> The bishop will be overborne by thee :
> I 'll either make thee stoop and bend thy knee,
> Or sack this country with a mutiny. [V. i. 56–62.]

At the end of the play Winchester appears and announces that the king desires peace to be concluded with France, and Charles, having agreed to ' pay tribute and submit himself ' is allowed to ' still enjoy his regal dignity.'

[This eminent ecclesiastic was the second son of John of *Gaunt* and Catharine Swynford, and Humphrey of Gloster takes care to remind his rival of the bar-sinister attaching to his birth,— ' Thou bastard of my grand-father,' for no Act of Parliament can change a *natural taint of blood* in a person, though it may restore him to forfeited honours.

Henry Beaufort was born about the year 1370, and in 1402 succeeded the illustrious William of Wickham in the see of Winchester, and in the

same year was appointed Lord High Chancellor. He became extremely rich, and he lent to his nephew, Henry V., the large sum (for those days) of £28,000 for his French wars. His abilities, as well as his birth, qualified him for the leading part he took in state affairs during the long minority of his great-nephew. In 1426, June 23rd, Pope Martin V. made him 'Cardinal of St. Eusebius.' In opposition to the Duke of Gloster, who wished the young king to marry a daughter of the Count of Armagnac, Cardinal Beaufort recommended Margaret of Anjou, and his interest prevailed. The character of this prelate, as drawn in the play, agrees with the account given of him by the old chroniclers,—'Haughty in stomach, and high in countenance,' says Holinshed, 'and strong in malice and mischief.' *French.*]

[Henry Beaufort—as Cardinal—is also a character in the *Second Part of King Henry the Sixth* (q.v.).]

Henry Monmouth. II. v. 23.

= King Henry the Fifth so-called from the place of his birth.

Henry's corse. I. i. 62.

= King Henry the Fifth.

Henry's death. I. i. 5; I. ii. 136.

= King Henry the Fifth.

Henry's death. I. iii. 2.

Since Henry's death, I fear there is conveyance. [I. iii. 2.]

Since the death of Henry the Fifth there has been theft, jugglery and conspiracy.

Henry the Fifth. I. i. 52; I. iv. 79; II. v. 82; IV. iii. 52.

Henry the Fifth. V. i. 31.

Henry the Fifth did sometime prophesy:
'If once he come to be a cardinal,
He 'll make his cap co-equal with the crown.'

See *Extract* 39 from Holinshed.

Henry the Fourth. II. v. 63.

Heralds. I. i. p.1; IV. vii. p.51.

Hercules. II. iii. 18.

I thought I should have seen some Hercules, [II. iii. 18.]

Son of Jupiter, celebrated for his great strength.

Icarus. IV. vi. 55; IV. vii. 16.

Then follow thou thy desperate sire of Crete,
Thou Icarus. [IV. vi. 54–55.]

In Greek mythology the son of Dædalus who was confined—with his father—in the famous labyrinth of Crete. With his father, escaped by taking a winged flight, but Icarus soared so high that the sun melted the wax which cemented his wings and he fell into the sea, which was afterwards named after him—the Icarian Sea.

Jack. I. i. 175.

But long I will not be Jack out of office. [I. i. 175.]

A term of contempt. Cf. Riche *his Farewell to Militarie profession: conteining verie pleasaunt discourses fit for a peaceable tyme:* "To become a courtier, there is as little gaines to be gotten; for liberalitie, who was wont to be a principall officer, as well in the court as in the country, by whose meanes wel doyng could never go unrewarded, is tourned Jacke out of office, and others appointed to have the custodie of hym, to hold him short, that he range no more abroad, so that no man can speake with him; and thei saie the poore gentleman is so fleest from tyme to tyme, by those that bee his keepers, that he hath nothing to give that is good but it falls to their shares," and in Heywood's *Proverbs*, we have:

And Jacke out of office she may bid me walke,
And thinke me as wise as Waltham's calfe, to talke.

Joan la Pucelle. I. ii. p.64, 110; I. iv. 101, 107; I. v. p.1, p.3, 36; I. vi. p.1, 3, 17, 29; II. i. 20, 49, p.50; II. ii. 20; III. ii. p.1, 20, p.26, 38, p.41, 58, p.110, 121; III. iii. p.1, 17, 40, 88; IV. vii, p.33; V. ii. p.1; V. iii. p.1, p.30; V. iv. p.2, 2, 6, 17, 20, 49, 60.

Joan comes to the Dauphin at Orleans fired with a fierce ambition to save her country from the English, and claims to have been divinely appointed to this mission.

She tells of a vision which has come to her :

> Lo ! whilst I waited on my tender lambs,
> And to sun's parching heat display'd my cheeks,
> God's mother deign'd to appear to me,
> And, in a vision full of majesty
> Will'd me to leave my base vocation
> And free my country from calamity :
> Her aid she promis'd, and assur'd success ;
> [I. ii. 76–82.]

Charles is ultimately convinced of her sincerity, and invokes her aid.

In this scene Shakespeare shows us Joan of Arc as we are accustomed to think of her in the light of history, but later the characterisation dwindles into the view taken by contemporary writers, depicting Joan as an evilly guided woman, indeed we see her in converse with fiends, who are represented as being her helpers.

When she is captured she begs leave ' to curse awhile,' hardly the thing we should expect of the " saintly maid " we meet at first.

While on her first appearance she indicates that she is of but humble birth, at the time of her trial she vehemently denounces her father as an impostor, and declares she is of noble birth.

Such inconsistences as these lead one to believe that, although Shakespeare at first endeavours to give this character that which she deserves, gradually allows himself to show her as other authors of his time have depicted her, and thus she goes to her death leaving none but evil impressions, her former saintliness being obscured in her later actions and words.

" An old chronicle covering the period 1405–1449, under the title *The diary of a bourgeois of Paris under Charles VI., and VII.*, which throws an interesting light on Joan of Arc has been published in Paris," says the *Daily Chronicle* of the 18th of September, 1929. " The name of the author is now known, but he appears to have been a member of the clergy, and closely connected with Paris University. There are references to the British domination and the chronicler, describing the State entry of the little Henry VI., ' King of England and France,' into Paris, records how he was greeted from a balcony by his grandmother, Isabeau of Bavaria, who then ' turned away weeping.' "

[Joan of Arc was born in 1409 at Domrémy. She was the daughter of Jacques D'Arc, and was herself employed as a shepherdess up to the age of eighteen years. At that age she left her home to seek Charles VII., inspired with a divine mission to rescue France, her country, from the hands of the English. Her great success was at the battle of Patay, on February 17th, 1429, after which she wished to retire : but at the entreaty of the king she remained with the army. The next year she was taken prisoner at Compiègne by the Burgundians, on the 24th May, in a sortie. To the eternal disgrace of the English, to whose custody she was surrended, she was condemned to death and burned alive at Rouen, May 14th, 1431. Her story furnished Schiller with the subject of one of his finest tragedies, and our English poet Southey wrote a long poem on her life. *Irving edition.*]

Joan's denial of her father at the trial seems to be an invention of the dramatist.

John Beaufort, Earl, afterwards Duke, of Somerset. II. iv. p.1, 6, 37, 59, 68, 82, 98, 122 ; IV. v. 46, 125 ; III. i. p.1 ; III. iv. p.1, 34 ; IV. i. p.1, 108, 114, 120, 154, 164, 177 ; IV. iii. 9, 24, 33, 46 ; IV. iv. p.1, 15 ; IV. vii. 33.

Somerset first appears in the Temple Garden, accompanied by Richard Plantagenet and other nobles.

It is in this scene that the followers of the houses of Lancaster and York pluck red and white roses respectively to show their allegiance.

Somerset is the leader in this, for his side, saying :

> Let him that is no coward nor no flatterer,
> But dare maintain the party of the truth,
> Pluck a red rose from off this thorn with me.
> [II. iv. 31–33.]

King Henry shows himself to incline to Somerset, when, on his coronation in Paris, he, while urging the two leaders to abandon their strife says :

> I see no reason, if I wear this rose,
> [*Putting on a red rose.*
> That any one should therefore be suspicious
> I more incline to Somerset than York :
> [IV. i. 152–154.]

and turning to Somerset says :

> And, good my Lord of Somerset, unite
> Your troops of horsemen with his bands of foot ;
> [IV. i. 164–165.]

Later, on the Plains of Gascony we find Somerset being urged by Sir Henry Lucy to go to the aid of Lord Talbot. He refuses, saying :

> York set him on ; York should have sent him aid.
> [IV. iv. 29.]

and being reminded that York declares that he s to blame, retorts with : " York lies : "

At length he promises to send the much-needed einforcements, exclaiming :

> I will despatch the horsemen straight :
> Within six hours they will be at his aid. [IV. iv. 40–41.]

but Lucy expresses the opinion that it will be oo late.

From the scenes later in the play in which Somerset appears we see how bitter the feeling between him and York has become and are thus prepared for the strife which breaks out in the second part of the play.

He entirely ignores the welfare of his country in his desire to see his personal enemies vanquished, and this is the chief characteristic of Somerset as exemplified in the play.

[This character was third Earl, succeeding his brother Henry in that title, and was second son of John Beaufort, first Earl of Somerset, the eldest of the children of John of *Gaunt* and Catharine Swynford. The first Earl was a distinguished soldier under his father, and in the reign of Richard II., was Constable of Dover Castle, and Warden of the Cinque Ports ; he died in 1410, leaving by his wife Margaret Holland, daughter of Thomas Earl of Kent, the two sons already mentioned, and a third son, Edmund Beaufort, afterwards Duke of Somerset, a character in the *Second Part of King Henry VI.*, and also two daughters. (1) Joanna Beaufort, who became the Queen of James the First, King of Scots, so long a prisoner in England ; and (2) Margaret Beaufort, who married Thomas Courtenay, fifth Earl of Devon. The character of this play served with great honour in the French wars, was a K.G., and created by Henry VI., in 1443, Duke of Somerset ; he died in the next year, leaving by his wife Margaret, daughter of Sir John Beauchamp of Bletsho, an only child, the great heiress, Margaret Beaufort, who married first Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond, and their only son sat on the throne as Henry the Seventh ; the Countess of Richmond married secondly Sir Henry Stafford, knight, and thirdly Thomas, Lord Stanley, a character in *King Richard III.*, but had no issue by either of these two husbands.

John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, and his wife, Margaret Beauchamp, are buried under a rich monument at Wimborne Minster, co. Dorset, where their daughter, the Countess of Richmond, founded a grammar-school in 1497. *French.*]

John of Gaunt. II. v. 77.

Fourth son of King Edward the Third.

John Talbot, his son. IV. iii. 35 ; IV. v. p.1, 1, 12 ; IV. vi, p.1, 4, 27, 46 ; IV. vii. 2, 4, p.18, 21, 32, 40.

We first make the acquaintance of this character in the English camp near Bordeaux.

He has come to his father that he might, ' tutor him in stratagems of war,' but Lord Talbot is at the moment in grave danger, and urges his son to escape :

> Therefore, dear boy, mount on my swiftest horse,
> And I 'll direct thee how thou shalt escape
> By sudden flight : [IV. v. 9–11.]

This he stubbornly refuses to do, saying :

> Is my name Talbot ? and am I your son ?
> And shall I fly ? [IV. v. 12–13.]

and the remainder of the scene consists of a conversation which shows clearly that the younger Talbot has all the fiery determination so strikingly exemplified in his father, and the two finally go off together, Talbot remarking :

> Come, side by side together live and die ;
> And soul with soul from France to heaven fly.
> [IV. v. 54–55.]

In the next scene young Talbot is in great danger but is rescued by his father, and in the following scene we see the body of the courageous young soldier brought in, and his father, who is mortally wounded, holding him in his arms dies, remarking :

> Soldiers, adieu ! I have what I would have,
> Now my old arms are young John Talbot's grave.
> [IV. vii. 31–32.]

[This young soldier, whom his father proudly calls " valiant John," was created in 1443 Baron, and in 1452 Viscount L'Isle, his mother, Margaret, being eldest daughter and co-heir of Richard Beauchamp, the " Earl of Warwick " in this play, by Elizabeth, only child of Thomas, fifth Lord Berkeley, Viscount L'Isle. The admirable scene wherein the elder Talbot in vain implores his son to quit the field is from Hall. As the death of young Talbot—who was killed by his father's side at Castillon,—not at Bordeaux, as represented by the dramatist in 1453

—occurred twenty-two years after the execution of Joan of Arc, it was impossible that they could meet in single combat, as hinted at by her in the play, Act IV., Scene vii.,—" Once I encounter'd him, and thus I said," etc.

The Viscount L'Isle married Joan, daughter of Sir Thomas Cheddar, Knight, and had by her one son, who died without issue in 1469, and two daughters, of whom the youngest, Margaret Talbot, married Sir George Vere, and the eldest, Elizabeth Talbot, married Sir Edward Grey, who was created Viscount L'Isle, and their daughter, Elizabeth Grey, by her marriage with Edmund Dudley, carried the ancient barony of L'Isle to that family, from whom it descended by marriage to the Sydneys; and the lineal representative of those two families, and of young John Talbot, is the present Lord De L'Isle and Dudley, Philip Sidney (1865) who has also taken the name of his lady, daughter and heir of the late Sir William Foulis, Bart., of Ingilby." *French.*]

Julius Cæsar. I. i. 56.

> A far more glorious star thy soul will make
> Than Julius Cæsar or bright— [I. i. 55–56.]

The blank has been filled in by various commentators, with the name of Drake, Berenice, etc.

" I can't guess the occasion of the hemistich and imperfect sense in this place; 'tis not impossible it might have been filled up with—*Francis Drake*, though that were a terrible anachronism (as bad as Hector's quoting Aristotle in Troilus and Cressida); yet perhaps at the time that brave Englishmen was in his glory, to an English-hearted audience, and pronounced by some favourite actor, the thing might be popular, though not judicious; and, therefore, by some critick in favour of the author, afterwards struck out. But this is a mere slight conjecture." *Pope.*

" To confute the slight conjecture of Pope, a whole page of vehement opposition is annexed to this passage by Theobald. Sir Thomas Hanmer has stopped at *Cæsar*—perhaps more judiciously. It might, however, have been written—*or bright Berenice.*" *Johnson.*

" Pope's conjecture is confirmed by this peculiar circumstance, that two blazing stars (the *Julium sidus*) are part of the arms of the *Drake* family." *Mason.*

Cf. Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (Golding's translation) The Epistle 292–293: " The turning to a blazing starre of Julius Cesar showes, That fame and immortalitie of vertuous doing growes," and Book XV. 944–956.

King Edward the Third. II. v. 76.

King Henry's hearse. I. i. 104.

> Wherewith you now bedew King Henry's hearse.
> [I. i. 104.]

Cf. 2 *Henry IV.*, IV. v. 114: " Let all the tears that should bedew my hearse Be drops of balm to sanctify thy head ":

King Henry the Fifth. I. i. 6.

King Henry the Sixth. I. i. 169; III. i. p.1, 76, 184, 199; III. ii. 80, 129; III. iii. 22, 66; III. iv. p.1; IV. i. p.1, 2, 18, 81, 146; IV. ii. 4; IV. vii. 70; V. i. p.1; V. ii. 20; V. iii. 117, 122, 156, 160, 172, 190, 194; V. iv. 124; V. v. p.1, 21, 22, 66, 73, 91.

At the time the play opens King Henry VI was but nine months old, and his uncle the Duke of Gloucester was Protector of the realm.

Thus in the earlier part of the drama the king plays but an unimportant part, and indeed, even when he is grown up he takes but little interest in the affairs of state leaving everything to the nobles, who naturally do not hesitate to further their own ends whenever possible.

Henry's first appearance is in Act III., Scene i., when we find him in the Parliament House. A quarrel takes place between Gloucester and Winchester, and the Lord Mayor enters with the news that the followers of these two nobles are pelting one another with stones.

To this Henry replies with words of mild reproof and although the dissenting nobles are at last reconciled it is but for a short time only, neither really meaning what he says.

This is but one instance of Henry's weakness, he had not the strength of character to rule efficiently and firmly in those difficult times when civil war was about to break out at any moment.

All through the play we see that he is entirely in the hands of the nobles. He allows Gloucester

:o decide his coronation in Paris, and Suffolk nakes him an easy victim to his extravagant :alk by persuading him to take Margaret in narriage in preference to his former choice.

Not in one single instance do we find Henry asserting himself, he always accedes to any request the nobles make and one is almost led to believe that he is oblivious of the turmoil which is ever threatening to break out and involve the country in the throes of civil war.

[Of this most unfortunate monarch Fuller says in his quaint fashion,—" This Henry was twice crowned, twice deposed, and twice buried, first at Chertsey, and then at Windsor, and once half-sainted." Henry V. had expressly directed that his son's birth should not take place at Windsor, but the event occurred there December 6, 1421, and when the young king came to the throne he was only eight months old. The scenes in this play are much confused as to order of time, and the youthful sovereign is brought upon the stage long before he could take any active share in the realities of government. This *First Part* is made to commence with the funeral of Henry V. in Westminster Abbey, November 11, 1422; and it closes with the departure of the Earl of Suffolk to treat for the hand of Margaret of Anjou; this commission was given in 1443. Henry VI., was crowned by Archbishop Chicheley, November 6, 1429. *French.*]

[King Henry the Sixth is also a character in the *Second Part of King Henry the Sixth* (q.v.).]

King of Jerusalem. V. v. 40.

See King of Naples.

King of Naples. V. iii. 52, 94; V. iv. 78; V. v. 40.

= Reignier, Duke of Anjou, and father of Margaret of Anjou. According to Holinshed " This Reiner duke of Aniou named himselfe king of Sicill, Naples, and Ierusalem; hauing onlie the name and stile of those realmes, without anie penie, profit, or foot of possession."

King Richard. II. v. 71.

young King Richard thus remov'd,
Leaving no heir begotten of his body— [II. v. 71 72.]

An allusion to the deposition of King Richard the Second.

Lancaster. II. v. 102.

With silence, nephew, be thou politic:
Strong-fixed is the house of Lancaster,
And like a mountain, not to be removed.
[II. v. 101–103.]

The descendants of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and the rival of the York House in the Wars of the Roses.

Lawyer, A. II. iv. p.1.

Appears in the Temple Garden in company with Somerset, Plantagenet, and other lords. They all show to which leader they incline by plucking red or white roses from the bushes, the lawyer remarking to Somerset that:

Unless my study and my books be false,
The argument you held was wrong in you;
[II. iv. 56–57.]

and plucks a white rose showing his allegiance to Plantagenet.

Legate. V. i. p.28.

A Pope's ambassador to a foreign prince or state. The legate here only speaks one line: " I will attend upon your lordship's leisure."

Lionel, Duke of Clarence. II. iv. 83.

His grandfather was Lionel, Duke of Clarence,
[II. iv. 83.]

" The author mistakes. Plantagenet's paternal grandfather was Edmund of Langley, Duke of York. His maternal grandfather was Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, who was the son of Philippa the daughter of Lionel, Duke of Clarence. The duke therefore was his maternal great-great-grandfather." *Malone.*

Lionel, Duke of Clarence. II. v. 75.

For by my mother I derived am
From Lionel, Duke of Clarence, [II. v. 74–75.]

Duke of Antwerp, and Duke of Clarence, third son of King Edward the Third. *Mother*: should be grandmother.

London. III. i. 77.

London. Before the Tower.

The Scene of Act I., Scene iii. The Duke of Gloucester arrives at the Tower and demands admission. Being refused admittance, he orders

his men to ' rush the gates.' During the tumult the Bishop of Winchester appears and a quarrel takes place between Gloucester's and Winchester's men. Gloucester's men beat back Winchester's men. The Mayor of London appears on the scene and reproves them for committing a breach of the peace. The quarrel being renewed the Mayor orders the riot act to be read, after which the conflicting parties disperse.

London Bridge. III. i. 23.

> In that thou laid'st a trap to take my life,
> As well at London Bridge as at the Tower.
> [III. i. 22–23.]

The famous old bridge across the Thames. Brooke says : " Gloucester's third charge against Winchester, as reported by the chroniclers, was that he had put men at arms and archers in ambush at the Southwark end of London Bridge, with intent to slay the Protector if he attempted to pass that way to the young king at Eltham."

Item 3 of the Articles of Accusation says : " My sayde Lord of Winchester, vntruely and agaynst the kinges peace, to the entent to trouble my sayde Lorde of Gloucester goyng to the king, purposing his death in case that he had gone that way, set men of armes and Archers at the ende of London bridge next Southwarke : and in forbarring of the kings high way, let drawe the cheyne of the Stulpes there, and set vp Pypes and Hardels, in maner and forme of Bulwarkes ; and set men in Chambers, Sellers, and Windowes, with Bowes and arrowes and other weapons, to the entent to bring to finall destruction my sayde Lorde of Gloucesters person, as well as of those that then should come with him."

London. The Palace.

The Scene of Act V., Scene i There are two events here, separated by a considerable interval. The first is the intervention of the pope and the emperor Sigismund to secure a reconciliation between England and France ; and the second is, that the Earl of Armagnac—who had recently quarrelled with his kinsman, Charles of France—had offered his daughter in marriage with Henry, together with a large dowry. Henry accepts the proposed alliance. Beaufort, in cardinal's robes is made to appear in this scene, but this is not in accordance with history, as he was not in any way connected with the marriage arrangements of Henry. Cf. Grafton's *Chronicle*, The xiij Yere, 1434, vol. I., pp. 602–603.

London. The Parliament House.

The Scene of Act III., Scene i. [The historica place of this scene was Leicester where Parlia ment assembled in 1426.] It opens with a dis pute between Winchester and Gloucester, which on the king's entreaty, supported by the Earl o Warwick, is brought to a close. A petition is the presented to the king by Warwick, which Glou cester supports, and Somerset opposes, urgin his majesty to restore to Plantagenet his father' titles and estates, and the king creates him Duk of York. Preparations are then made fo Henry's departure to Paris to be crowned kin of France.

London. The Royal Palace.

The Scene of Act V., Scene v. Suffolk havin given Henry a brilliant account of Margaret o Anjou's virtues, Henry asks Gloucester, as Lor Protector, to give his consent to the marriage and York reminds him that he is already be trothed to the daughter of the Earl of Armagnac [According to Rapin the English Governmen grew cold with respect to the match, whe Armagnac had been stripped of his territories by the French king. *See* Earl of Armagnac.] A argument ensues between Gloucester and Suffolk Suffolk considers an earl's daughter is unworthy to be Henry's queen, and when Gloucester re marks that Margaret of Anjou is scarcely more Suffolk tells Henry that Margaret's father is a king,—the king of Naples and of Jerusalem This so works on the imagination of the king tha he gives Suffolk orders to cross over to France and conduct Margaret to England, to be " crown'd King Henry's faithful and anointed queen," and the play closes with Suffolk triumphantly announcing that he has prevailed :

> Margaret shall not be queen, and rule the king ;
> But I will rule both her, the king, and realm.

Cf. Grafton's *Chronicle*, The xxiij. Yere, 1443 vol. I., pp. 623–625.

London. The Temple Garden.

The Scene of Act II., Scene iv. Here were plucked the red and white roses which formed the badges of Lancaster and York respectively.

There does not, however, appear to be any historical foundation for this story.] *See* Temple Garden.

Lord Cromwell of Wingfield. IV. vii. 66.

One of Lord Talbot's titles. *See* Earl of Washford.

Lord Furnival of Sheffield. IV. vii. 66.

One of Lord Talbot's titles. Talbot held the barony of Furnival through his wife Maud Neville, whose mother was Joan Furnival. Burke says that "having married Maud, eldest daughter and co-heir of Thomas Nevil, Lord Furnival, had been summoned to parliament in 1409, as 'Johannes Talbot de Furnyvall.'"

Long Hungerford. I. i. 146.

Sir Walter Hungerford. Was present at the battle of Agincourt, but no mention of him is made by Holinshed in the account of the battle. Taken prisoner at the battle of Patay on the 18th of June, 1429. He was appointed Lieutenant of Cherbourg in 1418 in place of Lord Grey, and was Steward of the Household in the beginning of the reign of Henry VI., and afterwards Lord Treasurer.

Lord of Falconbridge. IV. vii. 67.

See Earl of Washford.

Lord Ponton de Santrailles. I. iv. 28.

> The Duke of Bedford had a prisoner
> Called the brave Lord Ponton de Santrailles;
> For him I was exchang'd and ransomed. [I. iv. 27–29.]

A French captain who was taken prisoner in 1431 at Beauvais. Talbot was captured at Patay in June, 1429, and was not released until 1433.

Lord Scales. I. i. 146.

Thomas, seventh Lord Scales. Taken prisoner at the battle of Patay, 18th June, 1429. As Governor of the Tower of London he appears in the *Dramatis Personæ* in the *Second Part of King Henry the Sixth*, and notes on his character will be found in that play.

Lord Strange of Blackmere. IV. vii. 65.

One of Lord Talbot's titles. French says that Talbot was born at Blackmere, near Whitchurch. *See* Earl of Washford.

Lords.

Lord Talbot, afterwards Earl of Shrewsbury. I. i. 106, 107, 108, 121, 128, 138, 141; I. ii. 14; I. iv. p.23, 23, 89; I. v. p.1, 13; II. i. p.8, 28, 34, 46, 79; II. ii. p.1, 22, 35, 37; II. iii. p.11, 12, 15, 28, 31, 45, 61, 66, 73; III. ii. p.36, 37, p.41, 57, 59, 72, 76, 90, 107, 108, p.115, 118, 130; III. iii. 5, 20, p.31, 31, 64, 84; III. iv. p.1, 13, 26; IV. i. p.1, 68; IV. ii. p.1, 3, 30, 55; IV. iii. 5, 12, 19, 23, 25, 34, 37, 39; IV. iv. 2, 5, 9, 13, 28, 37, 44, 45; IV. v. p.1, 3, 16; IV. vi. p.1, 2, 24, 46, 51, 53; IV. vii. p.1, 21, 35, 61, 64, 77, 87, 96; V. ii. 16.

Shakespeare presents in Talbot the finest character in this play, and as we follow his actions we find him to be an example of a brave, patriotic soldier, willing to fight to the last for his country, daring anything, and never daunted.

The arrival of his son displays a new light on his character, he is now shown as an ideal father, devoted to his son, and anxious only for his safety, regardless of the extreme danger he himself is in.

The death of Talbot is an episode exquisitely portrayed and may be described as the most appealing moment in the play, which is otherwise taken up with 'wars and rumours of wars' and party strife within the kingdom.

On studying Talbot's part in the play we can say that here is a man to whom party strife means nothing, his country and its welfare are all that matter to him, and to his death he does his utmost to uphold its honour and traditions.

He is a fearless fighter, holding his enemies in terror even of his name, and as a soldier once exclaims:

> The cry of Talbot serves me for a sword;
> For I have loaden me with many spoils,
> Using no other weapon but his name. [II. i. 79–81.]

The Countess of Auvergne matches her cunning against him, endeavouring to trap him by inviting him to her castle, but his shrewdness enables him to construe her intentions and he

turns the tables on her by calling in his men just when she appears to have succeeded in her plot, after having jested :

> I am but shadow of myself :
> You are deceiv'd, my substance is not here ;
> For what you see is but the smallest part
> And least proportion of humanity.
> I tell you, madam, were the whole frame here,
> It is of such a spacious lofty pitch,
> Your roof were not sufficient to contain it.
> [II. iii. 49–55.]

and exclaims triumphantly :

> How say you, madam ? are you now persuaded
> That Talbot is but shadow of himself ?
> These are his substance, sinews, arms, and strength,
> [II. iii. 60–62]

Now another trait in his character is revealed, he does not make her his prisoner, or become enraged at the trick which she has endeavoured to play on him, but merely says :

> Be not dismayed, fair lady ; nor misconster
> The mind of Talbot as you did mistake
> The outward composition of his body.
> What you have done hath not offended me :
> No other satisfaction do I crave,
> But only, with your patience, that we may
> Taste of your wine, and see what cates you have :
> For soldiers' stomachs always serve them well.
> [II. iii. 72–79.]

Talbot appears in many exciting scenes of battle, and his victories far outweigh his losses. His many honours are learned when Sir Henry Lucy seeks him on the battlefield :

> But where 's the great Alcides of the field,
> Valiant Lord Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury ?
> Created, for his rare success in arms,
> Great Earl of Washford, Waterford, and Valence ;
> Lord Talbot of Goodrig and Urchinfield,
> Lord Strange of Blackmere, Lord Verdun of Alton,
> Lord Cromwell of Wingfield, Lord Furnival of Sheffield,
> The thrice-victorious Lord of Falconbridge ;
> Knight of the noble order of Saint George,
> Worthy Saint Michael and the Golden Fleece ;
> Great marshal to Henry the Sixth
> Of all his wars within the realm of France ?
> [IV. vii. 60–71.]

The English are all proud of Talbot, whatever their personal feelings may be, and the French as unanimously hate him, and the dauphin expresses the latters' feeling of relief at his death in the words :

> All will be ours now bloody Talbot's slain. [IV. vii. 96.]

[This is the renowned captain, Sir John Talbot, whose ancestor, Richard de Talbot, came in with the Conqueror, and from whom lineally descended Gilbert Talbot, summoned to Parliament, 4 Edward III., 1330, as Baron Talbot, an his grandson, of the same name, third Lor Talbot, married Petronilla Butler, daughter o James, first Earl of Ormonde by his wife Eleanor de Bohun, a granddaughter of Edwar the First, and was father of Richard, fourth Lor Talbot, who by his wife Ankaret, daughter o John, fourth Lord Strange of Blackmere, ha four sons, the eldest of whom, Sir Gilbert Talbot K.G., one of the heroes of Agincourt, was fift lord, and the second son, Sir John Talbot, is th character in this play, who became sixth Lor Talbot, at the death of his brother Gilbert i 1419. His career was a series of successes agains the French until he was defeated by their grea heroine, Joan of Arc, at Pataye, in 1429, whe he was taken prisoner. This affair is mentione in the first scene, although that opens with th funeral of Henry V., which was in 1422. Talbo was detained captive four years, and was ex changed for a famous French leader, who i named in the play,—" The brave Lord Ponto de Santrailles," the very same knight who ha taken Lord Talbot prisoner at Pataye. His creation as Earl of Shrewsbury was in 1442 although placed much earlier in the play, where in Act III., Scene iv., the king says to him,— " We here create thee Earl of Shrewsbury, And in our coronation take your place " ; but that ceremony occurred in Paris in 1431.

This great soldier's name was used by the French women to quiet their unruly children, as Southey says, in *Joan of Arc*,—" Talbot, at whose dread name the froward child Clings mute and trembling to his nurse's breast." This effect upon children is alluded to in the play by the Countess of Auvergne, when she fancies that Talbot is in her power, and she taunts him with the meanness of his stature, Act II., Scene iii " Is this the Talbot so much fear'd abroad, That with his name the mothers still'd their babes ? "

After taking Bordeaux he was killed, when more than eighty years of age, with his son, " valiant John," at Castillon, July 7, 1453, long *after* Joan of Arc had suffered her cruel fate, although in the play her death is placed after that of the Talbots. Most writers place the death of the great captain as July 20th, but the 7th is the date which was recorded on his monument at Whitechurch, co. Salop. " Orate pro anima prænobolis domini, domini Johannis

albot quondam Comitis Salopiæ, domini Furnivall, domini Verdon, domini Strange de Blackmere, & Mareschelli Franciæ, qui obiit in bello ...oud Burdews vij Julii, MCCCCLIII." *Buswell.*

he great Talbot was born at Blackmere, which erives its name from one of the three fine lakes the neighbourhood of Whitechurch.

The Earl of Shrewsbury married first, Maud evill, eldest daughter of Thomas, fifth Lord urnival, by whom he had three sons: (1) homas, *ob. vitâ patris;* (2) John; (3) Sir hristopher Talbot; the two latter were slain at orthampton, July 10, 1460, fighting for the ouse of Lancaster. The second son, John albot, succeeded his father as second earl, and om his second son, Sir Gilbert Talbot of rafton, descended the later Earls of Shrewsbury, nd also the Earls Talbot, both which titles are ow united in Sir Gilbert's lineal descendants. he character of this play married secondly, Margaret Beauchamp, by whom he had one aughter, Joan, married to James, sixth Lord erkeley, and three sons, John, Sir Humphrey, nd Sir Lewis; his eldest son by this marriage s the "valiant" John Talbot, a character in this lay.]

[The famous sword of Talbot, alluded to by uller in his *Worthies*, as having "good steel within, and bad Latin without," is no longer in existence. Camden states that "it was found not long since in the river of Dordon, and sould by a peasant to an amorer of Bordeaux." A portrait of Talbot was long preserved in a castle built by him in France, in which he is represented with his drawn sword, on the blade of which is engraved:

Sum Talboti miiii^{o} xliii
Pro Vincere Inimico Meo.

This date is ten years before the great captain's death. The picture was engraved as early as the year 1584, in *The True Portraits and Lives of Illustrious Men*, written by André Thevet. *French.*]

Lord Verdun of Alton. IV. vii. 65.

One of Lord Talbot's titles. *See* Earl of Washford.

Machiavel. V. iv. 74.

An allusion to Machiavel a crafty Italian statesman and historian, born at Florence; was secretary of the Florentine Republic, 1498–1512. He was opposed to the restoration of the Medici family, and on return of the banished Medici in 1512 was deprived of office, imprisoned and put to the torture on suspicion of conspiring against Giovanni de Medici. The allusion is an anachronism as Machiavel's *Il Principe* was not published until 1513. There are in Elizabethan literature many references to Machiavel as a type of wickedness.

Mahomet. I. ii. 140.

Was Mahomet inspired with a dove? [I. ii. 140.]

An allusion to the dove which fled from Mahomet's ear. The training of this dove to feed from his ear was an artifice to delude his followers into the belief that he was inspired by the Holy Ghost. Cf. Raleigh's *History of the World.* "*Mahomet* had a dove, which he used to feed with wheat out of his ear; which dove, when it was hungry, lighted on Mahomet's shoulder, and thrust its bill in to find its breakfast; Mahomet persuading the rude and simple Arabians, that it was the Holy Ghost that gave him advice," and Scot's *Discovery of Witchcraft*, XII. xv., "or *Mahomet's* Pigeon, which would resort unto him, being in the midst of his Camp, and pick a Peaſe out of his ear; in ſuch ſort that many of the people thought that the Holy-Ghoſt came and told him a tale in his ear: the ſame Pigeon alſo brought him a ſcroll, wherein was written *Rex eſto*, and laid the ſame in his neck." Cf. France. *King Henry the Fourth*—Part ii, p. 587.

Maine. IV. iii. 45.

An old province of France. Mentioned here as being lost to England.

Maine. V. iii. 154.

Reignier is willing for his daughter Margaret to marry Henry conditionally upon his being allowed to "Enjoy his own, the country Maine and Anjou, Free from oppression or the stroke of war."

Margaret, Daughter to Reignier, afterwards married to King Henry. V. iii. p.45, 51, 82, 89, 141, 174, 175; V. v. 2, 24, 36, 67, 76, 78, 89.

The Duke of Suffolk captures Margaret in the

battle before Angiers, and inquiring her name, is told :

> Margaret my name ; and daughter to a king,
> The King of Naples, whosoe'er thou art. [V. iii. 51–52.]

She asks ' What ransom must I pay before I pass ? ' and Suffolk, after first considering if he shall make love to her himself, offers her her freedom if she will consent to be Henry's queen.

" An if my father please, I am content," she replies, and Suffolk sounds a parley in answer to which Reigner, Margaret's father, appears on the walls, and agrees to Suffolk's terms in the words :

> Since thou dost deign to woo her little worth
> To be the princely bride of such a lord,
> Upon condition I may quietly
> Enjoy mine own, the country Maine and Anjou,
> Free from oppression or the stroke of war,
> My daughter shall be Henry's, if he please.
> [V. iii. 151–156.]

Suffolk prepares to depart for England to arrange the match with Henry and Margaret says :

> a true unspotted heart,
> Never yet taint with love, I send the king.
> [V. iii. 182–183.]

Margaret does not appear again, but we hear Suffolk's flattering description of her to Henry, and the king consents to marry her, much to Suffolk's satisfaction, for he remarks :

> Margaret shall now be queen and rule the king ;
> But I will rule both her, the king, and realm.
> [V. v. 107–108.]

[Miss Strickland observes : " The history of Margaret of Anjou from her cradle to the tomb, is a tissue of the most striking vicissitudes, and replete with events of more powerful interest than are to be found in the imaginary career of any heroine or romance."

She was the daughter of Reignier, Duke of Anjou, and was born March 23, 1429 ; married by proxy in 1445 to Henry VI., and crowned queen at Westminster the same year.

" She may be said virtually to have governed England and to have been the leader of the Lancastrian party ; for all that was done both in the government of the country, and in the management of the campaign against the Yorkists, was done under her directions." *Irving edition.* Her history, however, belongs to the next part of the play.]

[Queen Margaret is also a character in the *Second Part of King Henry the Sixth* (q.v.).]

Mars. I. ii. 1.

> Mars his true moving, even as in the heavens
> So in the earth, to this day is not known. [I. ii. 1–2.]

Previous to Kepler's work on Mars, publish in 1609, the movements of the planet Mars we —owing to its irregular course—very puzzli to astronomers. Cf. Nash's *Preface* to *Gabri Harvey's Hunt is up*, 1596 : " You are as ignora in the true movings of my muse, as the astron mers are in the true movings of Mars. which this day they could never attain to."

Master-Gunner of Orleans, and his so I. iv. p.1, p.57.

The gunner puts his son in charge of a gun o the walls of Orleans, telling him that it has bee trained on a gate occupied by the English spie He leaves him with instructions to watch car fully and fetch him if he should see any move ment on the part of the enemy, but the bo makes up his mind that he will use the gu himself if the opportunity arises.

> Father, I warrant you ; take you no care ;
> I 'll never trouble you if I may spy them.
> [I. iv. 21–22.]

[According to tradition, Maître Jean was th Master-Gunner of Orleans at this time. Se *Life of Joan of Arc*, by T. J. Serle.]

Mayor of London. I. iii. p.57, 59, 86 III. i. p.76.

A skirmish is in progress between the follower of the Duke of Gloucester and the Bishop o Winchester, when the Lord Mayor and hi officers appear. The Mayor reproves the nobles

> Fie, lords ! that you, being supreme magistrates,
> Thus contumeliously should break the peace !
> [I. iii. 57–58.]

whereupon they both declare the reasons fo their quarrel and the fight is renewed.

At this the Lord Mayor causes the Riot Act t be read, and the dissenting nobles depart with threats of future revenge, while the Mayor, giving orders to his men to see that the coast is cleared, remarks on leaving :

> Good God ! these nobles should such stomachs bear ;
> I myself fight not once in forty year. [I. iii. 90–91.]

He again appears before the King in the Parliament House declaring :

O ! my good lords, and virtuous Henry,
Pity the city of London, pity us.
The bishop and the Duke of Gloucester's men,
Forbidden late to carry any weapon,
Have fill'd their pockets full of pebble stones ;
And banding themselves in contrary parts,
Do pelt so fast at one another's pate,
That many have their giddy brains knock'd out :
Our windows are broke down in every street,
And we for fear compell'd to shut our shops.
[III. i. 76–85.]

nd ultimately the disturbance is quelled.

[This is the first time that this important nctionary is introduced in Shakespeare's plays. he events in Act I., Scene iii., and Act III., cene i., both really occurred in 1425, during the me that the Lord Mayor was John Coventry, itizen and mercer ; and it is recorded in history iat he behaved manfully on the occasions, and ut the Bishop of Winchester's faction to flight. he title of " Lord Mayor " was first allowed 8 Edward III., 1354. In Act I , Scene iii , the tage direction in the Folio of 1623 reads,— *Enter in the hurly burly the Maior of London, nd his officers " ;* among whom no doubt the heriffs would appear ; these in 1425 were Villiam Milred and John Brockle, who became Iayor in 1433. *Stow.*]

Iayor of London's Officers. I. iii. p.57.

See under Mayor of London.

Iemphis. I. vi. 22.

See Rhodopes.

Ien in tawny coats. I. iii. p. 29, p.57.

The tawny coat was the livery of an apparitor, r officer who serves the process of an ecclesiastical court. Stow describes the Bishop of ondon as " attended on by a goodly company f gentlemen in tawny coats." Hart (*Arden dition*) quotes from Harington's *Brief View of e Church*, 1608 : " Doctor Whitegyte was made ishop of Worcester . . . though the revenew f that be not very great, yet his custom was to ome to the Parliament very well attended, hich was a fashion the Queen liked exceeding ell. It happened one day Bishop Elmer of ondon, meeting this Bishop with such an rderly troop of Tawny Coats, and demanding of him how he could keep so many men, he answered it was by reason he kept so few women."

Messengers. I. i. p.57, p.89, p.103 ; I. iv. p. 100 ; II. ii. p.34 ; II. iii. p.11 ; IV. iii. p.1.

Minotaurs. V. iii. 189.

The Minotaur was a fabled monster, half-man, half-bull, confined in the famous labyrinth in Crete.

Monmouth. III. i. 198.

That Henry born at Monmouth should win all,
[III. i. 198.]

See *Extract* 27 from Holinshed.

Mortimer's Keepers. II. v. p.1.

The warders deputed to attend on Mortimer, Earl of March, during his imprisonment in the Tower.

One of them tells Mortimer that his nephew has been summoned at his request :

Richard Plantagenet, my lord, will come :
We sent unto the Temple, unto his chamber ;
The answer was return'd that he will come.
[II. v. 18–20.]

Mortimers. II. v. 91.

Thus the Mortimers,
In whom the title rested, were suppress'd.
[II. v. 91–92.]

= The Family of Mortimer.

Nemesis. IV. vii. 78.

The Greek goddess of retribution.

Nero. I. iv. 95.

and like thee, Nero,
Play on the lute, beholding the towns burn :
[I. iv. 95–96.]

Roman emperor, A.D. 54–68, a tyrant and a man of infamous character. He claimed to be an actor, poet and musician, which led him to appear publicly in the theatre. One of the chief events of his reign was the burning of Rome in A.D. 64 which is said to have been the result of his orders, and during the conflagration the story relates that he watched the scene from his palace where he amused himself by singing to his lyre. The senate having declared him an enemy to his country the tyrant committed suicide A.D. 68.

Nestor-like. II. v. 6.

Nestor-like aged in an age of care, [II. v. 6.]

Nestor King of Pylos in Greece the oldest and most experienced of all the Greek Generals who went to the siege of Troy; hence the name is symbolical of an old and wise man.

Officers. II. ii. p.11; III. ii. p.103; IV. iv. p.1.

Old Shepherd, Father to Joan la Pucelle. V. iv. p.2.

On his entry with Joan before York and Warwick he exclaims:

Ah, Joan, this kills thy father's heart outright!
Have I sought every country far and near,
And, now it is my chance to find thee out,
Must I behold thy timeless cruel death?
Ah, Joan, sweet daughter Joan, I 'll die with thee!
[V. iv. 2–6.]

She denies him despite his earnest entreaties to her:

Peasant, avaunt! You have suborn'd this man,
Of purpose to obscure my noble birth. [V. iv. 21–22.]

Finally he exclaims:

Dost thou deny thy father, cursed drab?
O! burn her, burn her; hanging is too good.
[V. iv. 32–33.]

and thus leaves her to her fate.

[The parents of the French heroine were Jacques D'Arc, a small farmer, and his wife, Isabel Romee, who lived at Domrémy, a village near Vaucouleurs, on the Marches of Bar, Champagne. *De Serres, etc.* Charles VI., in grateful testimony of Joan's vast services, granted a patent of nobility to her father, brothers, and their descendants, even in the female line; they were to take the sur-name of De Lys, and the village of Domrémy was to be for ever free from taxation. Montaigne, writing in 1580, saw the house in which Joan's father lived: "Ses descendans furent ennoblés par faveur du Roi, et nous monstrarent les Armes que le Roi leur donna, qui sont, D'Azur a une espée droite couronnée et poignée d'or, et deux fleurs de lis d'or au coté de ladite espée." *Voyages.* The last male descendant of the family is said to have died in 1761, namely Coulombe De Lys, Prior of Coutras. *French.*]

Olivers and Rowlands. I. ii. 30.

Froissart, a countryman of ours, records,
England all Olivers and Rowlands bred
During the time Edward the Third did reign.
[I. ii. 29–31.]

These were two of the most famous in the l
of Charlemagne's twelve Peers; and their e
ploits are rendered so ridiculously and equal
extravagant by the old romancers, that fro
thence arose that saying amongst our plain a
sensible ancestors, of giving one a Rowland
his Oliver, to signify the matching one incredib
lie with another. Walsh says: "The etymol
gies connecting the proverb with Charles I
General Monk, and Oliver Cromwell are whol
unworthy of credit, for even Shakespeare allud
to it: 'England all Olivers and Rolands bre
and Edward Hall, the historian, a century befo
Shakespeare, writes,—But to have a Roland
resist an Oliver he sent solempne ambassado
to the kyng of Englande [Henry VI.], offeryn
hym hys doughter in mariage."

Orleans. I. i. 60.

Guienne, Champaigne, Rheims, Orleans,
Paris, Guysors, Poictiers, all are quite lost.
[I. i. 60–61.]

Unhistorical. Orleans was not an Englis
possession.

Orleans. I. i. 111.

The tenth of August last this dreadful lord,
Retiring from the siege of Orleans, [I. i. 110–111.]

These lines are descriptive of the battle
Patay fought on the 18th of June, 1429. Orlean
was not an English possession at this time.

Orleans. I. i. 157.

So you had need; for Orleans is besieg'd;
The English army is grown weak and faint;
[I. i. 157–158.]

Orleans. I. ii. 6.

At pleasure here we lie near Orleans; [I. ii. 6.]

Grafton says: "After this in the Moneth
September, he [Salisbury] layde his siege on th
one side of the water of Loyre and besieged th
towne of Orleaunce, before whose comming, th
Bastard of Orleaunce, and the Byshop of th
Citie and a great number of Scottes hering of th
Erles intent, made divers fortifications about th

owne, and destroyed the suburbs, in the which ere xij. Parishe Churches, and foure orders of riers. They cut also downe all the Vines, trees nd bushes within fiue leagues of the towne, so hat the Englishe men should haue neyther omfort, refuge, nor succour."

Orleans. I. ii. 125, 148.

Shall we give over Orleans, or no? [I. ii. 125.]

Unhistorical. Orleans was not in possession f the English.

Orleans. I. iv. 1, 59; I. v. 14, 36; II. ii. 15.

Orleans. I. vi. 2, 9.

Rescued is Orleans from the English. [I. vi. 2.]
Recover'd is the town of Orleans: [I. vi. 9.]

The account of the raising of the siege of Orleans, which took place in the year before the battle of Patay, is thus given by Hall: "Then he erle of Suffolke, the Lorde Talbot, the Lorde Scales, and other capitaines, assembled together, where causes wer shewed, that it was bothe necessary and conueniente either to leue the siege for euer, or to deferre it till another tyme, more luckey and conuenient. And to the intent hat thei should not seme either to flie or to be riuen from the siege by their enemies, they determined to leaue their fortresses and Bastyles, nd to assemble in the plain feld and there to byde all the daie, abidying the out-comming nd battaile of their enemies. This conclusion aken, was accordyngly executed. The Frenchnen, weried with the last bickerying, held in heir heddes and durste not once appere: and o thei set fire in their lodgynges, and departed n good ordre of battail from Orleaunce." *Irving dition.* See also *A Collection of the Chronicles nd Ancient Histories of Great Britain, now called England,* by John De Waurin, Lord of Forestel.

Orleans. Within the Town.

The Scene of Act II., Scene ii We are within he city of Orleans. Talbot orders the body of Salisbury to be buried in the "middle centre of his cursed town." [This is unhistorical, Salisbury's body was brought to England, and buried at Bissam.] A messenger enters and tells Talbot hat the Countess of Auvergne wishes him to visit her.

Paris. I. i. 61, 65.

Mentioned here as being lost to England.

Paris. III. ii. 128.

And then depart to Paris to the king; [III. ii. 128.]

Henry VI was at this time in Paris, having arrived there some time previously to be crowned King of France.

Paris. IV. vii. 95.

And now to Paris, in this conquering vein:
[IV. vii. 95.]

Having defeated and slain Talbot, Charles suggests that they now proceed "to Paris, in this conquering vein: All will be ours now bloody Talbot's slain."

Paris. V. ii. 4.

Then march to Paris, royal Charles of France,
And keep not back your powers in dalliance.
[V. ii. 4–5.]

News having been received that the Parisians have revolted against the English, Alençon suggests that the army shall march to Paris.

"The Parisians, and in especiall the Master of the Hales, and some of the Vniuersitie, and Michael Laillier, and many notable Burgesses of the towne (which euer with an Englishe countenaunce couered a French heart) perceiuyng the weakenesse of the Englishemen, and the force and strength of the Frenchmen, signifiyng to the Frenche Captaynes theyr mindes and intentes, willed them to come with all diligence, to receiue so rich a pray, to them without any difficultie offered and geuen. The Constable delaiyng no tyme, came with his power, and lodged by the Charterhouse: and the Lorde Lisleadam, approchyng the walles, shewed to the Citizens, a Charter, sealed with the great seale of king Charles, by the which he had pardoned them their offences, and graunted them all the olde liberties and auncient priuileges, so they would hereafter be to him obedient, true and seruiceable: which thing to them declared, they ranne about the towne criyng: Saint Denise, liue king Charles. The Englishe men perceiuying this, determined to kepe the gate of Saint Denise, but they were deceyued, for the Cheynes were drawen in euery strete, & women and children cast downe stones, and scaldyng water on the Englishe mens

heades, and the Citizens persecuted them, from strete to strete, and frome lane to lane, and slue & hurt, diuers and many of them. The Bishop of Tyrwine, Chauncelor there for king Henry, and the Lord Willoughby, and Sir Simon Moruier, tooke great paine to appease the people, and represse their fury: but when they saw that all auayled not, they withdrew themselues, to the Bastile of Saint Anthony, which Fortresse they had well vittayled and furnished, wyth men and municions.

Whiles this rumor was in the towne, the Erle of Dumoys and other scaled the walles, and some passed the riuer by Boates, and opened the gate of Saint Iames, at the which the constable with his Banner displayed entered, at whose entrie the Parisians were verye glad, and made great ioy. The Bishop and the Lorde Willoughby, with their small companie, defended their fortresse, tenne dayes, loking for ayde, but when they sawe that no comfort appered, they yelded their fortresse, so that they and theirs with certain baggage, might peaceably returne to Roan, which desire was to them gaũted. Then as they departed, the Parisians rayled, mocked, and taunted the English men, with the most spitefull wordes, and shamefull termes, that could be inuented or deuised: so that all men may apparauntly perceyue, that their heartes neuer thought, as their tongues vttered." *Grafton.*

Paris. V. v. 104.

As did the youthful Paris once to Greece;
With hope to find the like event in love,
[V. v. 104–105.]

A legendary prince of Troy, son of Priam and Hecuba. His abduction of Helen, wife of Menelaus, king of Sparta led to the Trojan war. Suffolk here compares himself with Paris going into Greece, but hopes he will be more successful.

Paris. A Hall of State.

The Scene of Act IV., Scene i. The coronation of Henry as King of France. Fastolfe enters with a letter from the Duke of Burgundy announcing his defection from the English side. Talbot reproaches Fastolfe for his cowardice at the battle of Patay, and tears the ensignia of the Garter from his knee. Fastolfe is banished by Henry. A quarrel arises between Vernon—a white rose adherent—and Basset—a red ro adherent—and Henry, supported by Gloucest and Warwick appeals for reconciliation. Hen dons a red rose, and to allay any suspicio appoints York as "Regent in these parts France" and tells Somerset "to unite his troo of horsemen with his bands of foot." [There a several inaccuracies in this scene. Henry wa crowned King of France in 1431, long before th death of the Duke of Bedford, or the defection the Duke of Burgundy who was present at th coronation. Gloucester was not present at th ceremony being in England at the time, and th Duke of Exeter—represented as being present— had been dead some five years.]

Paris. The Palace.

The Scene of Act III., Scene iv. Talbot pre sents himself before Henry, who creates him Ear of Shrewsbury. [This scene is purely imaginary The coronation of Henry took place in 1431 Talbot at this time being a prisoner in the hand of the French. Talbot was created Earl o Shrewsbury in 1442.]

Paris-ward. III. iii. 30.

Towards Paris to attend the coronation o King Henry the Sixth.

Patay. IV. i. 19.

A village in the Department of Loiret, France, near Orleans, where the French under Dunois and Joan of Arc defeated the English under Talbot on the 18th June, 1429. The Folios have 'Poictiers.' Steevens says: "The battle of Poictiers was fought in the year 1357, the 31st of King Edward III., and the scene now lies in the 7th year of the reign of King Henry VI., *viz.* 1428. This blunder may be justly imputed to the players or transcribers; nor can we very well justify ourselves for permitting it to continue so long, as it was too glaring to have escaped an attentive reader. The action of which Shakespeare is now speaking, happened (according to Holinshed) 'neere unto a village in Beausse called Pataie' which we should read, instead of Poictiers."

Pendragon. III. ii. 95.

for once I read
That stout Pendragon in his litter sick
Came to the field and vanquished his foes. [III. ii. 94–96.]

The father of King Arthur, and brother of Aurelius Ambrosianus. Geoffrey of Monmouth attributes this heroic deed to Pendragon, but according to Holinshed it was " Aurelius Ambrosius, euen *sicke* as he was, caused himselfe to be caried forth *in a litter ;* with whose presence his people were so incouraged, that, incountring with the Saxons, they wan the victorie, . . . " Harding gives the following account of Uther Pendragon :

> For which the king ordain'd a horse-litter
> To bear him so then unto Verolame,
> Where Ocea lay, and Oysa also in fear,
> That saint Albones now hight of noble fame,
> Bet down the walles ; but to him forth they came,
> Where in battayle Ocea and Oysa were slayn.
> The fielde he had, and thereof was full fayne.

Percies. II. v. 67.

= The House of Northumberland.

Phœnix. IV. vii. 93.

> I 'll bear them hence ; and from their ashes shall be rear'd
> A phœnix that shall make all France afeard.
> [IV. vii. 92-93.]

See *As You Like It,* page 51.

Picardy. II. i. 10.

> Walloon, and Picardy, are friends to us, [II. i. 10.]

An old province of France. Picardy was friendly to the English on account of the Duke of Burgundy being an ally of Henry VI.

Plantagenet. I. iv. 95.

> Plantagenet, I will ; [I. iv. 95.]

Salisbury's real name was Montacute.

Plantagenet. II. v. 52.

Poictiers. I. i. 61 ; IV. iii. 45.

Mentioned as being lost to England, but this unhistorical as Poictiers was not an English possession at this period of history.

Pope. V. i. 1.

> Have you perused the letters from the pope,
> The Emperor, and the Earl of Armagnac ? [V. i. 1–2.]

" This probably refers to two attempts on the part of the pope to put an end to the disastrous war between England and France. One was made a year after the king's coronation. Hall, after describing the terrible sufferings which the war inflicted upon both nations, says ' for whiche cause Euginye the fourth, beyng bishopp of Rome, intendying to bryng this cruel warre, to a friendly peace, sent his Legate, called Nicolas, Cardinall of the holy crosse, into Fraunce to thentent to make an amitie, and a concord betwene the two princes and their realmes. This wise cardinall, came first to the Frenche kyng, and after to the duke of Bedford beyng at Paris ; exhortyng concord, and persuadyng vnitie, shewyng, declarying and arguyng, peace to be moste honorable and more profitafle to christian princes, then mortall warre, or vncharitable discencion ' ; and further on he says : " The Cardinal beyng in vtter dispaire, of cōcludyng a peace betwene the two realmes, (least he should seme to departe empty of all thynges, for the whiche he had taken so muche trauaill) desired a truce for sixe yeres to come, which request, as it was to him, by bothe parties hardly graunted, so was it of the Frenchmen, sone and lightly broken, after his returne.' " *Irving edition. See also under* Earl of Armagnac and Emperor

Porter, A. II. iii. p.1, p.32.

Servitor to the Countess of Auvergne, who assists his mistress in making Talbot a prisoner.

Pucelle or puzzel, dolphin or dogfish. I. iv. 107.

Pucelle = Joan of Arc. *Puzzel* = a dirty wench or a drab. *Dolphin* = Dauphin. *Dogfish* = a term of reproach. In *Robert Laneham's Letter : describing a part of the entertainment unto Queen Elizabeth at the castle of Kenilworth in* 1575 we read : " Then, thrée prety puzels az bright az a breast of bacon, of a thirtie yéere old a pées, that carried thrée speciall spisecakes of a bushell of wheat, (they had it by meazure oout of my Lord's backhouse,) before the Bryde " :

Reignier, Duke of Anjou, and titular King of Naples. I. i. 94 ; I. ii. p.1, p.22, 61, 65 ; I. iv. p.1, 12 ; II. i. p.39 ; III. ii. p. 41 ; IV. iv. 26 ; V. ii. p.1 ; V. iii, 52, 94, p.131, 131, p.146, 148, 163, 169 ; V. iv. 78, p.116 ; V. v. 47.

Is on the side of the Dauphin, and is with him

on most of his appearances. He takes the place of Charles when Joan La Pucelle first appears and attempts to deceive her, but is unsuccessful, for she says :

> Reignier, is 't thou that thinkest to beguile me ?
> Where is the Dauphin ? Come, come from behind ;
> [I. ii. 65–66.]

His daughter is taken prisoner by Suffolk and Reignier appears on the walls of Angiers in reply to a parley sounded by the former.

Suffolk asks his consent for Margaret to be married to Henry, and Reignier replies that :

> Upon condition I may quietly
> Enjoy mine own, the country Maine and Anjou,
> Free from oppression or the stroke of war,
> My daughter shall be Henry's, if he please.
> [V. iii. 153–156.]

To this Suffolk agrees and hastens away to obtain Henry's consent to the marriage.

[This prince, usually called " le bon Roi René," was second son of Louis II., King of both the Sicilies, Naples, Arragon, and Jerusalem, Duke of Calabria and Anjou, and Count of Provence. René married Isabella, daughter and heir of Charles, Duke of Lorraine, at whose death his brother Anthony de Vaudemont claimed that province, and a war ensued between them and his nephew René, who was taken prisoner in 1429 at the battle of Balgenville, after fighting valiantly, and he was not released until 1438 ; he is therefore out of place in some of the scenes of the play. His eldest daughter Yolande married her cousin Ferrand, son of Anthony de Vaudemont ; his youngest Margaret of Anjou became the Queen of Henry VI. Of this alliance Holinshed remarks : " the Earl of Suffolk condescended that the duchy of Anjou, and the county of Maine, should be delivered to the king, the bride's father, demanding for the marriage neither penny nor farthing." The " good King René," who was an excellent poet and musician, died in 1480 ; his character is well sketched by Sir Walter Scott in *Anne of Geierstein*.]

Rheims. I. i. 69.

> Guienne, Champaigne, Rheims, Orleans,
> Paris, Guysors, Poictiers, all are quite lost.
> [I. i. 60–61.]

An ancient city of France. Rheims was held by the English for a period of nine years, being lost in 1429 or seven years later than represented in the play.

Rheims. I. i. 92.

> The Dauphin Charles is crowned king in Rheims ;
> [I. i. 92.]

An anachronism. Charles VII was crown on the 12th July, 1429, or seven years after t death of King Henry the Fifth. Charles ha however, been crowned at Poitiers in 1422.

Rhodopes. I. vi. 22.

A celebrated Greek courtezan, a Thracian b birth, said to have been a fellow-slave of Æso She was taken to Egypt where Psammetichu king of Egypt fell in love with her and ransome her. She is supposed to have erected the costl pyramid near Memphis.

Richard, Earl of Cambridge. II. iv. 90.

> Was not thy father, Richard, Earl of Cambridge,
> For treason executed in our late king's days ?
> [II. iv. 90–91.]

See Earl of Cambridge.

Richard Plantagenet, Son of Richard, lat Earl of Cambridge, afterwards Duk of York. II. iv. p.1, 36, 64, 69, 74 77, 114, 119 ; II. v. 18, 26, p.33 34, 36, 41 ; III. i. p.1, 61, 150, 154 159, 160, 163, 165, 171, 172, 173 174, 177, 178 ; III... iv. p.1, 30 36 ; IV. i. p.1, 96, 109, 114, 154 162, 174, 182 ; IV. iii. p.1, 22 IV. iv. 2, 9, 15, 29, 30 ; IV. vii. 33 V. iii. p.30 ; V. iv. p.1 ; V. iv. 113

Makes his first appearance with Somerset and other nobles in the Temple Garden, and invites his followers to pluck a white rose, saying :

> Since you are tongue-tied and so loath to speak,
> In dumb significants proclaim your thoughts ;
> Let him that is a true-born gentleman
> And stands upon the honour of his birth,
> If he suppose that I have pleaded truth,
> From off this brier pluck a white rose with me.
> [II. iv. 25–30.]

An altercation ensues between Plantagenet and Somerset, in which the latter refers to him as a ' yeoman.' Warwick interposes with :

> Now, by God's will, thou wrong'st him, Somerset ;
> His grandfather was Lionel, Duke of Clarence,
> Third son to the third Edward, King of England.
> Spring crestless yeomen from so deep a root ?
> [II. iv. 81–85.]

id later Warwick exclaims :

> And here I prophesy : this brawl to-day,
> Grown to this faction in the Temple garden,
> Shall send between the red rose and the white
> A thousand souls to death and deadly night.
> [II. iv. 124–127.]

hich later only proved to be too true.

Plantagenet visits his aged uncle in prison in ıe Tower, and hears from him his claim to the nglish crown, and Richard thereupon declares s intention of claiming his titles and forwarding s rights without delay, saying :

> And for those wrongs, those bitter injuries,
> Which Somerset hath offer'd to my house,
> I doubt not but with honour to redress ;
> And therefore haste I to the parliament,
> Either to be restored to my blood,
> Or make my ill the advantage of my good.
> [II. v. 124–129.]

We next find him before Parliament, and Varwick presents a scroll bearing Plantagenet's aims, to which Henry replies :

> our pleasure is
> That Richard be restored to his blood. [III. i. 158–159.]

lantagenet, having sworn allegiance, the King ids him,

> Stoop then and set your knee against my foot ;
> And, in reguerdon of that duty done,
> I girt thee with the valiant sword of York :
> Rise, Richard, like a true Plantagenet,
> And rise created princely Duke of York.
> [III. i. 169–173.]

Later, when Henry is crowned in Paris, he ıdeavours to pacify the opposing leaders, but ork is annoyed that the king should show his ıclinations by putting on a red rose, remarking :

> but yet I like it not
> In that he wears the badge of Somerset. [IV. i. 175–177.]

In Gascony, York is awaiting reinforcements hich he says were promised him by Somerset, nd he cannot go to the aid of Lord Talbot at ordeaux on account of their non-arrival.

Sir Thomas Lucy, who has come to seek his id on behalf of Talbot, exclaims :

> Thus, while the vulture of sedition
> Feeds in the bosom of such great commanders,
> Sleeping neglection doth betray to loss
> The conquest of our scarce cold conqueror,
> That everliving man of memory,
> Henry the Fifth : whiles they each other cross,
> Lives, honours, lands, and all hurry to loss.
> [IV. iii. 47–53.]

It is York who captures Joan La Pucelle in the fight before Angiers, and as he takes her, he exclaims :

> Damsel of France, I think I have you fast : [V. ii. 30.]

and on her saying :

> I prithee, give me leave to curse awhile. [V. iii. 43.]

retorts with :

> Curse, miscreant, when thou comest to the stake.
> [V. iii. 44.]

Joan is brought before York for trial, and is condemned to be burned at the stake, York remarking as she is led away :

> Break thou in pieces and consume to ashes,
> Thou foul accursed minister of hell ! [V. iv. 92–93.]

Throughout the play the civil strife is brewing, and we are led to anticipate by the occasional outbursts during York's appearances, the bitter struggle which is about to ensue.

[This Prince was the only son of Richard of *Coningsburg* and Anne Mortimer. As his father had been attainted it was necessary that he should be restored in blood, thus Somerset taunts him,—" Till thou art restor'd, thou art a yeoman." This taint was removed in the Parliament held April, 30, 1425, Act III., Scene i., where King Henry, though only in his fourth year, is made to express his pleasure,—" That Richard be restored to his blood."

He was at the same time created Duke of York, the title which had been held by his uncle, who fell at Agincourt, and by his grandfather, Edmund of *Langley*. In 8 Henry VI., he was made Constable of England during the absence of the Duke of Bedford in France ; and at the death in 1435 of that warlike prince succeeded him as Regent of France, conjointly with the Duke of Somerset. The introduction, however, of the Duke of York in Act IV., Scene i, is premature, as he did not arrive in France until 1436. He had been elected a K.G. in 1433. As his sons, although really too young for such scenes, are introduced in the *Second Part of King Henry the Sixth*, it will be most in place here to notice the marriage of Richard Plantagenet with Cicely Nevill, the " Rose of Raby," an alliance which brought to the House of York the powerful support of her father's numerous family connections. By this lady, youngest child of Ralph, Earl of Westmoreland, the Duke of York had, besides four sons who died young, four other sons, and four daughters ; of the latter, (1) Anne,

married first Henry Holland, second and last Duke of Exeter, a character in the *Third Part of King Henry the Sixth*, and secondly Sir Thomas St. Leger, and their daughter Anne married Sir George Manners, ancestor of the Dukes of Rutland; (2) Elizabeth, married to John de la Pole, son of the Duke of Suffolk in this play; (3) Margaret, who became the third wife, in 1467, of Charles the *Bold*, Duke of Burgundy; (4) Ursula, who died young.

The surviving sons were (1) Edward, born in 1442, afterwards king; (2) Edmund, Earl of Rutland, born 1443; (3) George, the ill-fated Clarence, born 1449; and (4) Richard, *youngest* of all the eight sons, born 1452, afterwards king. The eldest of all, Henry, born 1441, died quite young; William, the fourth son, born 1447; John, fifth son, born 1448; and Thomas, born before Richard, all died in their infancy. *French.*]

[Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, is also a character in the *Second Part of King Henry the Sixth.*]

Richard, Edward's son. II. v. 64.

= King Richard the Second.

Roan. I. i. 65.

= Rouen. The ancient capital of Normandy. It was an English possession from 1419 to 1449, when it was captured by the French under Charles VII. It was, during the occupation by the English, that Joan of Arc was, in 1431, burned alive as a witch in the square of the city, called in memory of her "Place de la Pucelle"

Roan. III. ii. 1, 11, 17, 19, 27, 91, 124, 133.

= Rouen, a former capital of Normandy. The story of its capture in Act III., Scene ii., is entirely fictitious. It was an English possession from 1419 to 1449.

Roan. III. iii. 2.

= Rouen.

Rome. I. ii. 56.

Rowlands. I. ii. 30.

See Olivers.

Saint Denis. I. vi. 28; III. ii. 18.

The Patron Saint of France.

Saint George. IV. ii. 55; IV. vi. 1.

The Patron Saint of England. The name of the leader coupled with St. George, was the usual battle-cry. See *Extract* 18 from Holinshed.

Saint George. IV. vii. 68.

A distinguished Order of Knighthood.

Saint George's feast. I. i. 154.

Bonfires in France forthwith I am to make,
To keep our great Saint George's feast withal:
[I. i. 153–155.]

The 23rd of April, and traditionally the day of Shakespeare's birth and death.

Saint Katharine's churchyard. I. ii. 100.

See Touraine.

Saint Martin's summer. I. ii. 131.

Expect Saint Martin's summer, halcyon's days. [I. ii. 131

Summer in late autumn. St. Martin's day (November 11th) was associated with the halcyon days, *i.e.* calm weather after storms. Joan here infers that "after the winter of misfortune will come the summer of success."

Saint Michael. IV. vii. 69.

A distinguished Order of Knighthood. The attribution by the dramatist of the Order of St. Michael to Talbot is an anachronism, as the French Order was not instituted until some sixteen years after his death.

Saint Philip's daughters. I. ii. 143.

Nor yet Saint Philip's daughters were like thee.
[I. ii. 143]

The four daughters of Philip 'that did prophesy.' See *Acts* xxi 9.

Samsons. I. ii. 33.

In Biblical history, Samson was a Judge of Israel, endowed with supernatural strength.

Scout. V. ii. p.8.

= A soldier who is sent out to gain information and bring in tidings of the movements of

ıe enemy. The scout here enters and reports ıat the English army will presently give battle.

cythian Tomyris. II. iii. 6.

See Cyrus.

ennet. III. i. p.187 ; V. i. p.1.

A call on a trumpet for entrance or exit on the tage. It occurs chiefly in the stage directions f old plays. The word is now obsolete.

ervingmen in blue coats. I. iii. p.1 ; III. i. p.86.

Servants or attendants. Boswell-Stone in his *hakespeare's Holinshed* quotes from Fabian : Fabian says that the Parliament which wit-essed the reconciliation of Gloucester and Win-ıester was clepyd of the Comon people the 'arlyament of Battes : the cause was, for Pro-lamacyons were made, that men shulde leue heyr Swerdes & other wepeyns in theyr Innys, he people toke great battes & stauys in theyr ıeckes, and so folowed theyr lordes and maisters ınto the Parlyament. And whan that wepyn vas Inhybyted theym, then they toke stonys & ɔlummettes of lede, & trussyd them secretly in heyr sleuys & bosomys."

Sibyls. I. ii. 56.

Exceeding the nine sibyls of old Rome ; [I. ii. 56]

Supposed to be an allusion to the nine sibylline ɔooks, offered by the Cumæan Sibyl to King Tarquin. The number of all the sibyls is variously stated at from two to twelve, and con-tained predictions of our Saviour, and taught the doctrine of the resurrection, the last judg-ment and hell torments. They are supposed to be work of some Christian, and clouded with the heathen and Jewish superstitions, on purpose to disguise the true intent of the author.

Sir John Fastolfe. I. i. 131 ; I. iv. 35 ; III. ii. p.103, 104 ; IV. i. p.9.

Is represented as being cowardly, for we first meet him fleeing from the battle before Rouen, saying in answer to a Captain's query :

Whither away ! To save myself by flight ;
We are like to have the overthrow again.
[III. ii. 105–106.]

and on being asked, What ! will you fly, and leave Lord Talbot ? replies :

Ay,
All the Talbots in the world, to save my life.
[III. ii. 108.]

to which the captain ejaculates :

Cowardly knight ! ill fortune follow thee ! [III. ii. 109.]

On his next appearance at Henry's coronation in Paris, Talbot exclaims :

I vow'd, base knight, when I did meet thee next,
To tear the garter from thy craven's leg ; [*Plucks it off.*
[IV. i. 14–15.]

and tells of how he forsook him when hard pressed at the battle of Patay.

Henry is amazed at these revelations, and banishes him forthwith, taking away his title of knight,

Stain to thy countrymen ! thou hear'st thy doom ;
Be packing therefore, thou that wast a knight :
Henceforth we banish thee on pain of death.
[IV. i. 45–47.]

[This knight, son of John Fastolfe and his wife, Mary, daughter of Nicholas Parke, was born on St. Leonard's day, November 6, 1380, at Great Yarmouth, co. Norfolk ; he was educated as a page in the household of Thomas Mowbray, the "Duke of Norfolk" in *King Richard II.* and afterwards attended Prince Thomas of Lancaster to Ireland in 1405. He accompanied Henry V. in his expedition to France in 1415, with a retinue of "10 lances and 30 archers," and served at Harfleur, where he was left to form part of the garrison, so that he could not be at Agincourt, as often asserted. After the death of Henry V., the regent, Bedford, made Fastolfe Grand Master of his household, and Seneschal of Normandy ; and in 1423 appointed him Governor of Anjou and Maine. He took several strong places from the French, and in 1426 was rewarded with the honour of a K.G. In 1428 he achieved his great exploit, called "the Battle of the Herrings," before Orleans ; but in the next year he was defeated at Pataye by Joan of Arc, who caused such a panic among the English that they fled in dismay, and Monstrelet mentions the behaviour of Sir John Fastolfe and his companions, who "had not dismounted, and to save their lives, they with many other knights set off full gallop." This blot on his escutcheon is alluded to in Act III., Scene ii. According to the same French author, the knight was reproached by

Bedford for having thus fled " before a stroke was given," and was by him deprived of his " Garter," which was restored in after time. This degradation is, in the play, performed by Talbot, who pronounces a glowing eulogy on " this most honourable order," Act IV., Scene i. The Duke of Bedford continued his favour to Fastolfe, appointed him Governor of Caen, and named him as one of the executors to his will. He remained in France under the Duke of York, who rewarded his services with a pension, and he at length retired from active service in 1440, to his estate at Caistor, near Great Yarmouth, where the remains exist of the stately castellated brick mansion, which he built from the proceeds, as alleged, of the ransom of John II., Duke of Alençon (son of the prince killed at Agincourt), who was taken prisoner by Fastolfe, at the battle of Verneuil, in 1424. Sir John died at Caistor, Nov. 6, 1459. *French.*]

The *Paston Letters* contain many interesting accounts of his private life.

Sir Thomas Gargrave. I. iv. p.23, 63, 88.

Appears on the turrets before Orleans during the siege, accompanied by Lords Salisbury and Talbot, Sir William Glansdale and others.

They are debating as to which is the best place for the next assault on the town when a shot is heard, and Gargrave and Salisbury fall to the ground mortally wounded. Cf. Grafton's *Chronicle*, vol. I, V.J. Yere, p. 577.

[The fatal shot which struck down the Earl of Salisbury, before Orleans, also wounded one of his chief officers, Sir Thomas Gargrave, who died from the blow within two days. The family was seated at Gargrave and Nosthall, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, of which county another Thomas Gargrave was sheriff 7 and 11 Queen Elizabeth ; and afterwards the office was filled by members of the family. *Monasticon.*]

Sir William Glansdale. I. iv. p.23, 63.

Appears before the walls of Orleans during the siege with the Lords Salisbury and Talbot, and Sir Thomas Gargrave.

He expresses the opinion that the best place for the next assault on the town is ' here, at the bulwark of the bridge.'

[This knight is called by French historians " Glacidas," by Stow " Gladesdale " ; and Southey, in his *Joan of Arc*, speaks of him, under the name of " Gladdisdale," as—

> " the last of all his race,
> Slain in a foreign land, and doom'd to share
> A common grave."

This alludes to his fate at Orleans, where he perished by the breaking of a draw-bridge, struck by a cannon-shot, when he was drowned, with many knights and soldiers, who sank in the Loire, oppressed by the weight of their armour. Shakespeare makes Glansdale, in the only words spoken by him, take up his position at the place whence he was to assault the town, and where he lost his life, Act I., Scene iv.

Serle calls this character " a stern rude soldier of fortune," which may account for the compiler of these memoirs not finding the name of Glansdale, or Glasdale, as he is sometimes styled, in any Ordinary of Arms : and in answer to an enquiry, Mr. J. W. Papworth says—" I believe you will not find anywhere, except by the merest accident, a coat for Gladdesdale or Glansdale. *French.*]

Sir William Lucy. IV. iii. p.17 ; IV. iv. 10, p.12, 12 ; IV. vii. p.51.

First appears on the plains in Gascony before the Duke of York as a messenger to ask for help for Lord Talbot at Bordeaux.

York says he cannot send any reinforcements as he himself cannot obtain much-needed aid from Somerset. At this Lucy remarks :

> Thus, while the vulture of sedition
> Feeds in the bosom of such great commanders,
> Sleeping neglection doth betray to loss
> The conquest of our scarce cold conqueror,
> That ever living man of memory,
> Henry the Fifth : whiles they each other cross,
> Lives, honours, lands, and all hurry to loss.
> [IV. iii. 47–53.]

He then rushes to Somerset to appeal for help and meeting him and being asked ' Whither were you sent ? ' cries :

> Whither, my lord ? from bought and sold Lord Talbot ;
> [IV. iv. 13.]

and begs him to put aside personal disputes in the national cause :

> Let not your private discord keep away
> The levied succours that should lend him aid,
> [IV. iv. 22–23.]

Somerset then blames York for the plight ılbot is in, and Lucy, in a rage, exclaims :

> The fraud of England, not the force of France,
> Hath now entrapp'd the noble-minded Talbot.
> Never to England shall he bear his life,
> But dies, betray'd to fortune by your strife.
> [IV. iv. 36–39.]

d declaring that help must now be too late, parts.

Lucy next appears on the battlefield near ɔrdeaux, and demands from the Dauphin ıich force has won the day, and begs permission " know what prisoners thou hast ta'en, And survey the bodies of the dead.' Enquiring :

> But where 's the great Alcides of the field,
> Valiant Lord Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury ?
> [IV. vii. 60–61.]

be told by La Pucelle that :

> Him that thou magnifiest with all these titles
> Stinking and fly-blown lies here at our feet.
> [IV. vii. 75–76.]

Lucy exclaims, ' Is Talbot slain ? ' and asks to ke the bodies away, saying as this is done :

> I 'll bear them hence ; but from their ashes shall be rear'd
> A phœnix that shall make all France afeard.
> [IV. vii. 92–93.]

[This character, says French, may be intended r Sir William Lucy, knight, of Charlecote, co. 'arwick, whereof he was sheriff, in the 14, 28, ıd 31 of Henry VI., and who died 6 Edward IV., ;66. His family had been seated at Charlecote ɔm the time of King John, when Walter de ıerlcote's son, William, assumed the name of ıcy, 1 Henry III., 1216. From him descended the seventh generation Thomas Lucy, who ed 3 Henry V., and by his wife Alesia, sister ıd heir of William Hugford of Hugford, co. ulop, was father of Sir William Lucy, supposed be the character in this play, who married lianor, daughter of Reginald Lord Grey de uthyn ; and their lineal descendant, Sir homas Lucy, is the person celebrated by ıakespeare to all time as " Justice Shallow," acing him however in the reign of Henry IV., ough he flourished in that of Queen Elizabeth.]

ɔldiers, English. I. v. p.15 ; II. i. p.8, p.78 ; II. iii. p.60 ; III. iii. p.31 ; III. iv. p.1 ; IV. iii. p.1 ; IV. iv. p.1 ; IV. vii. p.18.

Soldiers, French. I. ii. p.1 ; I. vi. p.1 ; III. ii. p.1, p.18 ; III. iii. p.1, p.33 ; IV. vii. p.33 ; V. ii. p.1.

Talbot, a Talbot ! I. i. 128 ; II. iii. 15.

Hart (*Arden edition*) says : " The name of the leader, coupled with St. George, was the usual battle-cry. So in Grafton : ' And in lyke manner the Duke of Bedford, encouraged his people, and foorthwith they gave the onset upon their enimies, crying, Saint George, Bedford.' And again : ' the Englishe men came out . . . by the gate of the towne, cryeng Saint George, Salisburie : and set on their enimies both before and behinde.' And again : ' About sixe of the clock in the morning they issued out of the Castell, cryeng Saint George, Talbot,' " See *Extract* 18 from Holinshed.

Temple garden. II. iv. 125.

The garden of the Temple Hall, London. Here were plucked the red and white roses which formed the badges of the Houses of Lancaster and York respectively, during the Wars of the Roses. There is, however, no historical foundation for this scene.

" The *Red Rose* of Lancaster was, says Camden, the accepted badge of Edmund Plantagenet, second son of Henry III., and of the first Duke of Lancaster, surnamed Crouchback. It was also the cognizance of John of Gaunt, second Duke of Lancaster, in virtue of his wife, who was godchild of Edmund Crouchback, and his sole heir ; and, in later times, of the Richmonds. . . . The *White Rose* was not first adopted by the Yorkists during the contest for the crown, as Shakespeare says. It was an hereditary cognizance of the House of York, and had been borne by them ever since the title was first created. It was adopted by the Jacobites as an emblem of the Pretender, because his adherents were obliged to abet him *sub rosa* (in secret). Cecily Nevill, wife of Richard, Duke of York, and mother of Edward IV. and Richard III., was known as *The White Rose of Raby*." *Brewer.*

Temple hall. II. iv. 3 ; II. v. 18.

> Within the Temple hall we were too loud ;
> The garden here is more convenient. [II. iv. 3–4.]

The Hall of the Middle Temple, London, one of the Inns of Court. The dispute carried on in the Temple garden was begun here.

Thomas Beaufort, Duke of Exeter, Great-uncle to the King. I. i. p.1 ; III. i. p.1, 200 ; III. iv. p.1 ; IV. i. p.1 ; V. i. p.1 ; V. v. p.1.

Exeter is fully aware of the growing dissension between the Lancastrians and Yorkists, and foresees that as a result of the inevitable climax Henry will be overthrown.

This is shown by his soliloquy after Richard Plantagenet has been created Duke of York :

> This late dissension grown betwixt the peers
> Burns under feigned ashes of forg'd love,
> And will at last break out into a flame :
> As fester'd members rot but by degree,
> Till bones and flesh and sinews fall away,
> So will this base and envious discord breed.
> And now I fear that fatal prophecy
> Which in the time of Henry, nam'd the Fifth,
> Was in the mouth of every sucking babe,—
> That Henry, born at Monmouth should win all ;
> And Henry, born at Windsor should lose all :
> [III. i. 189–199.]

and finally he expresses his own desire to escape the catastrophe :

> Which is so plain that Exeter doth wish
> His days may finish ere that hapless time.
> [III. i. 200–201.]

He does not take much part in the action of the play, but remains in the background, only coming forward to remind those about him of what has been prophesied as in the above instance, and as when he sees Winchester has realised his ambition and been made cardinal, he remarks :

> What ! is my lord of Winchester install'd,
> And call'd unto a cardinal's degree ?
> Then I perceive that will be verified
> Henry the Fifth did sometime prophesy :
> " If once he come to be a cardinal,
> He 'll make his cap co-equal with the crown."
> [V. i. 28–33.]

[The Duke of Exeter is a character in the last play, but as he died December 27th, 1426, his introduction is out of place in many of the scenes, as in Act IV., Scene i., his nephew's coronation in Paris, which did not occur till 1431. Thomas Beaufort had no issue by his wife Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas Nevill, and his large estates passed to his nephew, John Beaufort, first Duke of Somerset. *French.*]

Tomyris. II. iii. 6.

See Cyrus

Touraine. I. ii. 100.

Although alluded to here as a ' town ' Touraine was an ancient province of France On her way to the court of Charles, Joan of Arc found in Saint Katharine's churchyard among " a great deal of old iron " a sword engraved " with five flower-de-luces on each side " with which she afterwards fought.

Tours. IV. iii. 45.

Capital of the government of Touraine. Mentioned here as being lost to England.

Tower. I. i. 167.

= The Tower of London.

Tower. I. iii. 1, 61, 67.

> I am come to survey the Tower this day ; [I. iii. 1.]

The Tower of London. See *Extracts* 11 *and* 12 from Holinshed.

Tower. III. i. 23.

> In that thou laid'st a trap to take my life,
> As well at London Bridge as at the Tower.
> [III. i. 23–23.]

The reference is to the incidents in Act I., Scene iii., where Gloucester demands entrance to the Tower.

Tower of London.

The Scene of Act II , Scene v. Shows Mortimer a prisoner in the Tower. Richard Plantagenet who now appears is Mortimer's nephew, his father—the Earl of Cambridge—having married Mortimer's sister. Mortimer explains to Plantagenet the reason his father was executed, and tells him he is heir to the throne, but counsels caution. After bidding his nephew farewell, Mortimer passes away. [There is some confusion in this scene. Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, having served in the French wars of Henry V., died at his home in Ireland in 1425 at an early age. His uncle, Sir John Mortimer was imprisoned in the Tower and executed. The dramatist was doubtless misled by the historians of his time.]

:ojan. V. v. 106.

See Paris, V. v. 104.

wo Sentinels. II. i. p.1.

A sentinel is a soldier whose duty it is to watch guard an army or camp from surprises

rchinfield. IV. vii. 64.

See Earl of Washford.

enus. I. ii. 144.

Bright star of Venus, fall'n down on the earth,
[I. ii. 144.]

The goddess of love. She is called Urania, *i.e.* elestial, because she was believed to have opped from heaven at Paphos in the isle of yprus.

ernon, of the White-Rose or York Faction. II. iv. p.1, 44, 128; III. iv. p.1; IV. i. p.78.

Appears in the Temple garden, and there shows is allegiance to Plantagenet by plucking a white ose, remarking:

Then for the truth and plainness of the case,
I pluck this pale and maiden blossom here,
Giving my verdict on the white rose side. [II. iv. 46–48.]

fter having first suggested that the party trongest in number by counting the roses lucked shall be declared to be in the right:

Stay, lords and gentlemen, and pluck no more
Till you conclude that he, upon whose side
The fewest roses are cropp'd from the tree,
Shall yield the other in the right opinion. [II. iv. 39–42.]

He has a heated argument with Basset in the alace in Paris, which nearly ends in bloodshed, 'ernon striking his rival, and later the two ppear before Henry, both claiming the right to duel, and championed by their respective eaders.

Henry endeavours to quieten them but does ot succeed in making more than a temporary ruce between Plantagenet and Somerset.

[Courtenay says: "I presume that the person ntended is Sir Richard Vernon, Speaker of the House of Commons in the Leicester Parliament, ncestor of Lord Vernon; he died 1452." This character, therefore, was Sir Richard Vernon, of Haddon, Knight of the Shire of Derby in 1433. He married his cousin, Benedicta, daughter of William Ludlow, by whom he had a son, Sir William Vernon, Treasurer of Calais, and Constable of England for life, who died in 1467, and was succeeded by his son, Sir Henry Vernon, K.G., who was Governor and Treasurer to Prince Arthur, eldest son of Henry VII., and who by his wife Anne, daughter of John Talbot, second Earl of Shrewsbury, was father of Humphrey Vernon, whose second son, Thomas, was ancestor of the present Lord Vernon. In the east window of the chapel at Haddon, which was built by Sir Richard Vernon, there is an inscription,—"Orate pro animabus Ricardi Vernon militis et Benedictæ uxoris ejus, qui fecerunt istam capellam, A.D. 1427": Duke's *Shropshire*, under Tong, in which church there is a splendid effigy of Sir Richard Vernon, in armour, one of the finest examples of the kind; it is given in Shaw's *Decor. of Mid. Ages. French.*]

Walloon. I. i. 137.

A base Walloon, to win the Dauphin's grace,
Thrust Talbot with a spear into the back;
[I. i 137–138.]

A people of mixed Teutonic and Celtic stock descended from the Belgæ of ancient Gaul. Talbot is here represented as having been stabbed in the back by 'a base Walloon.'

Walloon. II. i. 10.

Walloon, and Picardy, are friends to us, [II. i. 10.]

The ancient inhabitants of Artois, Hainault, Namur, Luxemburg and parts of Flanders and Brabant. Mentioned here as being friendly to the English.

Wardens of the Tower. I. iii.

Warders under Lieutenant Woodvile, who refuse Gloucester's men admission to the Tower.

Westminster Abbey.

The Scene of Act I., Scene i. The Play opens with the funeral of King Henry the Fifth. A succession of messengers enter, and announce the loss of Guienne, Champaigne, Rheims, Orleans, Paris, Guysors and Poictiers, the coro-

nation of the Dauphin as Charles VII. and the defeat and capture of Lord Talbot at the siege of Orleans. [The anachronisms of this scene are manifold, as most of the events which are announced by the messengers took place many years afterwards. Courtenay says: "King Charles the Sixth did not die, nor did his son assume the title until October. Nor were the places enumerated lost at this time, or all at once; indeed, the events of the war were for some time favourable to England. . . . Above all Talbot was not taken prisoner till the year 1429, when he was defeated at Patay."]

Winchester goose. I. iii. 53–54.

Winchester goose! I cry, a rope! a rope! [I. iii. 53.]

Winchester was noted for its geese. *I cry, a rope! a rope!* alludes to a cry which a parrot was taught to utter. Cf *Troilus and Cressida*, V. x. 55–56: "It should be now, but that my fear is this, Some galled goose of Winchester would hiss."

Windsor. III. i. 199.

That Henry born at Windsor should lose all;
[III. i. 199.]

See *Extract* 27 from Holinshed.

Wingfield. IV. vii. 66.

In Derbyshire. *See* Earl of Washford.

Woodvile, Lieutenant of the Tower. I. iii. p.15, 16, 22.

The Duke of Gloucester with his serving-men approaches the Tower of London and demands to be admitted when Woodvile appears within and informs Gloucester that:

I may not open;
The Cardinal of Winchester forbids: [I iii. 18–19]

This enrages the Duke who exclaims:

Faint-hearted Woodvile, prizest him 'fore me?
[I. iii. 22.]

and one of his servants demands:

Open the gates unto the lord protector,
Or we 'll burst them open, if that you come not quickly.
[I. iii. 27–28.]

Winchester now appears with his men, and a skirmish takes place which is only brought to an end by the reading of the Riot Act.

[Richard de Widvill, or Woodvile, of a good Northamptonshire family, of whom several had served as sheriff, was 7 Henry IV., Governor of Northampton Castle; he was afterwards one of the esquires of the body of Henry V., and subsequently became chamberlain and councillor to the Duke of Bedford, under whom he served in the French wars. In 3 Henry VI., he was appointed Constable of the Tower, he was therefore of higher rank than "Lieutenant," as he is styled in the play (and in the year 1424 Robert Scot was the Lieutenant); Woodvile was created a K.G., by Henry VI., and in 1448 Baron Rivers. Monstrelet calls him the handsomest man in all England. In 1436 he married the youthful widow of his patron the Duke of Bedford, Jacqueline of Luxembourg, by whom he had five sons and six daughters. The former were: (1) Sir Anthony Woodvile, who is the "Earl Rivers" in *King Richard III.*; (2) Sir John Woodvile, who was slain with his father in 1469; (3) Lionel Woodvile, Bishop of Salisbury; (4) Sir Edward Woodvile, K.G.; (5) Sir Richard, afterwards third Earl Rivers, at whose death in 1491, without issue, the title became extinct.

Of the other children of Earl Rivers by the Duchess Jacqueline, Fuller says,—"Almost all our ancient nobility may be traced to his six daughters." These were: (1) Elizabeth, the wife first of Sir John Grey, afterwards Queen to Edward IV.; (2) Margaret, who married Thomas Fitz-alan, sixteenth Earl of Arundel; (3) Anne, thrice married, *viz.* to William Lord Bourchier, George Grey, Earl of Kent, and Sir Anthony Wingfield; (4) Jacquetta, who married John Lord Strange; (5) Mary, the wife of William Herbert, Earl of Huntingdon; (6) Katharine, who married first Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, secondly Jaspar Tudor, and thirdly Sir Richard Wingfield, K.G. Richard Woodvile was created Earl Rivers by his son-in-law, Edward IV., in 1466, and was beheaded by Robin of Riddesdale at Northampton, 1469. The Duchess Jacqueline died in 1472. *French.*]

APPENDIX I.

Extracts from Holinshed[1] that illustrate the *First Part of King Henry the Sixth.*

1. And suerlie the death of this king Charles caused alterations in France. For a great manie of the nobilitie, which before, either for feare of the English puissance, or for the loue of this king Charles, (whose authoritie they followed,) held on the English part, did now reuolt to the Dolphin ; with all indeuour to driue the English nation out of the French territories. Whereto they were the more earnestlie bent, and thought it a thing of greater facilitie, because of king Henries yoong yeares ; whome (because he was a child) they esteemed not, but with one consent reuolted from their sworne fealtie : . . .

2. But heere is one cheefe point to be noted, that either the disdeine amongest the cheefe peeres of the realme of England, (as yee haue heard,) or the negligence of the kings councell, (which did not foresee dangers to come,) was the losse of the whole dominion of France, betweene the riuers of Somme and Marne ; and, in especiall, of the noble citie of Paris. For where before, there were sent ouer thousands for defense of the holds and fortresses, now were sent hundreds, yea, and scores ; some rascals, and some not able to draw a bowe, or carrie a bill : . . .

3. The Dolphin, which lay the same time in the citie of Poitiers, after his fathers deceasse, caused himselfe to be proclaimed king of France, by the name of Charles the seuenth ; and, in good hope to recouer his patrimonie, with an haultie courage preparing war, assembled a great armie : and first the warre began by light skirmishes, but after it grew into maine battels.

4. Betweene twentie and three and twentie thousand men, . . . fought with the lord Talbot (who had with him not past six thousand men) neere vnto a village in Beausse called Pataie : at which battell the charge was giuen by the French so vpon a sudden, that the Englishmen had not leisure to put themselues in araie, after they had put vp their stakes before their archers ; so that there was no remedie but to fight at aduenture. This battell continued by the space of three long houres ; for the Englishmen, though they were ouerpressed with multitude of their enimies, yet they neuer fled backe one foot, till their capteine the lord Talbot was sore wounded at the backe, and so taken.

Then their hearts began to faint, and they fled ; in which flight were slaine about twelue hundred, and fortie taken, of whome the lord Talbot, the lord Scales, the lord Hungerford, & sir Thomas Rampston were cheefe. . . . From this battell departed without anie stroke striken sir Iohn Fastolfe ; the same yeare for his valiantnesse elected into the order of the garter.

5. [When Henry V. lay a-dying at Bois de Vincennes, he was visited by] the dukes of Bedford and Glocester, & the earles of Salisburie and Warwike, whome the king louinglie welcomed, and seemed glad of their presence.

Now, when he saw them pensife for his sicknesse and great danger of life wherein he presentlie laie, he, with manie graue, courteous, and pithie words, recomforted them the best he could ; and therewith exhorted them to be trustie and faithfull vnto his sonne, and to see that he might be well and vertuouslie brought vp. And, as concerning the rule and gouernance of his realms, during the minoritie and yoong yeares of his said sonne, he willed them to ioine togither in freendlie loue and concord, keeping continuall peace and amitie with the duke of Burgognie ; and neuer to make treatie with Charles that called himselfe Dolphin of Vienne, by the which anie part, either of the crowne of France, or of the duches of Normandie and Guien, may be lessened or diminished ; and further, that the duke of Orleance and the other princes should still remaine prisoners, till his sonne came to lawfull age ; least, returning home againe, they might kindle more fire in one daie than might be quenched in three.

He further aduised them, that if they thought it necessarie, that it should be good to haue his brother Humfreie duke of Glocester to be protector of England, during the nonage of his sonne, and his brother the duke of Bedford, with the helpe of the duke of Burgognie, to rule and to be regent of France ; commanding him with fire and sword to persecute the Dolphin, till he had either brought him to reason and obeisance, or else to driue and expell him out of the realme of France. . . .

1. *Shakespeare's Holinshed*, by W. G. Boswell-Stone.

The noble men present promised to obserue his precepts, and to performe his desires; but their hearts were so pensife, and replenished with sorrow, that one could not for weeping behold an other.

6. The custodie of this yoong prince was appointed to Thomas duke of Excester, & to Henrie Beauford bishop of Winchester.

7. 2 Item, my said lord of Winchester, without the aduise and assent of my said lord of Glocester, or of the kings councell, purposed and disposed him to set hand on the kings person, and to haue remooued him from Eltham, the place that he was in, to Windsor, to the intent to put him in gouernance as him list.

THE SIEGE OF ORLEANS.

8. After the siege had continued full three weekes, the bastard of Orleance issued out of the gate of the bridge, and fought with the Englishmen; but they receiued him with so fierce and terrible strokes, that he was with all his companie compelled to retire and flee backe into the citie. But the Englishmen followed so fast, in killing and taking of their enimies, that they entered with them. The bulworke of the bridge, with a great tower standing at the end of the same, was taken incontinentlie by the Englishmen, who behaued themselues right valiantlie vnder the conduct of their courageous capteine, as at this assault, so in diuerse skirmishes against the French; partlie to keepe possession of that which Henrie the fift had by his magnanimitie & puissance atchiued, as also to inlarge the same. . . .

In this conflict, manie Frenchmen were taken, but more were slaine; and the keeping of the tower and bulworke was committed to William Glasdale esquier. By the taking of this bridge the passage was stopped, that neither men nor vittels could go or come by that waie.

9. In time of this siege at Orleance (French stories saie) the first weeke of March 1428, vnto Charles the Dolphin, at Chinon, as he was in verie great care and studie how to wrestle against the English nation, by one Robert Badricourt, capteine of Vacouleur, (made after marshall of France by the Dolphins creation,) was caried a yoong wench of an eighteene yeeres old, called Ione Arc, by name of hir father (a sorie sheepheard) Iames of Arc, and Isabell hir mother; brought vp poorelie in their trade of keeping cattell; borne at Domprin (therefore reported by *Bale*, Ione Domprin) vpon Meuse in Lorraine, within the diocesse of Thoule. Of fauour was she counted likesome, of person stronglie made and manlie, of courage great, hardie, and stout withall; an vnderstander of counsels though she was not at them; great semblance of chastitie both of bodie and behauiour; the name of Iesus in hir mouth about all hir businesses; humble, obedient; and fasting diuerse daies in the weeke. A person (as their bookes make hir) raised vp by power diuine, onelie for succour to the French estate then deepelie in distresse; in whome, for planting a credit the rather, first the companie that toward the Dolphin did conduct hir, through places all dangerous, as holden by the English, (where she neuer was afore,) all the waie and by nightertale safelie did she lead: then at the Dolphins sending by hir assignement, from saint Katharins church of Fierbois in Touraine, (where she neuer had beene and knew not,) in a secret place there among old iron, appointed she hir sword to be sought out and brought hir, (that with fiue floure delices was grauen on both sides,) wherewith she fought and did manie slaughters by hir owne hands. On warfar rode she in armour cap a pie & mustered as a man; before hir an ensigne all white, wherin was Iesus Christ painted with a floure delice in his hand.

Unto the Dolphin into his gallerie when first she was brought; and he, shadowing himselfe *behind*, setting other gaie lords before him to trie hir cunning, from all the companie, with a salutation, (that indeed marz all the matter,) she pickt him out alone; who therevpon had hir to the end of the gallerie, where she held him an houre *in* secret and priuate *talke*, that of his priuie chamber was thought *verie long*, and therefore would haue broken it off; but he made them a signe to let hir saie on. In which (among other), as likelie it was, she set out vnto him the singular feats (for sooth) giuen hir to vnderstand by reuelation diuine, that in vertue of that sword shee should atchiue; which were, how with honor and victorie shee would raise the siege of Orleance, set him in state of the crowne of France, and driue the English out of the countrie, thereby he to inioie the kingdome alone. Heerevpon he hartened at full, appointed hir a sufficient armie with absolute power to lead them, and they obedientlie to doo as she bad them. Then fell she to worke, and first defeated, indeed, the siege at Orleance; by and by incouraged him to crowne himselfe king of France at Reims, that a little before from the English she had woone. Thus after pursued she manie bold enterprises to our great displeasure a two yeare togither; for the time she kept in state vntill she were taken and for heresie and witcherie burned; as in particularities hereafter followeth.

10. [In 1425] fell a great diuision in the realme of England; which of a sparkle was like to haue grown to a great flame. For whether the bishop of Winchester, called Henrie Beaufort, (sonne to Iohn duke of Lancaster by his third wife,) enuied the authoritie of Humfreie duke of

Glocester, protectour of the realme ; or whether the duke disdained at the riches and pompous estate of the bishop ; sure it is that the whole realme was troubled with them and their partakers : . . .

CHARGES AGAINST WINCHESTER.

11. 1 First, whereas he, being protectour, and defendour of this land, desired the Tower to be opened to him, and to lodge him therein, Richard Wooduile esquier (hauing at that time the charge of the keeping of the Tower) refused his desire ; and kept the same Tower against him vndulie and against reason, by the commandement of my said lord of Winchester ; . . .

12. 4 Item, my said lord of Glocester saith and affirmeth, that our souereigne lord, his brother, that was king Henrie the fift, told him on a time, (when our souriegne lord, being prince, was lodged in the palace of Westminster, in the great chamber,) by the noise of a spaniell, there was on a night a man spied and taken behind a tapet of the said chamber ; the which man was deliuered to the earle of Arundell to be examined vpon the cause of his being there at that time ; the which so examined, at that time confessed that he was there by the stirring and procuring of my said lord of Winchester ; ordeined to haue slaine the said prince there in his bed : wherefore the said earle of Arundell let sacke him foorthwith, and drowned him in the Thames.

13. And lykely it was to haue ensued great Effucyon of blode shortly therupon, ne had ben the discressyon of the Mayre, and his Brether, that exorted the people, by all Polytike meane, to kepe the kynges peas.

THE FRENCH WAR.

14. Amongst other of the cheefest prisoners, that valiant capteine, Poton de Santrails, was one ; who without dalaie was exchanged for the lord Talbot, before taken prisoner at the battell of Pataie.

15. [Bedford] appointed the earle of Suffolke to be his lieutenant and capteine of the siege ; and ioined with him the lord Scales, the lord Talbot, sir Iohn Fastolfe, and diuerse other right valiant capteins.

16. In the tower that was taken at the bridge end (as before you haue heard) there was an high chamber, hauing a grate full of barres of iron, by the which a man might looke all the length of the bridge into the citie ; at which grate manie of the cheefe capteins stood manie times, viewing the citie, and deuising in what place it was best to giue the assault. They within the citie well perceiued this tooting hole, and laid a peece of ordinance directlie against the window.

It so chanced, that the nine and fiftith daie after the siege was laid, the earle of Salisburie, sir Thomas Gargraue, and William Glasdale, with diuerse other went into the said tower, and so into the high chamber, and looked out at the grate ; and, within a short space, the sonne of the maister-gunner, perceiuing men looking out at the window, tooke his match, (as his father had taught him ; who was gone downe to dinner,) and fired the gun ; the shot whereof brake and shiuered the iron barres of the grate, so that one of the same bars strake the earle so violentlie on the head, that it stroke awaie one of his eies, and the side of his cheeke. Sir Thomas Gargraue was likewise stricken, and died within two daies.

17. [Joan] roade from Poictiers to Blois, and there found men of warre, vittels, and munition, readie to be conueied to Orleance.

Heere was it knowne that the Englishmen kept not so diligent watch as they had been accustomed to doo, and therefore this maid (with other French capteins) comming forward in the dead time of the night, and in a great raine and thunder, entred into the citie with all their vittels, artillerie, and other necessarie prouisions. The next daie the Englishmen boldlie assaulted the towne, but the Frenchmen defended the walles, so as no great feat worthie of memorie chanced that daie betwixt them, though the Frenchmen were amazed at the valiant attempt of the Englishmen : whervpon the bastard of Orleance gaue knowledge to the duke of Alanson, in what danger the towne stood without his present helpe ; who, comming within two leagues of the citie, gaue knowledge to them within, that they should be readie the next daie to receiue him.

18. [The English] withdrew without any tarriance into the castell, which standeth at the gate of saint Vincent, whereof was constable Thomas Gower esquier ; whither also fled manie Englishmen ; so as for vrging of the enimie, prease of the number, and lacke of vittels, they could not haue indured long : wherfore they priuilie sent a messenger to the lord Talbot, which then laie at Alanson, certifieng him in how hard a case they were. The lord Talbot, hearing these newes, like a carefull capteine, in all hast assembled togither about seuen hundred men ; & in the euening departed from Alanson, so as in the morning he came to a castell called Guierch, two miles from Mans, and there staied a while, till he had sent out Matthew Gough, as an espiall, to vnderstand how the Frenchmen demeaned themselues.

Matthew Gough so well sped his businesse, that priuilie in the night he came into the castell, where he learned that the Frenchmen verie negligentlie vsed themselues, without taking heed to their watch, as though they had beene out of all danger : which well vnderstood, he returned

againe, and within a mile of the citie met the lord Talbot, and the lord Scales, and opened vnto them all things, according to his credence. The lords then, to make hast in the matter, (bicause the daie approched,) with all speed possible came to the posterne gate ; and, alighting from their horsses, about six of the clocke in the morning, they issued out of the castell, crieng, " *saint George ! Talbot !* "

The Frenchmen, being thus suddenlie taken, were sore amazed ; in so much that some of them, being not out of their beds, got vp *in their shirts*, and lept *ouer the walles* Other ran naked out of the gates to saue their liues, leauing all their apparell, horsses, armour, and riches behind them : none was hurt but such as resisted.

19. Lord Talbot, being both of noble birth, and of haultie courage, after his comming into France, obteined so manie glorious victories of his enimies, that his onelie name was & yet is dreadfull to the French nation ; and much renowned amongst all other people.

20. This earle was the man at that time, by whose wit, strength, and policie, the English name was much fearefull and terrible to the French nation ; which of himselfe might both appoint, command, and doo all things in manner at his pleasure ; in whose power (as it appeared after his death) a great part of the conquest consisted : for, surelie, he was a man both painefull, diligent, and readie to withstand all dangerous chances that were at hand, prompt in counsell, and of courage inuincible ; so that in no one man, men put more trust ; nor any singular person wan the harts so much of all men.

21. This man was to the French people a very *scorge* and a daily *terror ;* in so muche that as his person was fearfull and terrible to his aduersaries present, so his name and fame was spitefull and dreadfull to the common people absent ; in so much that women in Fraunce, to feare their yong children, would crye, " the Talbot commeth, the Talbot commeth ! "

22. The duke of Yorke, perceiuing his euill will, openlie dissembled what which he inwardlie minded, either of them working things to the others displeasure ; till, through malice and diuision betweene them, at length by mortall warre they were both consumed, with almost all their whole lines and ofspring.

23. During the same season, Edmund Mortimer, the last earle of March of that name, (which long time had beene restreined from his libertie, and finallie waxed lame,) deceassed without issue ; whose inheritance descended to the lord Richard Plantagenet, sonne and heire to Richard earle of Cambridge, beheaded (as before yee haue heard) at the towne of Southampton.

24. [In 1425, when Gloucester and Winchester were at open strife,] the citizens of London were faine to keepe dailie and nightlie watches, *and to shut* vp their *shops, for feare* of what which was doubted to haue insued of their [Gloucester's and Winchester's] assembling of people about them.

25. That the said lord of Winchester should haue these words that follow vnto my said lord of Glocester : " My lord of Glocester, I haue conceiued to my great heauinesse, that yee should " haue receiued by diuerse reports that I should haue purposed and imagined against your person, " honor, and estate, in diuers maners ; for the which yee haue taken against me great displeasure : " Sir, I take God to my witnesse, that what reports so euer haue beene to you of me, peraduenture " of such as haue had no great affection to me, God forgiue it them !) I neuer imagined, ne pur- " posed anie thing that might be hindering or preiudice to your person, honor, or estate ; and " therefore I praie you, that yee be vnto me good lord from this time foorth : for, by my will, I " gaue neuer other occasion, nor purpose not to doo hereafter, by the grace of God." The which words so by him said, it was decreed by the same arbitrators, that my lord of Glocester should answer and saie : " Faire vncle, sith yee declare you such a man as yee saie, I am right glad that " it is so, and for such a man I take you." And when this was doone, it was decreed by the same arbitrators, that euerie each of my lord of Glocester, and Winchester, should take either other by the hand, in the presence of the king and all the parlement, in signe and token of good loue & accord ; the which was doone, and the parlement adiorned till after Easter.

26. But, when the great fier of this dissention, betweene these two noble personages, was thus by the arbitrators (to their knowledge and iudgement) vtterlie quenched out, and laid vnder boord, all other controuersies betweene other lords, (taking part with the one partie or the other,) were appeased, and brought to concord ; so that for ioy the king caused a solemne fest to be kept on Whitsundaie ; on which daie he created Richard Plantagenet, sonne and heire to the erle of Cambridge, (whome his father at Southampton had put to death, as before yee haue heard,) duke of Yorke ; not foreseeing that this preferment should be his destruction, nor that his seed should of his generation be the extreame end and finall conclusion.

27. This yeare [1421] at Windsore, on the daie of saint Nicholas [Dec. 6], in December, the queene was deliuered of a sonne named Henrie ; whose godfathers were Iohn duke of Bedford,

nd Henrie bishop of Winchester, and Iaquet, or (as the Frenchmen called hir) Iaqueline, of Iauier, countesse of Holland, was his godmother. The king, being certified hereof, as he laie at iege before Meaux, gaue God thanks ; in that it had pleased his diuiue prouidence to send him sonne, which might succeed in his crowne and scepter. But, when he heard reported the place f his natiuitie, were it that he [had been] warned by some prophesie, or had some foreknowledge, r else iudged himselfe of his sonnes fortune, he said vnto the lord Fitz Hugh, his trustie chamberiine, these words : " My lord, I *Henrie, borne at Monmouth*, shall small time reigne, & much get ; and *Henrie, borne at Windsore*, shall long reigne, and *all loose :* but, as God will, so be it."

28. Sir Francis the Arragonois, hearing of that chance [the loss of Evreux], apparelled six trong fellowes, like men of the countrie, with sacks and baskets, as cariers of corne and vittels ; nd sent them to the castell of Cornill, in the which diuerse Englishmen were kept as prisoners ; nd he, with an ambush of Englishmen, laie in a vallie nigh to the fortesse.

The six counterfet husbandmen entered the castell vnsuspected, and streight came to the hamber of the capteine, & laieng hands on him, gaue knowledge to them that laie in ambush to ome to their aid. The which suddenlie made foorth, and entered the castell, slue and tooke all he Frenchmen, and set the Englishmen at libertie : . . .

29. Philip, duke of Burgognie, partlie mooued in conscience to make amends to Charles duke f Orleance (as yet prisoner in England) for the death of duke Lewes his father, whome duke Iohn, ather to this duke Philip, cruellie murthered in the citie of Paris ; and partlie intending the duancement of his neece, the ladie Marie, daughter to Adolfe duke of Cleue, (by the which liance, he trusted, that all old rancor should ceasse,) contriued waies to haue the said duke of rleance set at libertie, vpon promise by him made to take the said ladie Marie vnto wife. This uke had beene prisoner in England euer since the battell was fought at Agincourt, vpon the daie f Crispine and Crispinian, in the yeare 1415, and was set now at libertie in the moneth of Iouember, in the yeare 1440 ; paieng for his ransome foure hundred thousand crownes, though ther saie but three hundred thousand.

The cause whie he was deteined so long in captiuitie, was to pleasure thereby the duke of Burgognie : for, so long as the duke of Burgognie continued faithfull to the king of England, it vas not thought necessarie to suffer the duke of Orleance to be ransomed, least vpon his deliuerance e would not ceasse to seeke meanes to be reuenged vpon the duke of Burgognie, for the old rudge and displeasure betwixt their two families ; and therefore such ransome was demanded or him as he was neuer able to pay. But, after the duke of Burgognie had broken his promise, nd was turned to the French part, the councell of the said king of England deuised how to deliuer he duke of Orleance, that thereby they might displeasure the duke of Burgognie. Which thing he duke of Burgognie perceiuing, doubted what might follow if he were deliuered without his nowledge, and therefore to his great cost practised his deliuerance, paid his ransome, and ioined vith him amitie and aliance by mariage of his neece.

30. About this season, Iohn, the valiant lord Talbot, for his approued prowesse and wisdome, s well in England as in France, both in peace & warre so well tried, was created earle of Shrewesurie ; and with a companie of three thousand men sent againe into Normandie, for the better iefense of the same.

31. There were in his companie of his owne nation, his vncle the cardinall of Winchester, the cardinall and archbishop of Yorke, the dukes of Bedford, Yorke, and Norffolke, the earles of Warwike, Salisburie, Oxenford, Huntington, Ormond, Mortaigne, and Suffolke.

He was crowned king of France, in our ladie church of Paris, by the cardinall of Winchester : he bishop of Paris not being contented that the cardinall should doo such an high ceremonie in iis church and iurisdiction.

32. The duke of Burgognie, to set a veile before the king of Englands eies, sent Thoison Dore iis cheefe herald to king Henrie with letters ; excusing the matter by way of information, that he vas constreined to enter in this league with K. Charles, by the dailie outcries, *complaints*, and amentations of his people, alledging against him that he was the onelie cause of the long coninuance of the wars, to the vtter impouerishing of his owne people, and the whole nation of France. . . .

. . . The superscription of this letter was thus : " *To the* high and mightie prince, Henrie, ' by the grace of God, *king* of England, his welbeloued cousine." Neither naming him king of France, nor his souereigne lord, according as (euer before that time) he was accustomed to doo. This letter was much maruelled at of the councell, after they had throughlie considered all the contents thereof, & they could not but be much disquieted ; so far foorth that diuerse of them stomaked so muche the vntruth of the duke, that they could not temper their passions, but openlie called him traitor,

33. In the beginning of this twentith yeare, Richard duke of Yorke, regent of France, and gouernour of Normandie, determined to inuade the territorities of his enimies both by sundrie armies, and in seuerall places, and therevpon without delaie of time he sent the lord of Willoughbie with a great crue of soldiers to destroie the countrie of Amiens; and Iohn lord Talbot was appointed to besiege the towne of Diepe; and the regent himselfe, accompanied with Edmund duke of Summerset, set forward into the duchie of Aniou. . . .

The dukes of Yorke and Summerset . . . entered into Aniou and Maine, and there destroied townes, and spoiled the people, and with great preies and prisoners repaired againe into Normandie, . . .

34. [The French] left the siege, and retired in good order into the place which they had trenched, diched, and fortified with ordinance. The earle, aduertised how the siege was remoued, hasted forward towards his enimies, doubting most least they would haue beene quite fled and gone before his comming. But they, fearing the displeasure of the French king (who was not far off) if they should haue fled, abode the earles comming, and so receiued him: who though he first with manfull courage, and sore fighting wan the entrie of their camps, yet at length they compassed him about, and shooting him through the thigh with an handgun, slue his horsse, and finallie killed him lieng on the ground; whome they durst neuer looke in the face, while he stood on his feet.

35. It was said, that after he perceiued there was no remedie, but present losse of the battell, he counselled his sonne, the lord Lisle, to saue himselfe by flight, sith the same could not redound to anie great reproch in him, this being the first iournie in which he had beene present. Manie words he vsed to persuade him to haue saued his life; but nature so wrought in the son, that neither desire of life, nor feare of death, could either cause him to shrinke, or conueie himselfe out of the danger, and so there manfullie ended his life with his said father.

36. Motion was made among Sigismund the emperour and other christen kings . . . that, sith such horror of bloudshed betweene the two nations continuallie so lamentablie raged in France, some mediation might be made for accord: . . .

37. [The cardinal of S. Crosse . . .] declared to the three parties the innumerable mischeefes, that had followed to the whole state of the chiristian common-wealth by their continuall dissention and dailie discord; exhorting them, for the honour of God, & for the loue which they ought to beare towards the aduancement of his faith and true religion, to conforme themselues to reason, and to laie aside all rancor, malice, and displeasure; so that, in concluding *a godlie peace*, they might receiue profit and quietnesse heere in this world, and of God an euerlasting reward in heauen.

38. In this yeare died in Guien the countesse of Comings, to whome the French king and also the earle of Arminacke pretended to be heire, in so much that the earle entred into all the lands of the said ladie. And bicause he knew the French king would not take the matter well, to haue a Rouland for an Oliuer he sent solemne ambassadours to the king of England, offering him his daughter in mariage, with promise to be bound (beside great summes of monie, which he would giue with hir) to deliuer into the king of Englands hands all such castels and townes, as he or his ancestors deteined from him within anie part of the duchie of Aquitaine, either by conquest of his progenitors, or by gift and deliuerie of anie French king; and further to aid the same king with monie for the recouerie of other cities, within the same duchie, from the French king; or from anie other person that against king Henrie vniustlie kept, and wrongfullie withheld them.

This offer seemed so profitable and also honorable to king Henrie and the realme, that the ambassadours were well heard, honourablie receiued, and with rewards sent home into their countrie. After whome were sent, for the conclusion of the marriage, into Guien, sir Edward Hull, sir Robert Ros, and Iohn Grafton, deane of S. Seuerines; the which (as all the chronographers agree) both concluded the mariage, and by proxie affied the yoong ladie.

39. Kynge Henry the fifth, knowynge the haute corage, and the ambicious mynde of the man [Winchester], prohibited hym on hys allegeaunce once either to sue for or to take; meanynge that Cardinalles Hattes shoulde not presume to bee *egall with* Princes.

40. Habit, hat, and dignitie of a cardinall, with all ceremonies to it apperteining: which promotion, the late K. (right deeplie persing into the vnrestrainable ambitious mind of the man, that euen from his youth was euer [wont] to checke at the highest; and [having] also right well ascerteined with what intollerable pride his head should soone be swoollen vnder such a hat) did therefore all his life long keepe this prelat backe from that presumptuous estate. But now, the king being yoong and the regent his freend, he obteined his purpose, to his great profit, and the impouerishing of the spiritualtie of this realme. For by a bull legatine, which he purchased from Rome, he gathered so much treasure, that no man in maner had monie but he: so that he was called the rich cardinall of Winchester.

41 Thus was the citie of Paris brought into possession of Charles the French king, through the vntrue demeanour of the citizens, who, contrarie to their oths, and promised allegiance, like false and inconstant people, so reuolted from the English.

42. England was vnquieted, . . . and France by spoile, slaughter, and burning sore defaced ; (a mischeefe in all places much lamented ;) therefore, to agree the two puissant kings, all the princes of christendome trauelled so effectuouslie by their oratours and ambassadors, that a diet was appointed to be kept at the citie of Tours in Touraine ; where for the king of England appeared William de la Poole earle of Suffolke, . . .

43. In treating of this truce, the earle of Suffolke, aduenturing somewhat vpon his commission, without the assent of his associats, imagined that the next waie to come to a perfect peace was to contriue a mariage betweene the French kings kinsewoman, the ladie Margaret, daughter to Reiner duke of Aniou, and his souereigne lord king Henrie.

THE CONFESSION OF JOAN.

44. For hir pranks so vncouth and suspicious, the lord regent, by Peter Chauchon bishop of Beauuois, (in whose diocesse she was taken,) caused hir life and beleefe, after order of law, to be inquired vpon and examined. Wherein found though a virgin, yet first, shamefullie reiecting hir sex abominablie in acts and apparell, to haue counterfeit mankind, and then, all damnablie faithlesse, to be a pernicious instrument to hostilitie and bloudshed in diuelish witchcraft and sorcerie, sentence accordinglie was pronounced against hir. Howbeit, vpon humble confession of hir iniquities with a counterfeit contrition pretending a carefull sorow for the same, execution spared and all mollified into this, that from hencefoorth she should cast off hir vnnaturall wearing of mans abilliments, and keepe hir to garments of hir owne kind, abiure hir pernicious practises of sorcerie and witcherie, and haue life and leasure in perpetuall prison to bewaile hir misdeeds. Which to performe (according to the maner of abiuration) a solemne oth verie gladlie she tooke.

But herein (God helps vs !) she fullie afore possest of the feend, not able to hold her in anie towardnesse of grace, falling streight waie into hir former abominations, (and yet seeking to eetch out life as long as she might,) stake not (though the shift were shamefull) to confesse hir selfe a strumpet, and (vnmaried as she was) to be with child. For triall, the lord regents lenitie gaue hir nine moneths staie, at the end wherof she (found herein as false as wicked in the rest, an eight daies after, vpon a further definitiue sentence declared against hir to be relapse and a renouncer of hir oth and repentance) was therevpon deliuered ouer to secular power, and so executed by consumption of fire in the old market place at Rone, in the selfe same steed where now saint Michaels church stands : hir ashes afterward without the towne wals shaken into the wind. Now recounting altogither, hir pastorall bringing vp, rude, without any vertuous instruction, hir campestrall conuersation with wicked spirits, whome, in hir first salutation to Charles the Dolphin, she vttered to be our Ladie, saint Katharine, and saint Anne, that in this behalfe came and gaue hir commandements from God hir maker, as she kept hir fathers lambs in the fields . . .

These matters may verie rightfullie denounce vnto all the world hir execrable abhominations, and well iustifie the iudgement she had, and the execution she was put to for the same. A thing yet (God wot) verie smallie shadowed and lesse holpen by the verie trauell of the Dolphin, whose dignitie abroad [was] foulie spotted in this point, that, contrarie to the holie degree of a right christen prince (as he called himselfe), for maintenance of his quarels in warre would not reuerence to prophane his sacred estate, as dealing in diuelish practises with misbeleeuers and witches.

45. The Englishmen would that king Charles should haue nothing but what it pleased the king of England, and that not as dutie, but as a benefit by him of his meere liberalitie giuen and distributed. The Frenchmen, on the other part, would that K. Charles should haue the kingdome franklie and freelie, and that the king of England should leaue the name, armes, and title of the king of France, and to be content with the dukedomes of Aquitaine and Normandie, and to forsake Paris, and all the townes which they possessed in France, betweene the riuers of Some and Loire ; being no parcell of the duchie of Normandie. To be breefe, the demands of all parts were betweene them so farre out of square, as hope of concord there was none at all.

46. The earle of Suffolke with his companie returned into England, where he forgat not to declare what an honourable truce he had taken, out of the which there was a great hope that a finall peace might grow the sooner for that honorable mariage, which he had concluded ; omitting nothing that might extoll and set foorth the personage of the ladie, or the nobilitie of hir kinred.

But although this mariage pleased the king and diuerse of his councell, yet Humfrie duke of Glocester protector of the realme was much against it ; alledging that it should be both contrarie to the lawes of God, and dishonorable to the prince, if he should breake that promise and contract of mariage, made by ambassadours sufficientlie thereto instructed, with the daughter of the earle of Arminacke, vpon conditions both to him and his realme, as much profitable as honorable. But the dukes words could not be heard, for the earles doings were onelie liked and allowed.

47. This Reiner duke of Aniou named himselfe king of Sicill, Naples, and Ierusalem ; hauing onlie the name and stile of those realmes, without anie penie, profit, or foot of possession.

48. But on the other parte, the Quene his [Henry's] wyfe was a woman of a great witte, and yet of no greater wytte then of haute stomacke desirous of glory and couetous of honor ; and of reason, pollicye, counsaill, and other giftes and talentes of nature belongyng to a man, full and flowyng : of witte and wilinesse she was not vnexperte ; but yet she had one poynt of a very woman, for, often tyme, when she was vehement & fully bente in a matter, she was sodainly, lyke a wethercocke, mutable and turnyng.

49. This ladie excelled all other, as well in beautie and fauour, as in wit and policie ; and was of stomach and courage more like to a man than a woman.

APPENDIX II.

THE DEATH OF HENRY V (1422).

(Monstrelet's *Chronicles*, translated by Johnes.)[1]

KING HENRY, finding himself mortally ill, called to him his brother the Duke of Bedford, his uncle of Exeter, the earl of Warwick, sir Louis de Robesart and others, to the number of six or eight of those in whom he had the greatest confidence, and said that he saw with grief it was the pleasure of his Creator that he should quit this world. He then addressed the Duke of Bedford : 'John, my good brother, I beseech you, on the loyalty and love you have ever expressed for me, that you show the same loyalty and affection to my son Henry, your nephew, and that, so long as you shall live, you do not suffer him to conclude any treaty with our adversary Charles, and that on no account whatever the duchy of Normandy be wholly restored to him. Should our good brother of Burgundy be desirous of the regency of the Kingdom of France, I would advise that you let him have it ; but should he refuse, then take it yourself. My good uncle of Exeter, I nominate you sole regent of the Kingdom of England, for that you well know how to govern it ; and I entreat that you do not, on any pretence whatever, return to France ; and I likewise nominate you as guardian to my son,—and I insist, on your love to me, that you do very often personally visit and see him. My dear cousin of Warwick, I will that you be his governor, and that you teach him all things becoming his rank, for I cannot provide a fitter person for the purpose. I entreat you all as earnestly as I can, that you avoid all quarrels and dissensions with our fair brother of Burgundy ; and this I particularly recommend to the consideration of my fair brother Humphrey,—for should any coolness subsist between you, which God forbid, the affairs of this realm, which are now in a very promising state, would soon be ruined . . . " The King then sent for his physicians, and earnestly demanded of them how long they thought he had to live. They delayed answering the question directly ; but, not to discourage hope, they said that it depended solely on the will of God whether he would be restored to health. He was dissatisfied with this answer, and repeated his request, begging of them to tell the truth. Upon this they consulted together, and one of them, as spokesman, falling on his knees, said, 'Sire, you must think on your soul ; for, unless it be the will of God to decree otherwise, it is impossible that you should live more than two hours.' The King, hearing this, sent for his confessor, some of his household and his chaplains, whom he ordered to chant the seven penitential psalms. When they came to *Benigne fac Domine* where mention is made *Muri Hierusalem*,[2] he stopped them, and said aloud, that he had fully intended, after he had wholly subdued the realm of France to his obedience, and restored it to peace, to have gone to conquer the Kingdom of Jerusalem, if it had pleased his Creator to have granted him a longer life. Having said this, he allowed the priests to proceed, and shortly after, according to the prediction of his physicians, gave up the ghost.

1. Jones' *York and Lancaster*, 1399–1485.

2. "Do good in thy good pleasure unto Zion : build thou the walls of Jerusalem" (*Psalm* li. 18). The king's words were : "Good Lord, thou knewest that my mind was to re-edify the walls of Hierusalem." Leland's *Collectanea*.

The Second Part of King Henry the Sixth

Written. 1591–1592.

Published. 1594. Considered to be a recast of an old Play, known as "The | First Part of the Con- | tention betwixt the two famous houses of Yorke | and Lancaster, with the death of the good | Duke Humphrey: | And the banishment and death of the Duke of | *Suffolke*, and the Tragicall end of the proud Cardinall | of *Winchester*, with the notable Rebellion | of *Iacke Cade:* | *And the Duke of Yorkes first claime vnto the* | *Crowne*. LONDON Printed by Thomas Creed, for Thomas Millington, | and are to be sold at his shop vnder Saint Peters | Church in Cornwall. 1594." This was entered in the Registers of the Stationers' Company under date 12 March, 1593–4. In 1600 a reprint appeared under the same title, printed by Valentine Simmes for Thomas Millington. In 1619 a third edition—and including also *The True Tragedy of Richard, Duke of York*—appeared with the following title: "The | Whole Contention | betweene the two Famous—Houses, LANCASTER and YORKE.—*With the Tragicall ends of the good Duke*—Humfrey, Richard Duke of Yorke, | *and King Henrie the* | *Sixt*. Diuided into two Parts; And newly corrected and | enlarged. Written by *William Shake* | speare, Gent.—Printed at LONDON, for T.P. | " The revised version known as the *Second Part of King Henry the Sixth* was first published in the first Folio of 1623.

In the *Transactions of the New Shakspere Society*, 1875–76, Part II, will be found a Paper on the authorship of the Play by Miss Jane Lee.

Source of the Plot. The *Chronicles* of Raphael Holinshed and Edward Hall.[1]

The connection between the *Second and Third Parts of King Henry the Sixth* is such, that they should—as in the case of *King Henry the Fourth*—be read as one Play. The principal theme in the First Part is the events in France. The subject of the Second and Third Parts is the contention of the Houses of York and Lancaster; the decline of England's power under Henry VI., and the rise of the Duke of York.

This, and the Second Part, which is a direct continuation of Part I., cover a period of about ten years, from the arrival of Queen Margaret in England in 1445 to the first battle of St. Albans, 1455.

Outline of the Play. The First Act opens in the Palace in London. It opens with Suffolk's introduction of Queen Margaret to the King and his court. Suffolk who has been sent to France to marry her as the king's proxy, humbly delivers up on bended knee to Henry "The fairest queen that ever king received." Bidding Suffolk rise, Henry welcomes Margaret: "Welcome, Queen Margaret: I can express no kinder sign of love Than this kind kiss," and expresses the hope that as her "beauteous face" has brought to his "soul" a "world of earthly blessings" so "love unite our thoughts." Margaret reciprocates his greetings, depicting Henry as her "alderliefest sovereign." Henry is enraptured at Margaret's beauty and her gracious speech:

1. *See* Appendix I.

Her sight did ravish, but her grace in speech,
Her words y-clad with wisdom's majesty,
Makes me from wondering fall to weeping joys ;

after which he bids the nobles do her homage :

Lords, with one cheerful voice welcome my love.

" Long live Queen Margaret, England's happiness ! " is the shout of acclamation from all the peers present, to which the queen replies " We thank you all."

Suffolk then delivers to Gloucester the Articles of Contracted Peace between Henry and the French king Charles. In a fluent voice Gloucester reads the marriage contract, but when he comes to the clause surrendering the " duchy of Anjou and the county of Maine " to Reignier—father of Margaret—he, under the pretext that " Some sudden qualm hath struck me at the heart And dimmed mine eyes," lets the paper fall, and Beaufort, at the king's request, takes the scroll and reads on.

Pleased with the bargain, Henry creates Suffolk a duke :

Lord marquess, kneel down :
We here create thee the first Duke of Suffolk,
And girt thee with the sword,

discharges the Duke of York from his regency " I' the parts of France, till term of eighteen months Be full expired," and after thanking the nobles for their attendance to welcome Margaret, leaves the room with the queen and Suffolk, after having given orders for preparations to be made for the queen's coronation.

After they have gone, Gloucester vehemently protests against any of the English possessions in France being surrendered, and asks the other peers present whether the victories of Henry the Fifth, the vigilance of Bedford, and their own deeds of valour and honour shall die, declaring that the marriage is a fatal one to England :

O peers of England ! shameful is this league,
Fatal this marriage, cancelling your fame,
Blotting your names from books of memory,
Razing the characters of your renown,
Defacing monuments of conquered France,
Undoing all, as all had never been.

Beaufort—Suffolk's chief supporter—rebukes Gloucester for his bold speech, for :

France, 'tis ours ; and we will keep it still,

but Gloucester maintains that it is impossible to hold France, now that

Suffolk, the new-made duke that rules the roast,
Hath given the duchy of Anjou and Maine
Unto the poor King Reignier, whose large style
Agrees not with the leanness of his purse.

Salisbury declares that Anjou and Maine are the keys to Normandy, and turning to Warwick asks him why he weeps. Warwick replies that he weeps for grief that these two provinces which he himself did win should be delivered up so peacefully.

Gloucester considers it a joke for Suffolk to demand such a large sum for costs and transporting Margaret, who he declares should have stayed in France :

A proper jest, and never heard before,
That Suffolk should demand a whole fifteenth
For costs and charges in transporting her !
She should have stayed in France, and starved in France,
Before—

" It was the pleasure of my lord the king," interjects Beaufort, and chides Gloucester for being too outspoken, but Gloucester retorts by telling the Cardinal that it is his—Gloucester's—presence that he dislikes, and fearing if he stays they would doubtless renew their " ancient bickerings " leaves the room with the remark :

> Lordings, farewell ; and say, when I am gone,
> I prophesied France will be lost ere long.

On Gloucester's departure, Beaufort remarks that Gloucester is no great friend to the king ; and on account of his being next heir to the crown he is courting the favour of the common people who call him " Humphrey, the good Duke of Gloucester," and " God preserve the good Duke Humphrey ! ", adding that for all this " flattering gloss, He will be found a dangerous protector." Buckingham however reminds them that as the king is old enough to assume the reins of government, he needs no protector, and invites Somerset to join with him, and with the aid of Suffolk, remove Gloucester from his protectorship. This is upheld by Beaufort who immediately leaves with the purpose of winning over Suffolk, for

> This weighty business will not brook delay.

Beaufort having gone, Somerset remarks that they must " watch the haughty cardinal " for his " insolence is more intolerable Than all the princes' in the land beside," for if Gloucester be displaced, Beaufort will be protector, but Buckingham replies that

> thou or I, Somerset, will be protector,
> Despite Duke Humphrey or the cardinal.

They too having taken their leave, Salisbury observes : " Pride went before, ambition follows him," and as Beaufort, Somerset and Buckingham are only labouring for their own preferment, it behoves the others to labour for the good of the realm, and declaring that he had always seen Gloucester " bear himself like a noble gentleman " and often, had seen the " haughty cardinal More like a soldier than a man o' the church, . . . Swear like a ruffian and demean himself Unlike the ruler of a commonweal," invites his son—the Earl of Warwick—and his brother—the Duke of York—to unite with him to " bridle and suppress The pride of Suffolk and the cardinal, With Somerset's and Buckingham's ambition." Warwick gladly accepts this proposition, and York mutters aside " And so says York, for he hath greatest cause." " Then let's make haste away, and look unto the main," is Salisbury's remark, and Warwick cries out :

> Unto the Main ! O father, Maine, is lost !
> That Maine which by main force Warwick did win,
> And would have kept so long as breath did last :
> Main chance, father, you meant ; but I meant Maine,
> Which I will win from France, or else be slain.

Left alone, York soliloquises over the lost provinces : " Anjou and Maine are given to the French : Paris is lost ; while the " state of Normandy Stands on a tickle point now they are gone." They have given away that which was not their own, but in the meanwhile he must abide his time, for the day will come when " York shall claim his own," for when Henry is absorbed in his " new bride and England's dear-bought queen," and Gloucester and the peers be " fallen at jars " he will

> raise aloft the milk-white rose,
> With whose sweet smell the air shall be perfumed,
> And in my standard bear the arms of York,
> To grapple with the house of Lancaster ;
> And, force perforce, I 'll make him yield the crown,
> Whose bookish rule hath pulled fair England down.

The second scene is enacted at the Duke of Gloucester's house, and shows the loyalty of the duke, and the duchess' ambition. It opens with the duchess enquiring why her husband "droops, like over-ripened corn" when he might assume "King Henry's diadem," and suggests that he "Put forth thy hand," and "reach at the glorious gold," in which she will assist him. Gloucester, who attributes his sadness to a dream, bids her banish from her mind those ambitious thoughts. She then asks him to tell her the nature of his dream and she will "requite it With sweet rehearsal of my morning's dream." He then relates how he dreamed that his "staff" his "office-badge in court Was broke in twain, methought by a cardinal," and on the pieces of the broken wand Were placed the heads of the Dukes of Somerset and Suffolk. The duchess who exclaims "Tut!" considers that his dream is "nothing but an argument," for he that is so presumptuous as to attempt to break a "stick of Gloucester's grove," would certainly "lose his head," and goes on to relate that she dreamed she sat in "seat of majesty" in the Cathedral Church of Westminster, where Henry and Margaret kneeled to her, and set the diadem upon her head. Gloucester is angry with her, and calls her "Presumptuous dame! ill-nurtured Eleanor!" telling her she ought to be satisfied, as she is the "second woman in the realm," adding that if she is not more cautious she will "tumble down thy husband and thyself From top of honour to disgrace's feet," and implores her to go away and let him hear no more. But the duchess asks him not to be so choleric with her, for she was "telling but her dream," and in future she will keep her dreams to herself, but Gloucester requests her not to be angry, for he is pleased again. At this point a messenger enters and invites Gloucester to Saint Albans where the king and queen intend to hawk. Gloucester invites his wife to accompany him, but the duchess promises to "follow presently," and Gloucester and the messenger depart forthwith. After they have gone, she mutters:

> Follow I must; I cannot go before,
> While Gloucester bears this base and humble mind,

adding, that if she were a "man, a duke, and next of blood," she would

> remove these tedious stumbling-blocks
> And smooth my way upon their headless necks;
> And, being a woman, I will not be slack
> To play my part in Fortune's pageant.
> Where are you there? Sir John! nay, fear not, man,
> We are alone; here 's none but thee and I.

Her chaplain, John Hume, enters and addresses her as "your royal majesty!" She expresses surprise, telling him "I am but grace," but Hume, who has been suborned by Suffolk and the cardinal to undermine the duchess, replies that it has been promised her by an enchantress, and offers to call up the spirit from the nether-world. This offers the duchess accepts, and telling him to "make merry, take this reward," departs forthwith for Saint Albans. After she has gone Hume mutters to himself that he will "make merry with her gold," for knowing the duchess' aspirations he has been hired by Suffolk and Beaufort to "buz these conjurations in her brain," and although "A crafty knave does need no broker," yet he himself is "Suffolk's and the cardinal's broker," whom he describes as a "pair of crafty knaves," adding that his "knavery" will be the duchess' ruin, and her "attainture will be Humphrey's fall."

We return to the Palace in the next scene, where we find petitioners, of whom Peter the Armourer's man is one, awaiting the arrival of the Lord Protector. Suffolk, accompanied by the Queen, enters, and Peter observes: "Here a' comes, methinks,

and the queen with him. I 'll be the first, sure," to which the second petitioner replies: " Come back, fool! this is the Duke of Suffolk, and not my lord protector." Suffolk's attention being arrested he questions the petitioner: " How now, fellow! would'st any thing with me? " to which the petitioner replies: " I pray, my lord, pardon me: I took ye for my lord protector." " To my Lord Protector! " "Are your supplications to his lordship? Let me see them " demands the queen. The petitions contain a series of accusations. One accuses the Lord Cardinal's man, and another the Duke of Suffolk with dishonesty, while a third is an accusation against Thomas Horner for saying that York is the rightful heir to the crown. Servants enter, and Suffolk orders the last petitioner to be detained, and a pursuivant to be sent to arrest Horner, to be brought before the king, after which the queen, in order to suppress the petition against her favourite, Suffolk, tears it to pieces.

Turning to Suffolk, this proud and headstrong woman asks whether it is the " fashion in the court of England? " the " government of Britain's isle " the " royalty of Albion's king " for her husband " still to be a pupil under the surly Gloucester's governance," declaring that she would never have married him had she not thought he resembled Suffolk " In courage, courtship, and proportion," poignantly adding that Henry's time is spent in numbering Ave-Maries on his beads, and praying to brazen images of canonised saints, and wishes the " college of the cardinals Would choose him pope, and carry him to Rome, And set the triple crown upon his head." She further complains that Beaufort, Somerset, Buckingham and York are more powerful in the realm than the king. Suffolk counsels patience, but Margaret, whose pride raised enemies against her, angrily confesses that all the peers together do not madden her as does that " proud dame, the lord protector's wife " sweeping through the court with a troop of ladies, flaunting her wealth. Strangers in court take her for the queen, bearing on her back the revenues of a duke, whilst in her heart she scorns at the poverty of the queen, boasting to her minions that the train of her worst wearing gown is worth more than all her (the queen's) father's estates, and calling her a "Contemptuous base-born callat," vows to be avenged on the duchess. Suffolk advises Margaret to leave the matter to him, for he has already laid a trap for the duchess:

> Madam, myself have limed a bush for her,
> And placed a quire of such enticing birds
> That she will light to listen to the lays,
> And never mount to trouble you again,

adding, that Gloucester would soon be disgraced, and her enemies weeded out one by one, and she herself " shall steer the happy helm."

A sennet is sounded, and the king, with nobles, enters. Henry remarks that he cares not whether Somerset or York holds the reins of office, for " all 's one to me." York announces that if he did misdemean himself in France he should be " denayed the regentship," while Somerset is willing to yield to York if the latter is more worthy. Warwick considers York the worthier of the two and is told by Beaufort to " let thy betters speak." High words ensue, and when Salisbury asks why " Somerset should be preferred to York " the Queen, remarks " Because the king, forsooth, will have it so." " Madam," replies Gloucester, the " king is old enough himself To give his censure: these are no women's matters " whereupon the queen retorts " If he be old enough, what needs your grace To be protector of his excellence? " Gloucester reminds the queen that he is the protector of the realm, which office he will resign at Henry's pleasure, and Suffolk tells him to " Resign, and leave thine insolence," for since " thou wert King, as who is king but thou? The commonwealth hath daily run to wrack." Beaufort accuses Gloucester of " racking " the Commons, while the " clergy's bags Are lank and lean with thy extortions "; Somerset of squandering

public money on sumptuous buildings and his wife's attire; and Buckingham of cruelty to offenders against the law, but when the queen charges him with surrendering the English possessions in France:

> Thy sale of offices and towns in France,
> If they were known, as the suspect is great,
> Would make thee quickly hop without thy head

Gloucester leaves the room.

After he has gone the queen drops her fan:

> Give me my fan: what, minion! can ye not?

and as the Duchess of Gloucester does not proceed forthwith to pick it up, the queen gives the duchess a box on the ear, with the remark: "I cry you mercy, madam; was it you?", and the Duchess indignantly answers:

> Was 't I! yea, I it was, proud Frenchwoman:
> Could I come near your beauty with my nails
> I 'd set my ten commandments in your face.

"Sweet aunt, be quiet; 'twas against her will," interposes Henry, but the Duchess replies

> Against her will! Good king, look to 't in time;
> She 'll hamper thee and dandle thee like a baby:
> Though in this place most master wear no breeches,
> She shall not strike Dame Eleanor unrevenged,

and forthwith takes her departure. She is hurriedly followed by Buckingham, who, whispering to Beaufort, says:

> She 's tickled now; her fume needs no spurs,
> She 'll gallop far enough to her destruction.

Immediately after, Gloucester, who has cooled his choler by walking in the quadrangle of the castle, re-enters, and informs the king that "York is meetest man To be your regent in the realm of France." Suffolk considers "York is most unmeet of any man" for the office, and York rejoins that the reason is that he refuses to "flatter Suffolk in his pride" adding, that if he were appointed, Somerset would do his utmost to detain him at home "Till France be won into the Dauphin's hands, for

> Last time I danced attendance on his will
> Till Paris was besieged, famished, and lost.

This is borne out by Warwick for a "fouler fact Did never traitor in the land commit," to which Suffolk retorts: "Peace, headstrong Warwick!", and Warwick curtly rejoins: "Image of pride, why should I hold my peace?"

At this point Horner and his man Peter are brought in, and Suffolk suggests that as they accuse York of treason, York should leave the room, but when York asks who doth accuse him of treason, the king, turning to Suffolk, requests to know the reason why the two prisoners are brought before him. Suffolk replies that Peter accuses his master of high treason:

> His words were these: that Richard Duke of York
> Was rightful heir unto the English crown,
> And that your majesty was an usurper.

Being questioned by Henry, Peter swears by his "ten bones" that his master did "speak them," while Horner denies it, saying that his accuser is his prentice, who had vowed upon his knees to be even with him for correcting him for a fault.

Being perplexed the king asks Gloucester's advice, and Gloucester recommends Henry to appoint Somerset regent of France, and to fix a day for the two men to fight a duel in order to establish which has spoken the truth. Somerset humbly thanks his majesty, Horner willingly accepts the combat, and Peter declares he cannot fight, and asks for mercy, but Henry orders the two men away to prison, and appoints "the last of the next month," as the day for the duel to be fought.

The Duke of Gloucester's Garden supplies the next scene. Margery Jourdain, a witch; Hume and Southwell, two priests, and a cunning necromancer named Bolingbroke enter, in order to carry out their incantations, and raise a spirit to utter certain prophecies. Hume, who is an hireling of Suffolk's, tells Bolingbroke to fear not the duchess' courage. Bolingbroke assures him that all is ready, adding that he has heard that she is a woman of invincible spirit, and suggests that Hume keep the duchess company "aloft while we be busy below." Hume having gone, Bolingbroke commands Jourdain to throw herself upon the ground and grovel. Immediately the duchess, accompanied by Hume, appears "aloft," and after welcoming them, bids them to get along with their business, to which Bolingbroke replies:

> Patience, good lady; wizards know their times:
> Deep night, dark night, the silent of the night,
> The time of night when Troy was set on fire;
> The time when screech-owls cry, and ban-dogs howl,
> And spirits walk, and ghosts break up their graves,
> That time best fits the work we have in hand.
> Madam, sit you, and fear not: whom we raise
> We will make fast within a hallowed verge,

after which he makes a circle, and amid thunder and lightning a spirit slowly rises. Addressing the spirit, the witch says:

> By the eternal God, whose name and power
> Thou tremblest at, answer that I shall ask;
> For till thou speak thou shalt not pass from hence,

to which the spirit replies: "Ask what thou wilt. That I had said and done!"

The spirit is then asked three questions, which, as it reads aloud, are written down by Southwell. The first is:

> "First, of the king: what shall of him become?"

to which the answer is given:

> The duke yet lives that Henry shall depose;
> But him outlive, and die a violent death.

The second question is:

> "What fates await the Duke of Suffolk?"

and the answer comes:

> By water shall he die and take his end.

and to the third question:

> "What shall befall the Duke of Somerset?"

the spirit rejoins:

> Let him shun castles:
> Safer shall he be upon the sandy plains
> Than where castles mounted stand.

As it refuses to speak more: "Have done, for more I hardly can endure" Bolingbroke commands the spirit to "Descend to darkness and the burning lake: False fiend, avoid!" and amid thunder and lightning the apparition disappears.

At this point York and Buckingham, with a guard, rush into the garden and York gives orders to " Lay hands upon these traitors and their trash," for the practising of sorcery was treasonable. Glancing towards the balcony, and seeing the duchess, York says :

> What ! madam, are you there ? the king and commonweal
> Are deeply indebted for this piece of pains :
> My lord protector will, I doubt it not,
> See you well guerdoned for these good deserts,

and the duchess who treats the threat with contempt because her husband is Protector, replies :

> Not half so bad as thine to England's king,
> Injurious duke, that threatest where 's no cause,

and Buckingham asks : " What call you this ? " after which he orders all of them to be arrested :

> Away with them ! let them be clapped up close,
> And kept asunder. You, madam, shall with us :
> Stafford, take her to thee.
> [*Exeunt above Duchess and Hume, guarded.*
> We 'll see your trinkets here all forthcoming.
> All, away !
> [*Exeunt guard, with Southwell, Bolingbroke, etc.*

Turning to Buckingham, York says : " Lord Buckingham, methinks you watched her well : A pretty plot, well chosen to build upon ! " They then seize the papers containing the spirit's answers, which are despatched to the king who is hunting at Saint Albans with the Duke of Gloucester, to whom the news will be a "sorry breakfast," after which York sends a servant to

> Invite my Lords of Salisbury and Warwick
> To sup with me to-morrow night. Away !

The Second Act opens at Saint Alban's, and shows the king, the queen and the court, with Falconers halloing : They comment upon the sport, the queen observing that she had not seen " better sport these seven years' day ", while the king comments on Gloucester's falcon which flew above the rest. To this Suffolk remarks that Gloucester's hawks, like their master, love to soar high, and Gloucester tells him that it is only a base mind that can mount no higher than a bird can soar. " I thought as much ; he 'd be above the clouds " ejaculates Beaufort, and Gloucester asks him whether it is not good he could fly to heaven ? to which Beaufort retorts that Gloucester's eyes and thoughts are on the crown, and calls him a " Pernicious protector " and a " dangerous peer." The queen joins in the quarrel, and the king implores them to be at peace, telling Margaret to " whet not on these furious peers ; For blessed are the peacemakers on earth." Gloucester and Beaufort agree to fight a duel to settle the quarrel, and the king once again implores them to be at peace :

> The winds grow high ; so do your stomachs, lords,
> How irksome is this music to my heart !
> When such strings jar, what hope of harmony ?
> I pray, my lords, let me compound this strife.

At this point, a man enters, crying " A miracle ! " and being asked by Gloucester " what miracle dost thou proclaim ? " replies that a blind man, " within this half hour hath received his sight at Saint Alban's shrine," and the king exclaims " God be praised." The Mayor of Saint Alban's now enters, followed by a number of townsmen, who carry on a chair the man on whom the miracle is supposed to have been conferred. Commanded by the king to relate the " circumstance," so that " we for thee may glorify the Lord," the man answers that he was " born blind "

and this is confirmed by his wife, although Gloucester remarks that if she had been his mother instead of his wife "thou could'st have better told." Asked by the queen how he came to visit the holy shrine, he replies that he was called "A hundred times and oftener" in his sleep by Saint Alban: "Simpcox, come; Come, offer at my shrine, and I will help thee," to which his wife adds that she herself had "heard a voice to call him so." Being asked by Beaufort whether he is lame, the man answers in the affirmative, due to a "fall off of a tree" while gathering plums, to which Gloucester remarks that he must "love plums well" to venture to climb a tree when blind, and the man replies that his wife "desired some damsons, And made me climb with danger of my life." Gloucester describes him as a "subtle knave" and the "lyingest knave in Christendom," and asks "My masters of Saint Alban's, have you not beadles in your town, and things called whips?" The mayor having replied in the affirmative, an attendant is despatched to fetch a beadle. Having had a stool brought, Gloucester tells the man that if he wishes to save himself from being whipped he must leap over the stool and run away. Just as the man is asserting he cannot stand alone, the beadle enters, and Gloucester commands him to whip the man. At the first stroke of the whip, the man "leaps over the stool and runs away," followed by his confederates, who cry "A miracle!" and Gloucester, perceiving the imposition, orders both the man and his wife to be whipped through every market-town till they come to Berwick.

Buckingham now enters, and the king enquires what tidings he brings. Buckingham replies "Such as my heart doth tremble to unfold" for he has arrested a number of "naughty persons, lewdly bent,"—of whom Gloucester's wife is the head—for practising dangerously against the state and against the life of the king:

King. What tidings with our cousin Buckingham?
Buck. Such as my heart doth tremble to unfold.
A sort of naughty persons, lewdly bent,
Under the countenance and confederacy
Of Lady Eleanor, the protector's wife,
The ringleader and head of all this rout,
Have practised dangerously against your state,
Dealing with witches and with conjurers:
Whom we have apprehended in the fact;
Raising up wicked spirits from underground,
Demanding of King Henry's life and death,
And others of your highness' privy council,
So more at large your grace shall understand.

Beaufort is highly pleased at the news, and severely reproaches Gloucester, affirming that the news "hath turned your weapon's edge"; and Gloucester addressing Beaufort as "Ambitious churchman," requests him not to "afflict my heart": declaring that he has always loved his king above any one else, adding that if his wife had forgotten "Honour and virtue" he would "give her as a prey to law and shame, That hath dishonoured Gloucester's honest name."

The king then announces that he will "repose" at Saint Albans for the night, and "To-morrow toward London back again:

To look into this business thoroughly,
And call these foul offenders to their answers;
And poise the cause in justice' equal scales,
Whose beam stands sure, whose rightful cause prevails.

We are in the Duke of York's Garden in the next scene, where we find the duke in conversation with the Lords Salisbury and Warwick with regard to his "infallible" title to England's crown;

> Now, my good Lords of Salisbury and Warwick,
> Our simple supper ended, give me leave
> In this close walk to satisfy myself,
> In craving your opinion to my title,
> Which is infallible, to England's crown.

Being asked to explain, York proves his descent from the Duke of Clarence, third son of King Edward the Third, while the present king (Henry the Sixth) has descended from John of Gaunt, the fourth son of that monarch. This they cannot deny, Warwick remarking :

> What plain proceeding is more plain than this ?
> Henry doth claim the crown from John of Gaunt,
> The fourth son ; York claims it from the third.
> Till Lionel's issue fails, his should not reign ;

and invites Salisbury to kneel and salute York as their rightful monarch :

> Then, father Salisbury, kneel we together,
> And in this private plot be we the first
> That shall salute our rightful sovereign
> With honour of his birthright to the crown.

York thanks them for their loyalty, but reminds them that he is not their king " Till I be crowned " and

> my sword be stained
> With heart-blood of the house of Lancaster ;

In the meantime he counsels caution, and advises his adherents to do as he does in these " dangerous days " and " Wink at the Duke of Suffolk's insolence, At Beaufort's pride, at Somerset's ambition, At Buckingham and all the crew of them," until they have " snared " the Duke of Gloucester, the " shepherd of the flock," whose death they seek, and whose death, if " York can prophesy," will be to their own undoing.

Before taking leave of each other, Warwick predicts that he will some day make York a king :

> My heart assures me that the Earl of Warwick
> Shall one day make the Duke of York a king,

to which York promises to make Warwick the greatest subject in the realm :

> And, Nevil, this I do assure myself :
> Richard shall live to make the Earl of Warwick
> The greatest man in England but the king.

We next behold a Hall of Justice, where the Duchess of Gloucester, with Margery Jourdain the witch ; Southwell and Hume the two priests ; and Bolingbroke the cunning necromancer, who have been tried and found guilty of practising witchcraft are under guard. Commanding the Duchess to " stand forth " to " Receive the sentence of the law for sins Such as by God's book are adjudged to death," informs her that as she is " more nobly born " than the other prisoners, she has been sentenced to undergo " three days' of open penance " and subsequent banishment to the Isle of Man ; Southwell, Hume and Bolingbroke to be " strangled on the gallows," and Margery Jourdain the witch to be " burned to ashes " in Smithfield.

The duchess welcomes banishment, while the duke declares he " cannot justify whom the law condemns," and the duchess and other prisoners guarded are led away. Turning to the king, Gloucester asks leave to depart, since " Sorrow would solace and mine age would ease." Before he goes, Henry requests him to deliver up his staff of office, as he (Henry) intends in the future to be his own Protector :

> Stay, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester : ere thou go,
> Give up thy staff : Henry will to himself
> Protector be ; and God shall be my hope,
> My stay, my guide, and lantern to my feet.
> And go in peace, Humphrey, no less beloved
> Than when thou wert protector to thy king.

to which the queen observes that she sees no reason why a " king of years Should be to be protected like a child."

Handing the king his staff of office, Gloucester remarks :

> My staff ? here, noble Henry, is my staff :
> . . . . . .
> Farewell, good king ! when I am dead and gone,
> May honourable peace attend thy throne,

and forthwith departs. When he has gone both the queen and Suffolk express their delight at Eleanor's shame and Gloucester's abasement, after which York reminds the king that this is the day appointed for the duel between Horner the armourer and his man Peter, and the king give orders for the lists to be set in order.

Horner, accompanied by his neighbours, and Peter attended by Prentices, enter, and after they have drunk liberally of sack, charneco and double beer, the signal is given for the duel to commence. They fight, and Peter fatally wounds Horner, who, before expiring confesses treason :

> Hold, Peter, hold ! I confess, I confess treason.

Peter joyfully exclaims that " right has prevailed " :

> O God ! have I overcome mine enemies in this
> presence ? O Peter ! thou hast prevailed in right,

and the king orders that Horner's corpse be removed forthwith, and commands Peter to follow him to receive his reward :

> Go, take hence that traitor from our sight ;
> For by his death we do perceive his guilt :
> And God in justice hath revealed to us
> The truth and innocence of this poor fellow,
> Which he had thought to have murdered wrongfully.
> Come, fellow, follow us for thy reward.

A London Street supplies the concluding scene of this Act. It opens with Gloucester enquiring the time of the day, and being told it is ten o'clock, remarks :

> Ten is the hour that was appointed me
> To watch the coming of my punished duchess :

The duchess, barefoot, clad in a white sheet and carrying a burning taper, accompanied by Sir John Stanley, the Sheriff and officers, and followed by a jeering crowd, enters. The servant suggests rescuing their mistress from the sheriff, but Gloucester bids them to " stir not, for your lives." Seeing her husband, the duchess asks him whether he has come to see her " open shame," and drawing his attention to the " giddy multitude " who " point, And nod their heads, and throw their eyes on thee," reminds him that it is penance for him too. " Be patient, gentle Nell ; forget this grief," is Gloucester's reply, but his wife tells him that as he is a " prince and protector of this land," he should not have allowed her to suffer such humiliation, and counsels him to beware

> For Suffolk, he that can do all in all
> With her that hateth thee, and hates us all,
> And York, and impious Beaufort, that false priest,
> Have all limed bushes to betray thy wings ;
> And, fly thou how thou canst, they 'll tangle thee :
> But fear not thou, until thy foot be snared,
> Nor never seek prevention of thy foes.

but Gloucester tells her that she is mistaken, for

> I must offend before I be attainted ;
> And had I twenty times so many foes,
> And each of them had twenty times their power,
> All these could not procure me any scath,
> So long as I am loyal, true, and crimeless.

At this point, a Herald enters and summons Gloucester to attend Parliament at Bury St. Edmunds on the first of the next month, which he promises to do, although it has been called without his consent, adding : " This is close dealing." Turning to Sir John Stanley, Gloucester entreats him to treat his wife well, and expresses a hope that he (Gloucester) may live to reward him for his kindness :

> Entreat her not the worse in that I pray
> You use her well. The world may laugh again ;
> And I may live to do you kindness if
> You do it her : and so, Sir John, farewell.

The Duchess then asks her husband why he does not bid her farewell, and Gloucester exclaims " Witness my tears, I cannot stay to speak," and with his Servingmen departs forthwith to Bury St. Edmunds where his enemies were then disposing his downfall, Eleanor remarking : " All comfort go with thee ! "

The Duchess bids the Sheriff farewell, " Although thou hast been the conduct of my shame," and the Sheriff asks her to " pardon him," for " it is my office." Then turning to Stanley she requests him to " lead the way," for she " longs to see her prison."

The Third Act opens in the Abbey at Bury St. Edmunds, where a Parliament is being held. Henry muses at Gloucester's delay in arriving as it is not his custom to be the " hindmost man," while the Queen, Suffolk, Beaufort and Buckingham accuse Gloucester of evil charges against the realm. The queen accuses him of being insolent, proud, and peremptory, and being next heir to the throne, is plotting against Henry. Suffolk charges him with being " full of deep deceit " ; Beaufort with visiting small offences with severe punishments contrary to law ; and York that he had levied large sums of money to pay the army in France and had never sent it, in consequence of which mutiny had broken out ; while Buckingham describes these as " petty faults " compared with those that would reveal themselves later. The king considers it " worthy praise " for the lords " To mow down thorns that would annoy our foot," but deems Gloucester as innocent as the " sucking lamb " and " harmless dove." To this the queen rejoins that that makes him all the more dangerous, for " Seems he a dove ? his feathers are but borrowed, . . . Is he a lamb ? his skin is surely lent him," and charges Henry to " Take heed, my lord ; the welfare of us all Hangs on the cutting short that fraudful man."

Somerset now enters, and announces the loss of the English possessions in France, which the king describes as " Cold news, but God's will be done ! " while York, aside, mutters it is " Cold news for me," but he will " remedy this gear ere long, Or sell my title for a glorious grave."

Gloucester now enters, and apologising for his lateness in arriving, is immediately arrested by Suffolk on the charge of high treason, to which Gloucester rejoins that

he will not blush nor change his countenance for this arrest for " A heart unspotted is not easily daunted," and demands to know of what he is guilty. The charges being repeated, Gloucester strenuously denies his guilt, but is cut short by Suffolk who for " mightier crimes " arrests him, and hands him over to Beaufort to keep until the day of trial, and Henry, whose " special hope " is, that Gloucester will clear himself from all the accusations of which he is accused, confesses that " My conscience tells me you are innocent." " Ah ! gracious lord, these days are dangerous," exclaims Gloucester, for " Beaufort's red sparkling eyes blab his heart's malice ; And Suffolk's cloudy brow his stormy hate ; Sharp Buckingham unburthens with his tongue The envious load that lies upon his heart ; And dogged York, that reaches at the moon, Whose overweening arm I have plucked back, By false accuse doth level at my life " ; and knowing they seek his downfall, declares that false witnesses will not be wanting to condemn, for

> The ancient proverb will be well effected :
> A staff is quickly found to beat a dog !

As he is led away by the guards, Gloucester exclaims :

> Ah ! thus King Henry throws away his crutch
> Before his legs be firm to bear his body :
> Thus is the shepherd beaten from thy side,
> And wolves are gnarling who shall gnaw thee first.
> Ah ! that my fear was false : ah ! that it were ;
> For, good King Henry, thy decay I fear.

When Gloucester has gone, the weak-kneed monarch tells the nobles to " do or undo, as if ourself were here, what to your wisdoms seemeth best," and telling his wife that his " heart is drowned with grief," for Gloucester is no " traitor," leaves the room followed by some of his courtiers. Turning to Beaufort, Suffolk and York, the queen remarks that her husband is " Too full of foolish pity " and hints that in order to rid themselves of the one they fear " Gloucester should be quickly rid the world." Beaufort considers his death is " worthy policy " but some semblance should be found to make it appear legitimate. To this Suffolk remarks that there is no " policy " in Beaufort's suggestion, for both Henry and the Commons would do their utmost to save his life, adding " we have but trivial argument." York interprets in this remark that Suffolk "would not have him die" but is assured that no one is more " fain " than he is, in the carrying out of which he would " not stand on quillets how to slay him : Be it by gins, by snares, by subtility, Sleeping or waking, 'tis no matter how, So he be dead." The queen, who is bitterly opposed to Gloucester, approves of all that Suffolk says, and Beaufort offers to supply his " executioner " if only Suffolk will " consent and censure well the deed." " Here is my hand, the deed is worthy doing," is Suffolk's rejoinder in which he is supported by Margaret and York.

A messenger enters with the news that rebellion has broken out in Ireland, and to York is given the task of proceeding thither to suppress it, a task he cheerfully undertakes as it will remove him from the fury that will follow the murder of Duke Humphrey, for in the words of Beaufort " I will deal with him That henceforth he shall trouble us no more, And so break off ; the day is almost spent."

All leave with the exception of York, who mutters to himself that a golden opportunity has presented itself, for while he is in Ireland he will raise a " mighty band " and " stir up in England some black storm Shall blow ten thousand souls to heaven or hell " ; which shall not cease till he has obtained the crown, and reveals that he has seduced a " headstrong Kentishman " John Cade of Ashford to personify John Mortimer, to make " commotion " in England, during which commotion he will return from Ireland with all his strength

And reap the harvest which that rascal sowed ;
For Humphrey being dead, as he shall be,
And Henry put apart, the next for me.

Scene two shows us a Room of State at Bury St. Edmunds. Two murderers, hired by Suffolk hastily enter. Whispering to his comrade, the first murderer tells him to " Run to my Lord of Suffolk," and let him know we have dispatched the duke, to which the second assassin replies : " What have we done ? Didst ever hear a man so penitent ? " At this moment Suffolk enters and on learning that Gloucester is dead promises to reward them for this " venturous deed," after satisfying himself that all things have been done according to his directions.

Trumpets sound, and the king, accompanied by the queen, and courtiers enters, and Henry summons Gloucester to appear for his trial. Suffolk having gone to fetch the duke, the king bids the nobles take their places, and entreats them to :

Proceed no straiter 'gainst our uncle Gloucester
Than from true evidence, of good esteem,
He be approved in practice culpable.

A moment later, Suffolk, in an agitated condition, re-enters, and the king addressing him, says :

How now ! why look'st thou pale ? why tremblest thou ?
Where is our uncle ? what 's the matter, Suffolk ?

and Suffolk replies : " Dead in his bed, my lord ; Gloucester is dead." Winchester considers this as " God's secret judgment " for he himself did " dream to-night The duke was dumb and could not speak a word." The king swoons, and the queen cries : " Help, lords ! the king is dead," but eventually recovering consciousness, Henry—who is suspicious of Suffolk—tells him to

Lay not thy hands on me ; forbear, I say :
Their touch affrights me as a serpent's sting.
Thou baleful messenger, out of my sight !
Upon thy eye-balls murderous tyranny
Sits in grim majesty to fright the world.

The queen is defending her favourite against her husband's imputations, when there is a noise, and Warwick, Salisbury and many of the Commons enter. Addressing the King, Warwick demands to know if it is true that Gloucester has been murdered :

It is reported, mighty sovereign,
That good Duke Humphrey traitorously is murdered
By Suffolk and the Cardinal Beaufort's means.
The commons, like an angry hive of bees
That want their leader, scatter up and down,
And care not who they sting in his revenge.
Myself have calmed their spleenful mutiny,
Until they hear the order of his death.

Henry having given orders for Warwick to enter the death chamber in order to ascertain the cause of death, Warwick charges Salisbury to keep the Commons in check until he returns. With tears rolling down his cheeks the king is praying for God's judgment on the murderers, when Warwick and others re-enter, bearing the dead body on a bed. Laying it at the king's feet, Warwick boldly announces that " violent hands have been laid Upon the life of this thrice-famed duke." Describing this as a " dreadful oath " Suffolk demands what proof he has to make that assertion, and Warwick points out that his " face is black and full of blood," his " eye-balls further out than when he lived," and the hands displayed as one that grasped and tugged for life, all of which point to foul play. Suffolk hotly denies that either he

or Beaufort is a murderer, and Warwick retorts that both of them were vowed enemies of Gloucester. "Then you, belike, suspect these noblemen As guilty of Duke Humphrey's timeless death" ejaculates the queen, and Warwick hotly retorts:

> Who finds the heifer dead, and bleeding fresh,
> And sees fast by a butcher with an axe,
> But will suspect 'twas he that made the slaughter?

The queen then asks Suffolk whether he is a "butcher," and Suffolk replies that he "wears no knife to slaughter sleeping men," but if "proud Lord of Warwickshire" dare slander him with "murder's crimson badge" he is prepared to prove his innocence with his "vengeful sword, rusted with ease." Beaufort and others are on the point of leaving, when Warwick announces he is prepared to accept Suffolk's challenge, and calling him a "pernicious blood-sucker of sleeping men!" they both leave the room, the king remarking that a heart untainted is a man's strongest breastplate.

There is a noise within and Suffolk and Warwick re-enter with drawn swords, and the king rebukes them for their boldness in his presence, and Suffolk excuses himself by saying, that the "traitorous Warwick, with the men of Bury, Set all upon me, mighty sovereign."

Immediately afterwards the Commons enter and are told by Salisbury to "stand apart; the king shall know your mind." Turning to Henry he then states that the Commons demand that "Unless false Suffolk straight be done to death" or banished the kingdom, they will take him by force and "torture him with grievous lingering death," as "They say, by him the good Duke Humphrey died; They say, in him they fear your highness' death." Suffolk describes them as "rude unpolished hinds" as to send such a message to their sovereign, a "sort of tinkers," while the king bids Salisbury to thank the Commons for their "tender loving care" and will banish Suffolk within the next three days. Salisbury gone, the queen pleads for her favourite, calling him "Gentle Suffolk," but Henry tells her his word is irrevocable, and calls her "Ungentle queen, to call him gentle Suffolk!" and then turning to Suffolk bids him take his departure, warning him that

> If after three days' space thou here be'st found
> On any ground that I am ruler of,
> The world shall not be ransom for thy life.

and bidding Warwick to "go with me" as "I have great matters to impart to thee," leaves the room.

His Majesty gone, Margaret, in strong language, denounces her husband, but when Suffolk bids her to cease her execrations and let him take his heavy leave, she gives away to tears:

> O! let me entreat thee, cease. Give me thy hand,
> That I may dew it with my mournful tears;
> Nor let the rain of heaven wet this place,
> To wash away my woeful monuments.
> O! could this kiss be printed in thy hand,
> That thou might'st think upon these by the seal,
> Through whom a thousand sighs are breathed for thee.
> So, get thee gone, that I may know my grief;
> 'Tis but surmised whiles thou art standing by,
> As one that surfeits thinking on a want.
> I will repeal thee, or, be well assured,
> Adventure to be banished myself;
> And banished I am, if but from thee.
> Go; speak not to me; even now be gone.
> O! go not yet. Even thus two friends condemned
> Embrace and kiss and take ten thousand leaves.
> Loather a hundred times to part than die.
> Yet now farewell; and farewell life with thee.

to which Suffolk replies :

> Thus is poor Suffolk ten times banished,
> Once by the king, and three times thrice by thee.
> . . . . . .
> I can no more : live thou to joy thy life ;
> Myself no joy in nought but that thou livest.

At this point a messenger hastily enters with the news that Beaufort, at the point of death, is " Blaspheming God, and cursing men on earth," and calling for the king. Being told to " tell this heavy message to the king," he hastily departs, and turning to Suffolk, the queen tells him :

> Now get thee hence : the king, thou know'st, is coming ;
> If thou be found by me thou art but dead,

and Suffolk begs her to let him stay and face death rather than die in a foreign land :

> From thee to die were torture more than death.
> O ! let me stay, befall what may befall.

But Margaret insists on his leaving, for in whatever part of the globe he might be her messenger would find him :

> Away ! though parting be a fretful corrosive,
> It is applied to a deathful wound.
> To France, sweet Suffolk : let me hear from thee ;
> For wheresoe'er thou art in this world's globe,
> I 'll have an Iris that shall find thee out.

" I go," is Suffolk's reply, and " take my heart with thee," rejoins the queen, and Suffolk passes to an exile shorter than either of them anticipates.

The concluding Scene of this Act shows us a Bedchamber where Beaufort is lying on his death-bed in agony of conscience. Entering with Salisbury and Warwick, the king, leaning over the dying man asks : " How fares my lord ? speak, Beaufort, to thy sovereign." But Beaufort does not recognise the king :

> If thou be'st death, I 'll give thee England's treasure,
> Enough to purchase such another island,
> So thou wilt let me live, and feel no pain.

To this the king remarks :

> Ah, what a sign it is of evil life
> Where death's approach is seen so terrible !

" Beaufort, it is thy sovereign speaks to thee," exclaims Warwick, but the dying man can only stammer that he will confess all if brought to trial :

> Bring me unto my trial when you will.
> Died he not in his bed ? where should he die ?
> Can I make men live whe'r they will or no ?
> O torture me no more ! I will confess.
> Alive again ? then show me where he is :
> I 'll give a thousand pound to look upon him.
> He hath no eyes, the dust hath blinded them.
> Comb down his hair ; look ! look ! it stands upright,
> Like lime-twigs set to catch my winged soul.
> Give me some drink ; and bid the apothecary
> Bring the strong poison that I bought of him.

To those present these words are evidence that Beaufort is guilty of the murder of Gloucester, and the king calls upon Heaven to purge his soul of this foul deed :

> O thou eternal Mover of the heavens !
> Look with a gentle eye upon this wretch ;
> O ! beat away the busy meddling fiend
> That lays strong siege unto this wretch's soul,
> And from his bosom purge this black despair.

" See how the pangs of death do make him grin ! " remarks Warwick, and Salisbury replies " Disturb him not ; let him pass peacefully," and as the king watches him sink into silence bids Beaufort to lift a hand in token of the hope of salvation :

> Peace to his soul ! if God's good pleasure be.
> Lord cardinal, if thou think'st on heaven's bliss,
> Hold up thy hand, make signal of thy hope.

But the hand is not lifted and Henry cries :

> He dies, and makes no sign. O God, forgive him !

to which Warwick adds :

> So bad a death argues a monstrous life,

but Henry solemnly charges them to

> Forbear to judge, for we are sinners all.
> Close up his eyes, and draw the curtain close ;
> And let us all to meditation.

The Fourth Act opens on the Coast of Kent. Suffolk, bidden to leave the realm forthwith, reached Dover in disguise, and took a ship for France, but being intercepted was, along with others, taken prisoner. Being brought ashore, the First Gentleman asks : " What is my ransom, master ? let me know," and the answer is : " A thousand crowns, or else lay down your head," to which the Mate adds : " And so much shall you give, or off goes yours." But the captain considers that such a paltry sum does not " counterpoise the lives of those which we have lost in fight," and commands that their throats be cut. The two gentlemen offer to pay their ransoms, but Whitmore tells them they shall die in revenge of his having lost an eye in " laying the prize aboard." " Be not so rash : take ransom ; let them live," interposes the captain. Suffolk then offers to pay any amount of ransom, for he is a gentlemen. " And so am I ; my name is Walter Whitmore," a name which Suffolk considers " affrights me, in whose sound is death." Hoping to escape, Suffolk discloses his identity :

> Stay, Whitmore ; for thy prisoner is a prince,
> The Duke of Suffolk, William de la Pole.

" The Duke of Suffolk muffled up in rags ! " is Whitmore's remark, and Suffolk tells him his blood must not be shed by a jaded groom, but turning to the captain, Whitmore asks : " Speak, captain, shall I stab the forlorn swain ? " to which the captain replies : " Convey him hence, and on our long-boat's side Strike off his head." Suffolk considers his " words are blunt," but the captain calls him a :

> puddle, sink ; whose filth and dirt
> Troubles the silver spring where England drinks.
> . . . . . .
> Thy lips, that kissed the queen, shall sweep the ground ;
> And thou that smiled'st at good Duke Humphrey's death,
> . . . . . .

> By thee Anjou and Maine were sold to France,
> . . . . . .
> And to conclude, reproach and beggary
> Is crept into the palace of our king,
> And all by thee. Away! convey him hence.

Wishing he was a god to shoot forth thunder, Suffolk charges the captain to convey him in safety across the channel, but the captain gives orders for him to be taken away and let him hear no more. As he is led away, Suffolk mutters to himself that a

> Roman sworder and banditto slave
> Murdered sweet Tully; Brutus' bastard hand
> Stabbed Julius Cæsar; savage islanders
> Pompey the Great; and Suffolk dies by pirates.

The captain then gives orders for the other prisoners to be released, and all except the first gentleman, depart. Whitmore re-enters, and throwing Suffolk's body on the sand, remarks:

> There let his head and lifeless body lie,
> Until the queen his mistress bury it,

and the first gentleman exclaims:

> O barbarous and bloody spectacle!
> His body will I bear unto the king:
> If he revenge it not, yet will his friends;
> So will the queen, that living held him dear.

The second scene is Blackheath. Two men—George Bevis and John Holland—enter, and discuss the changes Jack Cade will make in the land: "I tell thee, Jack Cade the clothier means to dress the commonwealth, and turn it, and set a new nap upon it," is Bevis' remark. "So he had need, for 'tis threadbare. Well, I say it was never merry world in England since gentlemen came up," adds Holland, for "nobility think scorn to go in leather aprons, . . . , but "let the magistrates be labouring men; and therefore should we be magistrates." Cade, accompanied by Dick the Butcher, Smith the Weaver and other followers, enters, and declares his father was a Mortimer and his mother a Plantagenet—although aside Dick mutters that Cade is of common birth, having been born "under a hedge; for his father had never a house but a cage." Cade promises a reformation in the realm, for when he is king "There shall be in England seven half-penny loaves sold for a penny; the three-hooped pot shall have ten hoops, and I will make it felony to drink small beer." Dick the Butcher then proposes to kill all the lawyers. To this Cade agrees for it is a "lamentable thing, that of the skin of an innocent lamb should be made parchment? that parchment, being scribbled o'er, should undo a man?"

At this point a prisoner is brought in. It is the Clerk of Chatham, who has been arrested because he "can write and read and cast accompt." "Monstrous!" is Cade's retort. Declaring that he has been so well brought up that he can write his name, he is denounced as a "villain and a traitor," and is sentenced to death: "Away with him! I say: hang him with his pen and ink-horn about his neck."

Another of Cade's followers now appears, and counsels him to seek refuge in flight, as Sir Humphrey Stafford and his brother with forces are at hand, but Cade replies that only knights can fight with men equal to themselves and kneeling down, knights himself as Sir John Mortimer.

Sir Humphrey and his brother with forces now enter, and he promises pardon to all who lay down their arms:

> Rebellious hinds, the filth and scum of Kent,
> Marked for the gallows, lay your weapons down ;
> Home to your cottages, forsake this groom :
> The king is merciful, if you revolt,

but Cade argues that he is the rightful heir to the crown, although aside he acknowledges his claim is fictitious. Stafford declares Cade's father was a plasterer, but as Cade is so insistent there is a suspicion that the Duke of York—although at this time in Ireland—has fostered the insurrection, for Stafford's brother remarks: "Jack Cade, the Duke of York hath taught you this." Stafford then bids the Herald to proclaim "throughout every town" that Cade and his followers—even their wives and children—are traitors, and forthwith departs:

> Herald, away ; and throughout every town
> Proclaim them traitors that are up with Cade ;
> That those which fly before the battle ends
> May, even in their wives' and children's sight,
> Be hanged up for example at their doors.
> And you that be the king's friends, follow me.

Stafford having gone, Cade urges his followers to follow him, and "fight for liberty, . . . Spare none but such as go in clouted shoon, For they are thrifty honest men, and such As would, but that they dare not, take our parts. . . . Come: march! forward!"

Scene three shows us another part of Blackheath, where a skirmish takes place between the royal troops and the followers of Cade, in which both the Staffords are slain. Enquiring for Dick the Butcher, Cade tells him that "thou behaved'st thyself as if thou hadst been in thine own slaughter-house": for Stafford's men "fell before thee like sheep and oxen." Cade then proposes that the bodies of the victims be dragged at his horses' heels until he come to London, "where we will have the mayor's sword borne before us," and Dick suggests that they break open the gaols and let out the prisoners.

The Palace in London supplies the next scene. The king, with a supplication, the queen with Suffolk's head, and others enter. It opens with the queen, in grief, wondering how anyone can look upon the head of Suffolk and cease to weep. Buckingham then enquires what answer the king intends to make to the rebel's petition, and Henry replies that in order to save bloodshed he purposes sending some "holy bishop to entreat"; and he himself will "parley with Jack Cade their general." Then turning to the queen, the king observes: "Still lamenting and mourning for Suffolk's death? I fear me, love, if that I had been dead, Thou wouldst not have mourned so much for me," to which the queen answers "No, my love; I should not mourn, but die for thee."

A messenger enters with the news that Cade has arrived at Southwark, had proclaimed himself Lord Mortimer, and vows he will crown himself at Westminster:

> The rebels are in Southwark ; fly, my lord !
> Jack Cade proclaims himself Lord Mortimer,
> Descended from the Duke of Clarence's house,
> And calls your grace usurper openly,
> And vows to crown himself in Westminster.

Buckingham suggests that the king retire to Kenilworth until the insurrection has been crushed:

> My gracious lord, retire to Killingworth,
> Until a power be raised to put them down,

while the queen remarks that if Suffolk were alive the rebellion would soon be crushed :

> Ah, were the Duke of Suffolk now alive,
> These Kentish rebels would be soon appeased !

Another messenger enters and reports that Cade has taken possession of London Bridge, and that many of the citizens have joined him :

> Jack Cade hath gotten London bridge ;
> The citizens fly and forsake their houses ;
> The rascal people, thirsting after prey,
> Join with the traitor ; and they jointly swear
> To spoil the city and your royal court.

Buckingham urges the king to linger not, and the king in bidding him farewell, counsels him to " trust not the Kentish rebels," and Buckingham replies " Trust nobody, for fear you be betrayed."

We are at the Tower of London in the next scene, where the governor—Lord Scales—enquires if Cade has been slain. One of the citizens replies that Cade has captured London bridge and is slaying all who offer resistance, in consequence of which the Lord Mayor craves the governor's assistance to defend the city from the rebels. Scales therefore sends Matthew Goffe with as many as can be spared, and tells them to

> Fight for your king, your country, and your lives ;
> And so farewell, for I must hence again.

We are in Cannon Street, London in the next scene, where Cade, along with his forces, has arrived. Striking London-stone with his sword, he announces : " Now is Mortimer Lord of this city" ; orders claret wine to flow from all the conduits to commemorate the " first year of our reign" , and proclaims it to be treasonable to address him other than as " Lord Mortimer : "

> Now is Mortimer lord of this city. And here, sitting upon London-stone, I charge and command that, of the city's cost, the pissing-conduit run nothing but claret wine this first year of our reign. And now henceforward it shall be treason for any that calls me other than Lord Mortimer.

A soldier enters, crying " Jack Cade ! Jack Cade ! " and Cade ordering him to be " Knocked down," he is immediately slain. Dick the Butcher then informs Cade that an army has gathered together at Smithfield, and Cade orders London Bridge to be set on fire, and if possible the Tower too, after which they will march to Smithfield and give battle to the king's forces.

In Scene seven we are at Smithfield. Having defeated the royal forces—in which encounter Matthew Goffe is slain—Cade orders his followers to pull down the Savoy, the Inns of Court, and to burn all the records of the realm, declaring that " my mouth shall be the parliament of England.

A messenger enters crying : " My lord, a prize, a prize ! here 's the Lord Say, which sold the towns in France ; he that made us pay one-and-twenty fifteens, and one shilling to the pound, the last subsidy." " Well, he shall be beheaded for it ten times," is Cade's remark, as Lord Say, in charge of Bevis, enters. Addressing Say, Cade accuses him of having sold Normandy, for having traitorously corrupted the youth by erecting a grammar-school, and that his pupils talk of a " noun " and a " verb " and other abominable things as no Christian ear can endure to hear. Say

denies that he sold Maine and lost Normandy, and "seeing ignorance is the curse of God" had given large gifts to spread knowledge. Being a tottering old man shaken with palsy, Dick the Butcher asks why he quivers, and Say replies that it is the palsy, and not fear, that provokes him. Declaring that his head would stand steadier on a pole, Cade orders him to be taken away and beheaded, after which he gives orders for the house of Say's son-in-law—Sir James Cromer—to be entered and to strike off his head, and the two heads to be brought upon two poles.

The executioners re-enter bearing the two heads, and Cade orders them to "kiss one another" for "they loved well when they were alive" and bids his followers that as they ride through the streets of the city the heads shall precede them and at every corner shall embrace:

> Soldiers, defer
> the spoil of the city until night; for with these
> borne before us, instead of maces, will we ride through
> the streets; and at every corner have them kiss.
> Away!

We are transferred to Southwark in the next Scene. Cade enters and calls upon his followers to "kill and knock down! throw them into Thames!" all who resist. A parley sounds, and Cade asks: "What noise is this I hear? Dare any be so bold to sound retreat or parley, when I command to kill?" Immediately Buckingham and Clifford appear and offer, on behalf of the king, pardon to all who disperse and go home in peace. When Clifford asks those who "loves the king, and will embrace his pardon," to throw up their caps and say "God save his majesty!" they all cry out: "God save the king! God save the king!" Turning to his followers Cade upbraids them: "do ye believe him? will you needs be hanged with your pardons about your necks? Hath my sword therefore broke through London gates, that you should leave me at the White Hart in Southwark?" and threatens to "make shift for one, and so, God's curse light upon you all!", they all cry out: "We 'll follow Cade, we 'll follow Cade!" Asked by Clifford if Cade would conduct them through the heart of France as did Henry the Fifth—father of the present king—he appeals to them to end this civil broil and "To France, to France! and recover what you have lost"; they once more veer round and shout "A Clifford! a Clifford! we 'll follow the king and Clifford."

Seeing his followers wavering, Cade exclaims: "Was ever feather so lightly blown to and fro as this multitude?" and considering himself unsafe, breaks through their ranks and makes his escape. Finding he has fled Buckingham offers a reward of a thousand crowns for his capture:

> What, is he fled? go some, and follow him;
> And he that brings his head unto the king
> Shall have a thousand crowns for his reward.

Kenilworth Castle supplies the next Scene. Trumpets sound, and the King, Queen and Somerset appear on the terrace. Henry laments his unhappy position, observing that "No sooner was I crept out of my cradle But I was made a king at nine months old": and expresses the wish to be a "subject." Buckingham and Clifford enter, with the "glad tidings" that the insurrection has been crushed, that Cade has fled, and his followers, with halters on their necks, await "your highness" doom, of life or death." The king grants pardon to them and dismisses them to their "several countries" and as they disperse they all shout with delight: "God save the king! God save the king!"

No sooner have they dispersed, than a messenger enters and announces that the Duke of York has returned from Ireland with a "mighty power of gallowglasses and stout kerns," with the sole purpose of removing Somerset—his inveterate enemy,

whom he terms a traitor—from the king's counsel. Henry compares the state to a ship that having escaped a tempest, is now boarded by a pirate, and bids Buckingham go and meet York and tell him that Duke Edmund shall be committed to the Tower; and then turning to Somerset, adds: "And, Somerset, we will commit thee thither, Until his army be dismissed from him." Somerset cheerfully accepts this humiliation: "My lord, I 'll yield myself to prison willingly, Or unto death, to do my country good," after which Henry departs, remarking to the queen, as he does:

> Come, wife, let 's in, and learn to govern better;
> For yet may England curse my wretched reign.

The concluding Scene of this Act shows us Iden's garden in Kent. Desperate with famine, Cade, who has "These five days have I hid in these woods and durst not peep out, for all the country is laid for me," enters the garden of the Kentish squire in quest of food. He is encountered by Iden. "Here 's the lord of the soil come to seize me for a stray, for entering his fee-simple without leave. Ah, villain, thou wilt betray me, and get a thousand crowns of the king by carrying my head to him; but I 'll make thee eat iron like an ostrich, and swallow my sword like a great pin, ere thou and I part." Iden, who does not recognise Cade, answers: "I know thee not; why then should I betray thee?" and describes him as a "rude companion," for he is not content with breaking into his garden to rob, but "brave me with these saucy terms," and forthwith accepts his challenge. They fight, and Cade falling mortally wounded reveals himself: "O, I am slain! Famine and no other hath slain me: let ten thousand devils come against me, and give me but the ten meals I have lost, and I 'd defy them all. Wither, garden; and be henceforth a burying-place to all that do dwell in this house, because the unconquered soul of Cade is fled," and Iden resolves to "hallow" his sword for having slain "that monstrous traitor." "Iden, farewell; and be proud of thy victory. Tell Kent from me, she hath lost her best man," are Cade's dying words, and dragging the body "headlong by the heels" to a dunghill Iden cuts off his "ungracious head."

> Which I will bear in triumph to the king,
> Leaving thy trunk for crows to feed upon.

The Fifth Act opens in the Fields between Dartford and Blackheath. York, with his army of Irish, with drum and colours, enters, and proclaims that he has come to "pluck the crown from feeble Henry's head":

> From Ireland thus comes York to claim his right,
> And pluck the crown from feeble Henry's head:
> Ring, bells, aloud; burn, bonfires, clear and bright,
> To entertain great England's lawful king.
> Ah! sancta majestas, who would not buy thee dear?
> Let him obey that know not how to rule;
> This hand was made to handle nought but gold:
> I cannot give due action to my words,
> Except a sword or sceptre balance it.
> A sceptre shall it have, have I a soul,
> On which I 'll toss the flower-de-luce of France.

Buckingham appears, and greeting York informs him that the king has sent to know why he comes in arms:

> A messenger from Henry, our dread liege,
> To know the reason of these arms in peace;
> Or why thou, being a subject as I am,
> Against thy oath and true allegiance sworn,
> Should'st raise so great a power without his leave,
> Or dare to bring thy force so near the court.

Although angry at the words of Buckingham, York aside mutters that his "choler is so great, he scarce can speak,"

> The cause why I have brought this army hither
> Is to remove proud Somerset from the king,
> Seditious to his grace and to the state.

Buckingham declares that York is very presumptuous, but if thy "arms be to no other end" than to "remove proud Somerset" informs him that the king has yielded to his demand and has sent Somerset to the Tower. Hearing this York dismisses his army and sends his two sons—Edward and Richard—to the king as "pledges of my fealty and love."

Buckingham then induces York to accompany him to the tent of the king, just as Henry and attendants appear, and noticing Buckingham "arm-in-arm" Henry concludes that York "intends no harm to us." Henry then asks York why he comes with an armed force, to which York replies: "To heave the traitor Somerset from hence, And fight against that monstrous rebel, Cade, Who since I heard to be discomfited."

Iden now enters, bearing the head of Cade, and addressing the king, says:

> If one so rude and of so mean condition
> May pass into the presence of a king,
> Lo! I present your grace a traitor's head,
> The head of Cade, whom I in combat slew.

Henry is so pleased at Iden's brave deed, that he creates him a knight, and rewards him with a thousand marks, the price set on the head of Cade:

> The head of Cade! Great God, how just art Thou!
> O, let me view his visage, being dead,
> That living wrought me such exceeding trouble.
> Tell me, my friend, art thou the man that slew him?
> *Iden.* I was, an 't like your majesty.
> *King.* How art thou called, and what is thy degree?
> *Iden.* Alexander Iden, that 's my name;
> A poor esquire of Kent, that loves his king.
> *Buck.* So please it you, my lord, 'twere not amiss
> He were created knight for his good service.
> *King.* Iden, kneel down. [*He kneels.*] Rise up a knight.
> We give thee for reward a thousand marks;
> And will that thou henceforth attend on us.
> *Iden.* May Iden live to merit such a bounty,
> And never live but true unto his liege.

Henry then observing Somerset—accompanied by the queen—approaching, bids Buckingham go and bid him hide from the Duke of York. As they enter, the queen remarks:

> For thousand Yorks he shall not hide his head,
> But boldly stand and front him in his face.

and York seeing Somerset at liberty, observes:

> How now! is Somerset at liberty?
> Then, York, unloose thy long-imprisoned thoughts
> And let thy tongue be equal with thy heart,

and charges Henry with a breach of faith, telling him he is not fit to govern the realm, and swears "thou shalt rule no more O'er him whom heaven created for thy ruler." Somerset therefore arrests York for high treason, and orders him to kneel to Henry for pardon:

> O monstrous traitor! I arrest thee, York,
> Of capital treason 'gainst the king and crown.
> Obey, audacious traitor; kneel for grace.

but York refuses to kneel and calls for his two sons to be his bail. Interposing, the queen requests that Clifford be called :

> To say if that the bastard boys of York
> Shall be the surety for their traitor father,

and York denounces her, calling her a " blood-bespotted Neapolitan," and declares that his two sons—her betters in their birth—shall be surety for their father. York's two sons now enter, followed by Clifford and his son. Kneeling before the king, Clifford is rebuked by York, who tells him that he (York) is their rightful sovereign. Clifford asks whether the " man has gone mad," and declaring him a traitor, counsels them to hale him to the Tower " And chop away that factious pate of his." " He is arrested, but will not obey," remarks the queen, and being asked by their father, the two sons of York declare their willingness to be surety for their father " if our words will serve, And if words will not, then our weapons shall." Clifford denounces them as a " brood of traitors " and York retaliates by calling Clifford a " false-heart traitor," and forthwith summons the Lords Salisbury and Warwick to his assistance.

As Warwick and Salisbury enter, Clifford remarks : " Are these thy bears ? we 'll bait thy bears to death, And manacle the bear-ward in their chains, If thou dar'st bring them to the baiting-place," and as Warwick and Salisbury refuse to do homage to the king, Henry reproves them :

> Why, Warwick, hath thy knee forgot to bow ?
> Old Salisbury, shame to thy silver hair,
> Thou mad misleader of thy brain-sick son !
> What ! wilt thou on thy death-bed play the ruffian,
> And seek for sorrow with thy spectacles ?
> O ! where is faith ? O ! where is loyalty ?
> . . . . . .
> For shame ! in duty bend thy knee to me,
> That bows unto the grave with mickle age.

To this Salisbury replies that he considers that York is the rightful heir to the crown :

> My lord, I have considered with myself
> The title of this most renowned duke ;
> And in my conscience do repute his grace
> The rightful heir to England's royal seat,

and the king thereupon bids Buckingham arm in defence of himself and the realm, while York declares he is resolved for " death or dignity." Young Clifford urges his " victorious father " to take up arms and " quell the rebels and their complices," after which they depart, York falling back upon Saint Albans, and Clifford and Somerset to the north to get together an army to oppose him.

Saint Albans supplies the next Scene, where a battle takes place between the forces of Lancaster and York. It opens with Warwick calling for Clifford to come forward and fight him :

> Clifford of Cumberland, 'tis Warwick calls :
> And if thou dost not hide thee from the bear,
> Now, when the angry trumpet sounds alarum,
> And dead men's cries do fill the empty air,
> Clifford, I say, come forth and fight with me !
> Proud northern lord, Clifford of Cumberland,
> Warwick is hoarse with calling thee to arms.

York suddenly appears, and reports having had a duel with Clifford in which each of their steeds were slain. Clifford now enters and Warwick challenges him, declaring that " Of one or both of us the time is come," but York requests Warwick to

yield him first claim: "Hold, Warwick! seek thee out some other chase, For I myself must hunt this deer to death," and Warwick departs, exclaiming: "It grieves my soul to leave thee unassailed." York and Clifford combat each other and Clifford being slain, York exclaims:

> Thus war hath given thee peace, for thou art still.
> Peace with his soul, heaven, if it be thy will!

Young Clifford now enters, and seeing his father dead, in fierce anger vows vengeance on the House of York:

> O! let the vile world end,
> . . . . . .
> Even at this sight
> My heart is turned to stone: and while 'tis mine
> It shall be stony. York not our old men spares;
> No more will I their babes: tears virginal
> Shall be to me even as the dew to fire;
> And beauty, that the tyrant oft reclaims,
> Shall to my flaming wrath be oil and flax.
> Henceforth I will not have to do with pity:
> Meet I an infant of the house of York,
> Into as many gobbets will I cut it
> As wild Medea young Absyrtus did:
> In cruelty will I seek out my fame.
> Come, thou new ruin of old Clifford's house:
> As did Æneas old Anchises bear,
> So bear I thee upon my manly shoulders;
> But when Æneas bare a living load,
> Nothing so heavy as these woes of mine,

and forthwith departs bearing away the body of his father.

Immediately afterwards Richard and Somerset enter fighting, in which Somerset is killed, and Richard, exulting over his body says:

> So, lie thou there;
> For underneath an alehouse' paltry sign.
> The Castle in Saint Alban's, Somerset
> Hath made the wizard famous in his death.
> Sword, hold thy temper; heart, be wrathful still:
> Priests pray for enemies, but princes kill.

More excursions follow, during which the king, queen, and others enter. The queen charges her husband with "being slow" and asks: "What are you made of? you 'll nor fight nor fly,"

> If you be ta'en, we then should see the bottom
> Of all our fortunes; but if we haply 'scape,
> As well we may, if not through your neglect,
> We shall to London get, where you are loved,
> And where this breach now in our fortunes made
> May readily be stopped.

Young Clifford re-enters and urges the king to flee:

> Away, for your relief! and we will live
> To see their day and them our fortune give.
> Away, my lord, away!

The final scene of the Play is enacted in the Fields near Saint Alban's. There is an alarum, and York, with forces enter. Inquiring the whereabouts of Salisbury, Richard tells his father how he rescued him from the enemy:

> Three times to-day I holp him to his horse,
> Three times bestrid him ; thrice I led him off,
> Persuaded him from any further act :
> But still, where danger was, still there I met him ;
> And like rich hangings in a homely house,
> So was his will in his old feeble body.

At this point Salisbury enters, thanks Richard for having rescued him and announces the retreat of the Lancastrian forces. Hearing that the king has fled to London in order to call Parliament together, York decides to follow him :

> I know our safety is to follow them ;
> For, as I hear, the king is fled to London,
> To call a present court of parliament :
> Let us pursue him ere the writs go forth.
> What says Lord Warwick ? shall we after them ?

To this Warwick agrees :

> After them ! nay, before them, if we can.

but before departing, Warwick declares that this "glorious day" shall be immortalised throughout all ages.

> Saint Alban's battle, won by famous York,
> Shall be eternized in all age to come.
> Sound drums and trumpets ! and to London all :
> And more such days as these to us befall !

Scene : In various Parts of England.

CHARACTERS, PLACE-NAMES, ETC.

Abbey at Bury St. Edmunds.

The Scene of Act III., Scene i. The Parliament scene at Bury St. Edmunds. Gloucester is attacked by false accusations of his enemies, in which they are supported by the queen. He is arrested for high treason, and given in custody of Cardinal Beaufort, who conspires his murder. News arrives that the Irish are in rebellion, and York is appointed Regent to proceed to Ireland with troops to suppress the uprising, an opportunity which he gladly accepts as it will enable him to foment sedition in England.

Absyrtus. V. ii. 59.

> Meet I an infant of the house of York,
> Into as many gobbets will I cut it
> As wild Medea young Absyrtus did : [V. ii. 57–59.]

The Duke of York having slain Lord Clifford, his son,—the young Clifford—swears vengeance on the house of York.

Absyrtus was the son of King Æetes and brother of Medea. When Jason the Argonaut flew from Colchis, accompanied by Absyrtus and Medea, Medea cut her brother into pieces, and scattered them along the way so that her father in stopping to pick them up, might be delayed in pursuing her.

Achilles' spear. V. i. 100.

> Whose smile and frown, like to Achilles' spear,
> Is able with the change to kill and cure. [V. i. 100–101.]

When Telephus, King of Mysia, who had married the daughter of the King of Troy, opposed the landing of the Greeks in his country, he was wounded by Achilles. An oracle having declared that the wound could never be cured save by the same weapon which had inflicted it, Telephus visited the camp of the Greeks. Ulysses, who had been informed by an oracle that Troy could not be captured without the assistance of Telephus, scraped rust from the spear, made it up into a plaster and applying it to the sore, cured the sufferer.

Cf. *King Edward III.*, ii., i.

> The poets write, that great Achilles' spear
> Could heal the wound it made : the moral is,
> What mighty men misdo, they can amend.

Greene, in his *Orlando Furioso*, 1599, has the same allusion :

> Where I took hurt, there have I heal'd myself ;
> As those that with Achilles' launce were wounded,
> Fetch'd help at self-same pointed speare.

Achilles was the chief hero of the Greeks in the Trojan war.

Adam. IV. ii. 133.

> And Adam was a gardener. [IV. ii. 133.]

Hart remarks : " Why should we be kept in servitude and bondage ? We be all come from one father and one mother, *Adam* and Eve."

Adsum. I. iv. 24.

" I am here."

Æneas. V. ii. 62, 64.

> Come, thou new ruin of old Clifford's house :
> As did Æneas old Anchises bear,
> So bear I thee upon my manly shoulders ;
> But then Æneas bare a living load,
> Nothing so heavy as these woes of mine.
> [V. ii. 61–65.]

See Anchises.

Æolus. III. ii. 92.

> Was I for this nigh wrecked upon the sea,
> And twice by awkward wind from England's bank
> Drove back again unto my native clime ?
> What boded this, but well forewarning wind
> Did seem to say " Seek not a scorpion's nest,
> Nor set no footing on this unkind shore ? "
> [III. ii. 82–87.]
>
> Yet Æolus would not be a murderer,
> But left that hateful office unto thee :
> [III. ii. 92–93.]

In Greek mythology the god of the winds which he kept confined in a cave. He resided in the islands of the Tyrrhenian Sea which were called the Æolian islands.

" Aio te, Æacida, Romanos vincere posse." I. iv. 62.

" I say that you, descendant of Æneas, the Romans can conquer." The ambiguous reply the Oracle at Delhi gave Pyrrhus King of Epirus

when he inquired whether he would vanquish Rome.

Hart quotes Puttenham *Arte of English Poesie*, under the heading of *Amphibologia*, or the Ambiguous: "these doubtfull speaches were vsed much in the old times by their false Prophets as appeareth by the Oracles of Delphos and of the Sybilles prophecies deuised by the religious persons of those days to abuse the superstitious . . . Lucianus, the merry Greeke, reciteth a great number of them devised by a coosening companion, one Alexander, to get himselfe the name and reputation of the God Æsculapius, and in effect all our old Brittish and Saxon prophecies be of the same sort, that, turne them on which side ye will, the matter of them may be verified . . . by the comfort of those blinde prophecies many insurrections and rebellions have bene stirred up in this Realme, as that of Iacke Strawe and Iacke Cade in Richard the seconds time."

Ajax Telamonius. V. i. 26.

> And now, like Ajax Telamonius,
> On sheep or oxen could I spend my fury. [V. i. 26–27.]

Son of Telamon a Greek hero of the Trojan War. In a state of madness at not receiving the armour of Achilles he slew a flock of sheep, mistaking them for his foes. He afterwards committed suicide. He is a character in *Troilus and Cressida*.

Hart quotes from Harington's *Metamorphoses*, 1596: "First he killed all the horned beasts he met, which made Agamemnon and Menelaus now more afraid then Ulysses; whereupon he was banished the towns presently, and then he went to the woods and pastures, and imagining all the fat sheep he met to be of kin to the coward Ulysses, because they ran away from him, he massacred a whole flock of sheep not ewes. Last of all, having nobody else to kill, poor man killed himself."

Alarums. IV. iii. p.1; IV. vii. p.1; IV. viii. p.1; V. ii. p.1; V. iii. p.1.

A summons to arms, as on the approach of an enemy.

Albion's king. I. iii. 44; III. ii. 113.

King of England. Albion was the ancient name of Britain.

Alderliefest. I. i. 28.

= Most beloved; dearest of all.

Aldermen. II. i. p.68.

Alexander Iden, a Kentish Gentleman. IV. x. p.16, 43, 72; V. i. p.64, 74, 78, 81.

It is in Iden's garden that we next meet Cade after the defeat of his men at Southwark. Cade climbs over the wall, and is seen by Iden who challenges him for trespass. They fight and Iden mortally wounds Cade. "For, after a Proclamacion made that whosoeuer could apprehende the saied Iac Cade should haue for his pain a M. markes, many sought for hym, but few espied hym, til one Alexander Iden, esquire of Kent, found hym in a garden, and there in hys defence manfully slewe the caitife Cade, & brought his ded body to London, whose hed was set on London bridge." *Holinshed.*

Althæa. I. i. 232.

> As did the fatal brand Althæa burned
> Unto the prince's heart of Calydon. [I. i. 232–233.]

An allusion to the story of Meleager, Prince of Calydon. When he was born Althæa was warned by the Fates that he would live no longer than a brand burning upon the hearth. She contrived to keep the log unconsumed for many years, but being incensed at the slaying of her two brothers, threw the brand into the fire, and it was consumed in a few moments, and Meleager died at the same time. Cf. Ovid *Metamorphoses* (Golding's translation), viii., 594–614:

> There was a certaine firebrand which when *Oenies* wife did lie
> In childebed of *Meleagar*, she chauned to espie
> The Destnies putting in the fire: and in the putting in,
> She heard them speake these words, as they his fatall threede did spin:
> O lately borne, like time we give to thee and to this brand.
> And when they so had spoken, they departed out of hand.
> Immediatly the mother caught the blazing bough away.
> And quenched it. This bough was kept full charely many a day:
> And in the keeping of the same she kept hir sonne alive.
> And now intending of his life him clearely to deprive,
> She brought it forth, and causing all the coales and shivers to
> Be layĕd by, she like a foe did kindle fire thereto.
> Fowre times she was about to cast the firebrand in the flame:
> Fowre times she pulled backe hir hand from doing of the same.
> As moother and as sister both she strove what way to go;
> The divers names drew diversly hir stomacke to and fro.

Hir face waxt often pale for feare of mischiefe to ensue :
And often red about the eies through heate of ire she grew.
One while hir looke resembled one that threatened cruelnesse :
Another while ye would have thought she minded pitiousnesse.
And though the cruell burning of hir heart did drie hir teares,
Yet burst out some,

and *Second Part of King Henry the Fourth*, II., ii., 84–86 :

Marry, my lord, Althæa dreamed she was delivered of a fire-brand ; and therefore I call him her dream.

Anchises. V. ii. 62.

In Greek legend a prince of the royal house of Troy. He was of such a beautiful complexion that Aphrodite fell in love with him and he had by her a son named Æneas. But having, in spite of her warnings boasted of her favour he was struck blind. When Troy was sacked and burnt, Anchises was an old man and Æneas carried him through the flames upon his shoulders and thus saved his life. He accompanied his son to Italy and died in Sicily in the eightieth year of his age, and was buried on Mount Eryx. Virgil in his Æneid, Book vi., introduces him in the Elysian fields :

" Meanwhile Æneas sees in the retired winding vale, a grove situate by itself, shrubs rustling in the woods, and the river Lethe which glides by those peaceful dwellings. Around this *river* unnumbered tribes and nations of ghosts were fluttering ; as in meadows on a serene summer's day, when the bees sit on the various blossoms, and swarm around the snow-white lilies, all the plain buzzes with their humming noise. Æneas, confounded, shudders at the unexpected sight, and asks the cause *of that appearance*, what those rivers yonder are, or what ghosts have in such crowds filled the banks. Then father Anchises *said*, Those souls, from whom other bodies are destined by fate, at the streams of Lethe's flood quaff care-expelling draughts and lasting oblivion. Long indeed have I wished to give you a detail of these, pointing them out before you, and enumerate this my future race, that you may rejoice the more with me in the possession of Italy. O father, is it to be imagined that any souls of an exalted nature will go hence to the world above, and enter again into *clumsy* inactive bodies ? What cursed love of life possesses the miserable beings ? I, indeed, replied Anchises, will inform you, my son, nor hold you longer in suspense ; and thus he unfolds each particular in order." Davidson's *Translation*.

Anjou. I. i. 49, 57, 108, 234.

Item, that the duchy of Anjou and the county of Maine shall be released and delivered to the king her father "— [I. i. 49–51.]

Grafton says : " This mariage seemed to many, both infortunate and vnprofitable to the realme of England, and that for many causes. First the king had with her not one pennie, and for the fetchyng of her, the Marques of Suffolke demaunded a whole fiftene in open Parliament : also for her mariage, the Duchie of Aniow, the Citie of Mauns, and the whole Countie of Mayne, were deliuered and released to king Reyner her father, which Countries were the very stayes, and backestandes to the Duchie of Normandie.

See also Reigner.

Anjou. I. i. 117.

Sal. But wherefore weeps Warwick, my valiant son ?
War. For griefe that they are past recovery :
For, were there hope to conquer them again,
My sword should shed hot blood, mine eyes no tears.
Anjou and Maine ! myself did win them both ;
[I. i. 112–117.]

Warwick's indignation is natural.

Anjou. I. i. 212 ; IV. i. 86.

Anjou and Maine are given to the French ;
Paris is lost ; the state of Normandy
Stands on a tickle point now they are gone.
[I. i. 212 *et seq.*]

Lines 212-235 of this Soliloquy are original, the remainder is taken almost verbatim from *The Contention*.

Grafton says : "Wherefore they (not mindyng to be more charged, then their backes would beare, and perceiuying that by negligent prouision and improuident pollicie, the affayres and businesse in the partes beyonde the sea, dayly decayed, and more were like to do) began first to make exclamacion agaynst the Duke of Suffolke, affirmyng him, to be the onely cause of the deliuery of Aniow, and Main, the chiefe procurer of the death of the good Duke of Glouester, the very occasion of ye losse of Normandie, the most swallower vp & consumer of the kings treasure (by reason whereof, the warres of Frauce were not mainteyned) the expeller from the king of all good & vertuous counsailors, and the bringer in & aduaunver of vicious persons, common enemies, and apparaunt aduersaries to the publike wealth : So that the Duke was called in euery mans mouth a traytor, a murtherer, a robber of the kings treasure, and worthy to be put to most cruell punishement : By reason of this exclamacion, the Queene somewhat fearyng the destruction of the Duke, but more the confusion of herselfe, caused the Parliament, before begon at the

black Friers in London, to be adiourned to Leycester, thinkyng there by force and rigor of the lawe, to subdue and represse all the malice and euill will, conceyued agaynst the Duke and her: at which place fewe of the Nobility would appere, wherefore it was againe adiourned to Westminster, where was a whole companie and a full apperaunce."

Anne. II. ii. 38, 44.

Daughter of Roger Mortimer, fourth Earl of March; married Richard, Earl of Cambridge and became the mother of Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, who claimed the throne of England.

See also under Roger, Earl of March.

Argo. IV. ii. 30.

Corrupt for *Ergo*.

Ascanius. III. ii. 116.

To sit and witch me, as Ascanius did
When he to madding Dido would unfold
His father's acts, commenced in burning Troy!
[III. ii. 116–118.]

It was Cupid, in the shape of Ascanius who sat in Dido's lap, and played the witchcraft upon her; and it was Æneas who narrated to Dido the destruction of Troy.

Ashford. III. i. 356; IV. iii. 1.

A town in Kent. According to III., i., 356, it was the reputed birthplace of Jack Cade; and in IV., iii., 1, Dick the Butcher was a butcher in this town.

Asmath. I. iv. 24.

The name of a Spirit, invoked by Margery Jourdain. Cf. *Tobit*, iii., 6–8.

Attendants. III. ii. p.15; IV. viii. p.6; V. i. p.56.

Ave-Maries. I. iii. 55.

But all his mind is bent to holiness,
To number Ave-Maries on his beads;
His champions are the prophets and apostles,
His weapons holy saws of sacred writ,
His study is his tilt-yard, and his loves
Are brazen images of canonised saints. [I. iii. 54–59.]

An invocation to the Virgin Mary. Grafton says: "During the time of this truce or abstinence of warre, while there was nothing to vexe or trouble the mindes of men within the Realme, a sodayne mischiefe, and a long discorde, sprange out, by the meanes of a woman: for king Henry, which raigned at this tyme, was a man of a meeke spirite, and of a simple witte, preferring peace before warre, rest before businesse, honestie before profite, and quietnesse before laboure. And to the intent, that all men might perceiue, that there coulde be none, more chaste, more meeke, more holye, nor a better creature: In him raigned shamefastnesse, modesty, integritie, and pacience to be maruayled at, taking and suffering all losses, chaunces, displeasures, and such worldly tormentes in good parte, and wyth a pacient maner, as though they had chaunced by his owne faulte, or negligent ouersight: and he was gouerned of them whome he shoulde haue ruled: and brideled of such, whom he sharpely shoulde haue spurred: He gaped not for honor, nor thristed for riches, but studied onelye for the health of hys soule: the sauing whereof, he esteemed to be the greatest wisedome, and the loss thereof, the extremest folie that coulde be. But on the other parte, the Queene his wife was a woman of a great witte, and yet of no greater wit, then of haute stomacke, desirous of glory, and couetous of honor, and of reason, pollicye, counsaill, and other giftes, and talentes of nature, she lacked nothing, nor of diligence, studie, and businesse, she was not vnexpert: but yet she had one pointe of a very woman: for often times, when she was vehement & fully bent in a matter, she was sodainly like to a wethercock, mutable and turning. This woman perceyuing that her husbande did not frankely rule as he would, but did all thing by the aduise and counsayle of Humfrey Duke of Gloucester, and that he passed not much on the aucthoritie and gouernaunce of the realme, determined wyth her selfe, to take vppon her the rule and regiment, both of the king and his kingdome, and to depriue and remoue out of all rule and aucthoritie the sayde Duke, then called the Lord Protectour of the realme: least men should say and report, that she had neyther wyt nor stomack, which would permit and suffer her husband, being of perfite age and mans estate, like a yong Scholer or innocent Pupile, to be gouerned by the disposition of an other man."

Bargulus. IV. i. 108.

this villain here,
Being captain of a pinnace, threatens more
Than Bargulus the strong Illyrian pirate.
[IV. i. 106–108.]

An Illyrian robber or pirate, who rose to be King of Illyria. In *The Contention* the corresponding passage is :

> This villain being but Captain of a Pinnais,
> Threatens more plagues then mightie Abradas,
> The great Masadonian Pyrate,
> Thy words addes fury and not remorse in me.

Bargulus is mentioned by Cicero in his *De Officiis*.

Beadle, A. II. i. p.142.

Summoned by the Mayor of St. Albans, and ordered by Gloucester to whip the impostor Simpcox.

Bedchamber, A.

The Scene of Act III., Scene iii. The scene shows the death of Cardinal Beaufort, six weeks after the death of the Duke of Gloucester. [Courtenay remarks : " This scene has stamped the name of Beaufort with the character of profligate and murderer ; and as if the poet's art were not sufficient, the sister art has been called in aid " ; while Stubbs observes : " On the 11th of April, six weeks after the death of Gloucester, the cardinal of England passed away ; not, as the great poet has described him, in the pangs of melodramatic despair, but with the same businesslike dignity in which for so long as he lived and ruled. As he lay dying in the Wolvesey palace at Winchester he had the funeral service and the mass of requiem solemnised in his presence ; in the evening of the same day he had his will read in the presence of his household, and the following morning confirmed it in an audible voice ; after which he bade farewell to all, and so died ; leaving, after large legacies, the residue of his great wealth to charity."]

Bedford. I. i. 81, 94.

The Duke of Bedford, Uncle to the King, and Regent of France. See *First Part of King Henry the Sixth*.

Bedlam. V. i. 131.

> To Bedlam with him ! is the man grown mad ?
> [V. i. 131.]

Bethlehem Hospital was used as a lunatic asylum at this time. Stow in his *Survey of London*, says : " Next unto the parish church of St. Buttolph is a fair inn for receipt of travellers ; then an hospital of St. Mary of Bethlehem, founded by Simon Fitz Mary, one of the sheriffs of London, in the year 1246 : he founded it to have been a priory of canons, with brethren and sisters ; and King Edward III., granted a protection, which I have seen, for the brethren, *Miliciæ beatæ Mariæ de Bethlem*, within the city of London, the 14th year of his reign. It was an hospital for distracted people : "

Beldam. I. iv. 42.

A hag ; a witch ; an enchantress.

Berwick. II. i. 83, 156.

A town in Northumberland. Saunder Simpcox, the impostor, was born here, and he and his wife were sentenced to be whipped from Saint Albans to this town :

> Let them be whipped through every market-town
> till they come to Berwick, from whence they came.

See Saint Alban's Shrine.

Best's son the tanner of Wingham. IV. ii. 23.

Blackheath.

The Scene of Act IV., Scene ii. The insurrection of Jack Cade, who personates Mortimer, stirred up by the Duke of York. [The connection between the rising of Cade and the design of the Duke of York are very obscure.] It is considered that Shakespeare borrowed his account of Cade's insurrection from that which is given of the rebellion of Wat Tyler and Jack Straw in the reign of Richard the Second. Cade and his followers are declared traitors by Sir Humphrey Stafford who has been sent by the king to offer pardon to all who lay down their arms.

Blackheath, Another part of.

The Scene of Act IV., Scene iii. A skirmish takes place between the king's forces and the followers of Cade, and both Sir Humphrey and his brother are slain. [Irving edition quotes Holinshed : " It appears that the defeat of the Staffords and their forces, which must have been very inconsiderable in number, took place owing to the royal party being deceived as to the movements of Cade. The king, according to Holinshed, had gone against the rebels with 15,000 men well equipped ; but the rebels fled into the wooded country near Sevenoaks ; and the king returned to London, upon which, as

Hall relates; The Queene, which bare the rule, beyng of his retrayte well aduertised, sent Syr Humfrey Stafford knyght, and William his brother with many other gentelmen, to folow the chace of the Kentishmen, thinkynge that they had fledde, but verely, they were desceyued; for at the fyrst skyrmish, both the Staffordes were slayne, and all their companye shamfully discomfited. . . . When the Kentish capitayn, or ye couetous Cade, had thus obteyned victory, and slayne the two valeaunt Staffordes, he appareled hym selfe in their rich armure, and so with pompe and glory returned agayn toward London; in which retrayte diuers idle and vacabonde persons, resorted to him from Sussex and Surrey, and from other partes to a great number."]

Bolingbroke. II. ii. 39.

Henry Bolingbroke, eldest son of John of Gaunt, afterwards King Henry the Fourth.

Bolingbroke, a Conjuror. I. ii. 76; I. iv. p.1; II. iii. p.1.

First appears in the Duke of Gloucester's garden in response to a summons by the Duchess, accompanied by Margery Jourdain, a witch, and others.

He summons the spirit, and when it appears puts several questions to it, asking what shall become of the king, the Duke of Suffolk, and the Duke of Somerset.

Having answered these questions, the spirit exclaims:

> Have done for more I hardly can endure. [I. iv. 38.]

and Bolingbroke commands it to depart:

> Descend to darkness and the burning lake:
> False fiend, avoid! [I. iv. 39–40.]

He next appears, with the others who had taken part in this seance, before the king and is condemned to death by hanging, along with Hume and Southwell.

See also John Hume.

Brethren. II. i. p.68.

Citizens of Saint Albans, who enter with the Mayor of that town.

Bristol. III. i. 328.

> My Lord of Suffolk, within fourteen days
> At Bristol I expect my soldiers;
> For these I 'll ship them all for Ireland.
> [III. i. 327–329.]

The Duke of York prepares to sail thence for Ireland.

Britain's isle. I. iii. 43.

= England.

Brutus' bastard hand Stabbed Julius Cæsar. IV. i. 136.

Servilia, mother of Brutus, was Cæsar's mistress, but not until after the birth of Brutus.

Brutus could not be called a *bastard*, for his mother Servilia was married to Marcus Junius Brutus, and by him became the mother of Cæsar's murderer. Her husband was put to death by order of Pompey, after which she became the favourite mistress of Julius Cæsar, and Brutus was said, absurdly enough, by some to have been the result of this connection. But Cæsar was only fifteen years older than Brutus, and it seems clear that Servilla did not become his mistress till some time after the birth of her son. She was married, a second time, to Junius Silanus, consul, B.C. 62. *Irving edition.*

Bury. II. iv. 71; III. ii. 240.

> I summon your grace to his majesty's parliament,
> holden at Bury the first of this next month.
> [II. iv. 70–71.]

Bury St. Edmunds. Grafton says: "So for the furtheraunce of their purpose, a parliament was sommoned to be kept at Bury, whether resorted all the peeres of the realme, and amongst them the Duke of Gloucester, which on the second day of the session, was by the Lorde Beamonde then high Constable of Englande, accompanied with the Duke of Buckyngham and other, arrested, apprehended, and put in warde, and all his seruaunts sequestred from him and xxxij., of the chiefe of his retinue, were sent to diuers prisons, to ye great admiration of the common people."

Bury St. Edmunds. A Room of State.

The Scene of Act III., Scene ii. Under the direction of Suffolk, Gloucester is murdered. Salisbury and Warwick accuse Suffolk in the presence of the king with being guilty of the deed, and the Commons enter and demand his punishment, and Suffolk is banished by the king. The scene closes with the leave taking of the queen and Suffolk.

Cade of Herrings. IV. ii. 35.

Nash speaks of having weighed one of Gabriel Harvey's books against a *cade of herrings*, and ludicrously says, "That the rebel Jacke Cade was the first that devised to put redde herrings in *cades*, and from him they have their name." *Praise of the Red Herring*. 1599.

A *cade* is less than a *barrel*. The quantity it should contain is ascertained by the accounts of the Celeress of the Abbey of Berking. "Memorandum that a *barrel* of herryng shold contene a thousand herryngs, and a *cade* of herryng six hundreth, six score to the hundreth." *Malone*.

Cade's head. V. i. p.64.

Hall says: "After a proclamation made that whosoever could apprehende the saied Jack Cade should have for his pain a m. markes, many sought for hym, but few espied hym, til one Alexander Iden, esquire of Kent, found hym in a garden, and there in his defence manfully slewe the caitife Cade, and brought his ded body to London, whose hed was set on London bridge."

Cæsar. IV. vii. 60.

> Kent, in the Commentaries Cæsar writ,
> Is termed the civil'st place of all this isle:
> [IV. vii. 60–61.]

The *Commentaries* of Cæsar, the only one of his literary works extant, contain the history of the first seven years of the Gallic War, and a history of the Civil War with Pompey.

Callat. I. iii. 82.

> Contemptuous base-born callat as she is. [I. iii. 82.]

= a scold, a shrew.

Calydon. I. i. 233.

Calydon was a city of Ætolia famed in Grecian story of the hunting of the enormous bear which Artemis, to punish Œneus for neglecting to offer up sacrifices to the goddess, sent to ravage his vineyards. Meleager, Prince of Calydon killed the animal and presented the hide to Atalanta.

See Althæa.

Cardinal Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, Great-uncle to the King. I. i. p.1, 55, 66, 86, 137, 177, 183, 199; I. ii. 27, 94; I. iii. 67, p.100; II. i. p.1, 48; II. ii. 71; IV. iv. 53; III. i. p.1, 187; III. ii. p.15, 124, 180, 196, 369; III. iii. p.1, 1, 7, 26.

In the first scene of the Play we are given an insight into Beaufort's character when he openly admits his feelings towards Gloucester, and cunningly hints at the desirability of removing him:

> So, there goes our protector in a rage.
> 'Tis known to you he is mine enemy,
> Nay, more, an enemy unto you all,
> And no great friend, I fear me, to the king.
> [I. i. 145–148.]

On his next appearance he accuses Gloucester of extorting money from the clergy:

> the clergy's bags
> Are lank and lean with thy extortions. [I. iii. 127–128.]

and before the king accuses him of coveting the crown.

Beaufort is one of the leaders in the plot against Gloucester, and he allows no opportunity to escape when he might assist in his overthrow.

Gloucester's death, however, fills Beaufort with remorse, and we find him on his deathbed in a state of terror. He is delirious and his utterances convince those around him of his connivance at Gloucester's murder.

He cries:

> Bring me unto my trial when you will.
> Died he not in his bed? where should he die?
> Can I make men live, whe'r they will or no?
> O, torture me no more, I will confess.
> [III. iii. 8–11.]

and dies in an agony of remorse.

Castle in Saint Alban's. V. ii. 68.

> So, lie thou there;
> For underneath an alehouse' paltry sign,
> The Castle in Saint Alban's, Somerset
> Hath made the wizard famous in his death.
> [V. ii. 66–69.]

The name of a Tavern in Saint Albans. The death of Somerset here accomplishes that equivocal prediction given by Jourdain, the witch, concerning this duke; which we meet with at the close of the First Act of this play:

> Let him shun castles:
> Safer shall he be upon the sandy plains
> Than where castles mounted stand. [I. iv. 35–37.]

The corresponding passage in *The Contention* reads thus:

> So Lie thou there, and breathe thy last.
> Whats here, the signe of the Castle?
> Then the prophesie is come to passe,
> For Somerset was forewarned of Castles,
> The which he alwaies did obserue.

And now, behold, vnder a paltry Ale-house signe,
The Castle in Saint Albones,
Somerset hath made the Wissard famous by his death.

Grafton says: "Then came the Duke of Sommerset, and all the other Lordes with the kinges power, which fought a sore and cruell battaile, in the which many a tall man lost his life: but the Duke of Yorke sent euer fresh men, to succor the werie, and put new men in places of the hurt persons, by which onely pollecie, the kinges armie was ouerthrowne and dispersed, and all the Chieftaynes of the fielde almost slaine and brought to confusion. For there dyed vnder the signe of the Castel, Edmond Duke of Sommerset, who long before was warned to eschew all Castelles, and besyde him, lay Henry the seconde Erle of Northumberlande, Humfrey Erle of Stafford, sonne to the Duke of Buckingham, Iohn Lord Clifford, and viij thousand men and more. Humfrey Duke of Buckingham beyng wounded, and Iames Butler Erle of Wilshire and Ormond, seyng Fortunes lowryng chaunce, left the King post alone, and with a great number fled away. This was the ende of the first battaile at Saint Albones, which was fought on the Thursday before the feast of Pentecost, beyng the xxiij day of May."

Ceres'. I. ii. 2.

Why droops my lord, like over-ripened corn,
Hanging the head at Ceres' plenteous load?
[I. ii. 1–2.]

The goddess of agriculture and of the fruits of the earth. Ceres was represented with a beautiful countenance; tall and majestic; her complexion fair; her eyes languishing; and her hair flaxen. Her head was crowned with a garland of poppies intermixed with ears of corn, holding in her right hand a bunch of the same materials and in the left a flaming torch.

Channel. IV. i. 114.

The English Channel.

Charneco. II. iii. 63.

A Sweet wine. From a pamphlet entitled *The Discovery of a London Monster, called the Black Dog of Newgate*, 1612, we have: "Some drinking the neat wine of Orleance, some the Gascony, some the Bourdeaux. There wanted neither sherry, sack, nor *charneco*, maligo, nor amber-colour'd Candy, nor liquorish ipocras, brown beloved bastard, fat Aligant, or any quick-spirited liquor." *Warburton.*

In *Wit's Miserie, or the World's Madness*, 1596: "the only medicine for the fleghm, is three cups of *charneco*, fasting."

Again, in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Wit without money*: "Where no old *charneco* is, nor no anchovies."

Again, in *The Fair Maid of the West*, 1615: "Aragoosa, or Peter-see-me, canary, or *charneco*." *Steevens.*

Charneco is the name of a village near Lisbon, where this wine was made.

Cheapside. IV. ii. 69; IV. vii. 124.

A thoroughfare in the City of London, originally a large open common, where markets and public assemblies were held. Harben in his *Dictionary of London* says: "In the old days before the Fire it was a handsome street, and was ornamented by the Cross, the Standard, and the Conduit. It must have been of considerable width, as the market was held in the middle of the street, while justings also took place in it from time to time. In process of time the street has been raised several feet, so that it is 28 ft. higher than where St. Paul's was first built, as appears by marks discovered when the new foundations were laid. Some houses at the south-west corner, near St. Paul's Churchyard, were taken down *c.* 1760 to widen the street. This was the site of the great market of London, and the several trades were represented by their selds in it. The street was named from the market, A.S. "ceap"="barter," "purchase."

Citizens. II. i. p.68; IV. v. p.1.

Clerk of Chatham. IV. iii. p.84, 84.

Is brought in a prisoner before Jack Cade by Smith the weaver, who exclaims:

The clerk of Chatham: he can write and read and cast accompt. [IV. ii. 84–85.]

For his "crime" of being learned, he is condemned to death, and Cade orders:

Away with him! I say: hang him with his pen and ink-horn about his neck. [IV. ii. 108–109.]

Coast of Kent.

The Scene of Act IV., Scene i. The murder of the Duke of Suffolk. It is a mysterious affair. [Shakespeare represents the execution as having been done by pirates, but according to Holinshed he was intercepted in transporting

himself to France by a ship of war called the *Nicholas of the Tower* belonging to the Duke of Exeter, Constable of the Tower of London.]

Commons. III. ii. p.123, 125.

> The commons, like an angry hive of bees
> That want their leader, scatter up and down,
> And care not who they stink in his revenge.
> [III. ii. 125–127.]

Cf. George Peele's *Jack Strawe :*

> It was a world to see what troops of men
> Like bees that swarm about the honey hive,
> 'Gan strew the gravel ground and sandy plain.

Cumberland. V. ii. 1, 6.

> Clifford of Cumberland, 'tis Warwick calls :
> . . . . . .
> Proud northern lord, Clifford of Cumberland,
> [V. ii. 1–6.]

It was Henry, the eleventh Baron [great grandson of the Lord Clifford of this play] who was created Earl of Cumberland, in 1525.

Dauphin. I. iii. 124.

> The Dauphin hath prevailed beyond the seas ;
> And all the peers and nobles of the realm
> Have been as bondmen to thy sovereignty.
> *Car.* The Commons hast thou racked ; the clergy's bags
> Are lank and lean with thy extortions.
> [I. iii. 124–128.]

These charges are the same as contained in the Articles of treason " put vp to the king and the lordes by the Commons of the nether house agaynst the Duke of Suffolke." *See* Kent, IV., i., 100, and Grafton's *Chronicle*, Vol. I., pages 638–639.

Dauphin's hands. I. iii. 169.

Dick, the Butcher. IV. ii. 26, p.32 ; IV. iii. p.1 ; IV. vi. p.1 ; IV. vii. p.1 ; IV. viii. p.1.

One of Cade's followers, appearing with him in all the scenes describing the rebellion.

Dido. II. ii. 117.

> To sit and witch me, as Ascanius did
> When he to madding Dido would unfold
> His father's acts, commenced in burning Troy !
> [III. ii. 116–118.]

See Ascanius.

Downs. IV. i. 9.

> For whilst our pinnace anchors in the Downs
> Here shall they make their ransom on the sand,
> [IV. i. 9–10.]

Downs is a term applied to the roadstead for shipping off the coast of Kent, between the North and South Forelands.

"On the 11th of June, 1771, we run up the channel . . . at noon we were abreast of Dover, and about three came to an anchor in the *Downs*, and went ashore at Deal." Cook's *Voyages*.

Duke Edmund. IV. ix. 38.

= The Duke of Somerset.

Duke of Alençon. I. i. 7.

Mentioned here as being present at the espousal of Margaret to Henry VI. Cf. *Extract* 1 from Holinshed.

Duke of Bretagne. I. i. 7.

Francis the First. Mentioned here as being present at the espousal of Queen Margaret. Cf. *Extract* 1 from Holinshed.

Duke of Buckingham. I. i. p.1, 67, 83, 170, 200 ; I. iii. 68, p.100, 112 ; I. iv. p.41, 55 ; II. i. p.162, 162 ; II. ii. 72 ; III. i. p.1, 39, 156 ; IV. iv. p.1 ; IV. viii. p.6, 20 ; IV. ix. p.7, 8, 36 ; V. i. p.12, 12, 15, 32, 44, 56, 83, 192, 193.

The Duke of Buckingham is one of the nobles who assists in the removal of Gloucester. It is he who first suggests the project, and invites Somerset to join him. On being warned by Somerset that Cardinal Beaufort would assume Gloucester's role, he replies, indicating his own ambitions :

> Or thou or I, Somerset, will be protector,
> Despite Duke Humphrey, or the cardinal.
> [I. i. 176–177.]

He takes part in the arrest of the Duchess of Gloucester, and reports to the king of the witchcraft practised in her garden.

Later, when news of Cade's insurrection is brought to the king, Buckingham counsels him to retire to Kenilworth.

Buckingham, with Clifford, acts as envoy from the king to the rebels, and offers them pardon if they will disperse. Cade sees his followers are about to accept the offers made to them, and makes good his escape, upon which Buckingham offers a thousand crowns for his capture.

Then Buckingham and Clifford proceed to

Kenilworth, where they advise the king that the rebellion has been crushed, when news arrives that York has landed with an army for the alleged purpose of removing Somerset, and Buckingham is ordered to go to meet him and discover the true object of his arrival.

Having met York, Buckingham delivers the king's message, and requests York to accompany him to the king's tent. On seeing Somerset at liberty, York denounces the king and is arrested for treason. Thus a conflict is precipitated, and Buckingham is bidden by the king to arm and defend himself and the kingdom against the forces of York.

Humphrey Stafford, first Duke of Buckingham was the only son of Edmund Stafford, fifth Earl of Stafford, killed at the battle of Shrewsbury fighting on the side of the King Henry IV. Created Duke of Buckingham in 1444. The Duke married Anne Neville, daughter of Ralph first Earl of Westmoreland. He was killed at the battle of Northampton on the 27th of July, 1460.

Duke of Calabar. I. i. 7.

John of Anjou, Duke of Calabria, and brother of Margaret. Mentioned here as being present at the espousal of his sister—Margaret—at Tours. Cf. *Extract* 1 from Holinshed.

Duke of Clarence' daughter. IV. ii. 136.

> Marry, this: Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March,
> Married the Duke of Clarence' daughter, did he not?
> [IV. ii. 135–136.]

See Roger, Earl of March.

Duke of Clarence' house. IV. iv. 29.

> Jack Cade proclaims himself Lord Mortimer,
> Descended from the Duke of Clarence' house,
> [IV. iv. 28–29.]

See John Mortimer.

Duke of Gloucester's House.

The Scene of Act I., Scene ii. Shows the loyalty of the Duke of Gloucester and the ambition of the Duchess. Gloucester is in a state of melancholy, due to a dream that his "office badge in Council was broke in twain" which the duchess interprets to mean that he will crush his enemies; and goes on to relate that she herself has dreamed that she was being crowned queen in the Cathedral Church of Westminster. Gloucester rebukes his wife for her ambition. A messenger enters inviting Gloucester to St. Alban's to hawk with the king and queen, and the scene closes with the entry of Hume—who has been suborned by Suffolk and Beaufort—to draw the duchess into practices of witchcraft and treason.

Duke of Orleans. I. i. 7.

Son of Lewis, Duke of Orleans (brother to Charles the Sixth). Taken prisoner at the battle of Agincourt, 1415, and brought to England, where he remained captive until 1440. Mentioned here as being present at the espousal of Margaret at Tours. Cf. *Extract* 1 from Holinshed.

Duke of Somerset. I. i. p.1, 67, 83, 165, 176, 200; I. ii. 29; I. iii. 68, p.100, 101, 104, 113, 167, 205, 220; I. iv. 34, 66; II. ii. 71; III. i. p.82, 83, 86, 290, 304; III. ii. p.15; IV. ix. p.1, 30, 39; V. i. 36, 41, 53, 61, 83, p.84, 87, 90; V. ii. p.66, 68.

In the first scene of the Play we find Buckingham inviting Somerset and Suffolk to join him in removing the Duke of Gloucester from his position as Protector. To this Somerset remarks that Cardinal Beaufort should be regarded as a danger in the way of such a project, but he throws in his lot with Buckingham.

Later, Somerset is appointed by the king to act as his regent in France, a post which he accepts, and departs for France forthwith.

He next appears before the king in Parliament at Bury St. Edmunds, and announces that the English territories in France have all been lost, which information Henry receives in a matter-of-fact way, but not so York, who is Somerset's bitterest enemy.

At Kenilworth Somerset accompanies the king when a messenger enters with the news that York has returned from Ireland with an army:

> to remove from thee
> The Duke of Somerset, whom he terms a traitor.
> [IV. ix. 29–30.]

The king is at a loss as to what he should do, and then decides to commit Somerset to the Tower, while Buckingham is sent to inform York of what has been done. Somerset readily accepts this degradation, saying:

> My lord,
> I 'll yield myself to prison willingly,
> Or unto death, to do my country good.
> [IV. ix. 41–43.]

York is brought before Henry and is confronted by Somerset, who appears in company with the Queen. At this York exclaims that Henry is no king and not fit to reign, and Somerset thereupon arrests York on a charge of treason.

We next find Somerset engaged in combat with Richard Plantagenet at the Battle of St. Albans, and is killed by the son of him whom he had accused of being a traitor.

[Edmund Beaufort, second Duke of Somerset, and younger brother of John Beaufort, Earl of, and afterwards first Duke of Somerset, a character in the *First Part of King Henry the Sixth*. He was killed at the first battle of St. Albans, 22nd May, 1455.]

Duke of Suffolk. I. i. p.1, 17, 44, 62, 107, 122, 131, 169, 199, 215; I. ii. 30, 95, 101; I. iii. p.6, 8, 19, 39, 41, 49, 86, 164, 179; I. iv. 32, 64; II. i. p.1, 31; II. ii. 70; II. iii. p.1; II. iv. 51; III. i. p.1, 39, 98, 155, 246, 266, 273, 326, 327; III. ii. 1, p.6, p.27, 28, 39, 56, 114, 124, 195, 203, 206, p.237, 244, 266, 284, 289, 290, 306, 329, 357, 361, 382, 383, 405; IV. i. p.1, 45, 46, 69, 116, 139; IV. iv. p.1, 22, 41, 56.

The Play commences with Suffolk's announcement that he has carried out the king's instructions to marry in his behalf Margaret of Anjou, and he is created the first Duke of Suffolk:

> Lord marquess, kneel down:
> We here create thee the first Duke of Suffolk,
> And girt thee with the sword. [I. i. 61–63.]

At the end of the scene we are made aware of the plot between Buckingham, Somerset and Suffolk to depose Gloucester, and on Suffolk's next appearance he assures the Queen of his determination to put aside all the obstacles in the way until:

> You yourself shall steer the happy helm. [I. iii. 99.]

Later he openly demands Gloucester's resignation, and at the Parliament at Bury St. Edmunds arrests him on a charge of high treason.

It has been obvious from the beginning of the play that Suffolk intended to remove Gloucester, and as this scene closes is revealed the plot to murder him.

In the next scene the two murderers enter and inform Suffolk that they have duly carried out his orders, and Gloucester is dead. The king soon demands that Gloucester be brought before him, and Suffolk goes, only to return to say that he has found Gloucester dead in his bed. The king suspects foul play, and Warwick boldly accuses Suffolk of the deed.

Suffolk challenges him to combat and they leave the presence of the king to return a moment later with drawn swords. Salisbury enters and exclaims that the Commons demand Suffolk's banishment:

> Dread lord, the commons send you word by me,
> Unless false Suffolk straight be done to death,
> Or banished fair England's territories,
> They will by violence tear him from your palace
> And torture him with grievous lingering death.
> [III. ii. 243–247.]

and the king thereupon orders him to leave the country within three days:

> He shall not breathe infection in this air
> But three days longer, on the pain of death.
> [III. ii. 287–288.]

Suffolk embarks at Dover for France, but his boat is held up and he, in spite of his disguise, is taken prisoner with others and brought back to the shore. The leader of the captors hands Suffolk over to one Walter Whitmore. Suffolk, in abject fear, pleads for his life, but the Captain roundly condemns him and his affairs, and orders him to be executed. Suffolk is led away and in a few moments, Whitmore re-enters bearing the dead body of his captive.

So dies Suffolk, ambitious statesman, close companion of the queen and the instigator of the murder of Gloucester. His zeal to serve the queen's wishes and his own desires led him to remove the Protector to his own undoing. His is a sorry picture; he had a certain amount of courage and power over his fellows, but he became a tool to the queen, and so brought about his own downfall. See *Paston's Letters* [Letter XXVII., dated 5th of May, 1450.]

For the Articles proposed by the Commons against the Duke of Suffolk, *see* Grafton's *Chronicle*, Vol. I., p. 638.

[This character the fourth Earl of Suffolk is William de la Pole, son of Michael de la Pole, second Earl of Suffolk, and brother and successor of Michael de la Pole, third Earl of Suffolk. Created Duke of Suffolk in 1448.]

Earl of Salisbury. I. i. p.1, 68, 84; I. iii. 75, p.100; I. iv. 79; II. ii. p.1, 1, 59; II. iii. p.1; III. i. p.1; III. ii. p.123, 134, 270, 275, 279; III. ii. p.1; V. i. 147; p.148, 162; V. iii. 1, 7, p.14.

Like his son, the Earl of Warwick, Salisbury is at first a supporter of Henry, but he recognises York's claim to the throne, and throws in his lot with him.

He appears as the leader of the Commons who are determined to learn the truth about Gloucester's death, and is ordered to announce to them that Suffolk has been banished for conspiring to murder the Protector.

When Salisbury and Warwick appear with the forces of York, the king upbraids them, and Salisbury replies:

> My lord, I have considered with myself
> The title of this most renowned duke;
> And in my conscience do repute his grace
> The rightful heir to England's royal seat.
> [V. i. 175–178.]

He takes part in the first battle of St. Albans, and expresses his thanks to York for so nobly helping him, at the same time indicating that it is not enough to have won the battle, but they must pursue the king's forces towards London.

See also Earl of Warwick.

[Richard Neville, son of Ralph Neville, first Earl of Westmoreland. Married Alice, only child of Thomas de Montacute, Earl of Salisbury in the *First Part*, and had that title revived in his favour, May 4th, 1442. At first he was a supporter of Henry VI., but he deserted the royal cause for that of his brother-in-law, the Duke of York. Wounded and taken prisoner at the battle of Wakefield, 1460, and executed at Pontefract Castle.]

Earl of Warwick. I. i. p.1, 68, 84, 113, 188, 203, 208; I. iii. 73, p.100, 108, 110, 111, 174; I. iv. 79; II. ii. p.1, 1, 78, 81; III. i. p.1; III. ii. p.123, 130, p.148, 159, 179, 201, 203, p.237, 240, 298; III. iii. p.1; IV. i. 90; V. i. 147, p.148, 156, 161; V. ii. p.1, 1, 7, 14; V. iii. p.1, 27.

Warwick, one of the most powerful nobles in the land, takes his stand with the king and the Duke of Gloucester against the ambitions of the Duke of Suffolk, Buckingham and Somerset.

He deeply regrets the handing over of Anjou and Maine according to Henry's marriage deed, but covers his grief by emphasising his patriotism.

However, with his father Salisbury, he is invited by York to meet him at supper, when York expounds his claim to the throne, and Warwick, recognising the validity of the argument, exclaims:

> What plain proceeding is more plain than this?
> . . . . . .
> Then, father Salisbury, kneel we together,
> And in this private plot be we the first
> That shall salute our rightful sovereign
> With honour of his birthright to the crown.
> [II. ii. 53–62.]

and throws in his lot with the house of York.

Following the discovery of Gloucester's death, Warwick voices the suspicion of the Commons that he has been murdered, and is commanded by Henry to examine the body. This done, Warwick declares that he died a violent death, and accuses Suffolk of the deed, accepting his challenge to a resort to arms. The king averts a duel and banishes Suffolk, ordering Warwick to accompany him.

Warwick's next important appearance is on the fields between Dartford and Blackheath, when he is summoned by York to come forward as his supporter. The king is amazed to find Salisbury and Warwick opposed to him, and exclaims:

> Why, Warwick, hath thy knee forgot to bow?
> Old Salisbury, shame to thy silver hair,
> Thou mad misleader of thy brain-sick son!
> [V. i. 161–163.]

In the first battle of St. Albans, Warwick appears calling Clifford to combat, but York asks him to leave the honour of vanquishing Clifford to him, and Warwick departs.

The battle over and won, Warwick exclaims:

> Saint Alban's battle, won by famous York,
> Shall be eternized in all age to come. [V. iii. 30–31.]

and thus the play ends.

See also Earl of Salisbury.

[Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick and Salisbury, son of Richard Nevill, first Earl of Salisbury, a character in this play; married Anne, only daughter of Richard de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. He is a character in the *Third Part of King Henry the Sixth*, in which Play he figures prominently (q.v.).]

Edmund. II. ii. 38, 39.

> This Edmund, in the reign of Bolingbroke,
> As I have read, laid claim unto the crown;
> And, but for Owen Glendower, had been king,
> Who kept him in captivity till he died.
> [II. ii. 39–42.]

Edmund Mortimer, fifth Earl of March, son of Roger Mortimer, fourth Earl. Recognised as heir presumptive by King Richard the Second. Fought at Agincourt. Appointed Lieutenant of Ireland; 1423. He died in 1425.

In the *First Part of King Henry the Sixth*, Act II., Scene v., York is present at the death of Edmund Mortimer in prison, and the reader will recollect him to have been married to Owen Glendower's daughter in the *First Part of King Henry the Fourth*.

Malone says: "The historians as well as the dramatick poets have been strangely mistaken concerning this Edmond Mortimer, Earl of March, who was so far from being 'kept in captivity till he died.' that he appears to have been at liberty during the whole reign of King Henry the Fifth, and to have been trusted and employed by him; and there is no proof that he ever was confined, as a *state-prisoner*, by King Henry IV. Being only six years of age at the death of his father in 1398, he was delivered by Henry in ward to his son Henry Prince of Wales; and during the whole of that reign, being a minor and related to the family on the throne, both he and his brother Roger were under the particular care of the King. At the age of ten years, in 1402, he headed a body of Herefordshire men against Owen Glendower; and they being routed, he was taken prisoner by Owen, and is said by Walsingham to have entered into a contract of marriage with Glendower's daughter, and to have been with him at the battle of Shrewsbury; but I believe the story of his being affianced to Glendower's daughter is a mistake, and that the historian has confounded Mortimer with Lord Grey of Ruthvin, who was likewise taken prisoner by Glendower, and actually did marry his daughter. In the *First Part of King Henry the Sixth*, the aged and grey-hair'd Mortimer is introduced in the Tower, and made to say—

> Since Harry Monmouth first began to reign,
> Before whose glory I was great in arms,
> This loathsome sequestration I have had:

Yet here we are told, he was kept in captivity by Owen Glendower till he died. The fact is, that Hall having said that Glendower kept his son-in-law, Lord Grey of Ruthvin, *in captivity till he died*, and this Lord March having been said by some historians to have married Owen's daughter, the author of this play has confounded them with each other. Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, married Anne Stafford, the daughter of Edmond Earl of Stafford. If he was at the battle of Shrewsbury he was probably brought there against his will, to grace the cause of the rebels."

Edmund Langley. II. ii. 15, 46, 49.

First Duke of York, son of King Edward the Third (q.v.). See *King Richard the Second*, pp. 446–448.

Edmund Mortimer, [Third] Earl of March. II. ii. 36, 37, 49; IV. ii. 135.

Son of Roger Mortimer, second Earl of March, and Philippa, daughter of William Montacute, first Earl of Salisbury. He married Philippe, daughter of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, third son of King Edward the Third. See *Extract* 13 from Holinshed.

Edward, son to Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York. V. i. p.122.

Edward Plantagenet, later to become Edward IV., appears in the play with his brother Richard before the king at Blackheath, to be bail for his father when York is arrested for high treason by Somerset.

Being asked by their father if they will give their word for him, Edward replies:

> Ay, noble father, if our words will serve.
> [V. i. 139.]

to which Richard adds:

> And if words will not, then our weapons shall.
> [V. i. 140.]

[Edward and Richard Plantagenet are also characters in the *Third Part of King Henry the Sixth*, in which Play they figure prominently (q.v.).]

Edward the Black Prince, Prince of Wales. II. ii. 11, 18.

See *Extract* 13 from Holinshed.

Edward the Third. II. ii. 10, 20, 46.

York here (lines 10 *et seq.*) gives his genealogy proving that he is the rightful heir to the crown. See *Extract* 13 from Holinshed.

Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester. I. ii. p.1, 17, 41, 42, 52, 59, 91, 97, 105; I. iii. p.100, 146, 147; I. iv. p.13; II. i. 166; II. iii. p.1, 1, 15, 46; II. iv. 10, 17, 26, 58, 67, 74; III. ii. p.15, 26, 79, 100, 120.

It would be difficult to discover a more ambitious character than Eleanor. She is bitterly jealous of the queen, and would leave no stone unturned to place herself in her position. At every opportunity she urges her husband to seize the crown, as her whole thoughts are centred on self-advancement.

An instance of her insistent demand to be the first woman in the land is given on her first appearance in the play, and these few lines give us the keynote to her character in an unmistakable manner.

She enquires,

> Why droops my lord, like over-ripened corn
> . . . . . .
> Why are thine eyes fixed to the sullen earth,
> . . . . . .
> What seest thou there? King Henry's diadem
> Enchased with all the honours of the world?
> If so, gaze on, and grovel on thy face,
> Until thy head be circled with the same.
> Put forth thy hand, reach at the glorious gold.
> [I. ii. 1–11.]

and continues, to assure him of her most willing assistance,

> What! is 't too short? I 'll lengthen it with mine;
> And, having both together heaved it up,
> We 'll both together lift our heads to heaven,
> And never more abase our sight so low
> As to vouchsafe one glance unto the ground.
> [I. ii. 12–16.]

Her husband rebukes her for her ambition:

> Banish the canker of ambitious thoughts; [I. ii. 18.]

for he knows only too well her obsession, and no doubt fears that tragedy will be the outcome of it.

He proceeds to tell her of a dream he has had, which he fears is an omen of impending disaster, but she retorts by relating a dream of hers in which of course her one eternal ambition is realised.

> Methought I sat in seat of majesty
> In the cathedral church of Westminster,
> And in that chair where kings and queens are crowned;
> Where Henry and Dame Margaret kneeled to me,
> And on my head did set the diadem. [I. ii. 36–40.]

The Duchess on state occasions always endeavours to appear most dignified and likes to imagine that the courtiers take her for the queen, and on one occasion her airs are effectually belittled by Queen Margaret who purposely drops her fan when close to the Duchess. Of course Eleanor does not pick it up, and she receives the terse reproof from the queen who pretends not to recognise her,

> Give me my fan: what, minion! can ye not?
> [I. iii. 137.]

This enrages Eleanor, who heatedly retorts:

> yea, I it was, proud Frenchwoman:
> Could I come near your beauty with my nails
> I 'd set my ten commandments in your face.
> [I. iii. 139–141.]

This episode causes Buckingham to utter words containing a very true prophecy:

> She 's tickled now; her fume needs no spurs,
> She 'll gallop far enough to her destruction.
> [I. iii. 149–150.]

Eleanor's next appearance is in her garden, when Jourdain calls up the spirit as has been arranged between the Duchess and Hume. She is anxious for the "seance" to commence remarking:

> To this
> gear, the sooner the better. [I. iv. 13–14.]

When the spirit has departed, York, Buckingham and guards rush upon the scene, and those who have been taking part are arrested.

The Duchess, with the others, is brought before King Henry to be sentenced for this trangression of the law, and Henry decrees that she shall

> after three days' open penance done,
> Live in your country here in banishment,
> With Sir John Stanley, in the Isle of Man. [II. iii. 11–13.]

and Eleanor, seeing that this is the end of all her lofty ambitions, exclaims:

> Welcome is banishment; welcome were my death.
> [II. iii. 14.]

In a street in London, the broken-hearted duke awaits the coming of his wife, who is to pass that way doing her penance, and he wishes to see her once more before she departs into banishment. On her appearance it is evident that a change has befallen her, as she is utterly broken in spirit, and when the duke has gone she exclaims to Sir John Stanley,

Go, lead the way; I long to see my prison.
[II. iv. 110.]

Thus Eleanor passes, and having seen a glimpse of her nature as portrayed on her last appearance one cannot but think what a noble and useful life hers could have been if her extravagant ambition had not so completely obliterated her other characteristics.

Eleanor. II. ii. 38.

Daughter of Roger Mortimer, fourth Earl of March.

Eleanor. III. ii. 79, 100, 120.

Margaret. It is evident that the author was thinking of Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester, instead of Margaret the queen.

Elysium. III. ii. 399.

In classical mythology the supposed abode of the blessed after death. Æneas was given a description of it by one of its inhabitants, and Virgil tells us that it abounds with all the delights that the most pleasant plains, the most verdant fields, the shadiest groves, and the finest and most temperate air, can produce.

Emmanuel. IV. ii. 98.

Cade. What is thy name?
Clerk. Emmanuel.
Dick. They use to write it on the top of letters. 'Twill go hard with you. [IV. ii. 97–100.]

= "God with us," formerly prefixed to letters and deeds to convey the impression of piety. Here given as the name of the Clerk of Chatham. Cf. *The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth*, where the Archbishop after delivering the impertinent message from the Dauphin to Henry V., says:

I beséech your grace, to deliuer me your safe
Conduct vnder your broad seale Emanuel.

and a little further on, the king says:

My Lorde of Yorke, deliuer him our safe conduct,
Vnder our broad seale Emanuel.

Staunton remarks: "An exemplification of Dick's remark is found in the following letter from John Speed, the historian, to Sir Robert Cotton, written about 1609 or 1610, and published by the Camden Society in *Original Letters of Eminent Literary Men*, 1843:

Emanuell.
Worshipfull Sir, my thoughts runnyng upon the well performance of this worke, and fearfull to comitt any thing disagreeing from the truth, I have sent you a coppy of some part of that which you have alredy sene, because you left in writing at the Printers that with a fast eye you had overune it, and your leasure better affording that busines in the contrey then here you had; this therefore hath caused me to send you as much as my Printer can espare, beseiching your Worshipe to read it more attentyvly, to place the Coynes, and what adicssions you will before you returne it; and I pray you to past a paper where you doe adde, and not to intirline the coppy, for somewhere we cannot read your Notes because the place geves your pene not rome to exprese your mynd. I have sent such Coynes as are cutt, and will weekly supply the same; so much therefore as you shall perfect I praye you send againe with as much speed as you can; but where you do want the Coynes, kepe that coppy still with you, untill I send them: for I shall not be sattisfied with your other directions or Mr. Coles helpe. Good Sir, afford me herein your assistance as you have begune, and remember my suit to my L. privy-seall, wherein you shall binde me in all dutifull service and affection to your Worship's command. So beseiking the Almighty to prosper our indevours I humbly take my leave, and leave your Worship to the Lordes protection. Your Worships to command in all dutifull service, JOH. SPEED."

England. I. i. 11, 73, 96, 230, 257; I. iii. 42, 65, 66, 70, 72; II. i. 31; II. ii, 82; III. i. 20, 88, 111, 123, 349; IV. i. 72; IV. ii. 161; IV. x. 42; V. i. 118.

England. IV. ii. 8.

Well, I say it
was never merry world in England since gentlemen came up. [IV. ii. 7–9.]

The same phrase was used by the Duke of Suffolk in the time of King Henry the Eighth: "Then stept forth the Duke of Suffolke from the King, and spake with a hault countenance these words: *It was never merry in England* while we had any Cardinals among us." *Stow.*

England. IV. ii. 65.

> There shall be in England seven half-penny loaves sold for a penny; the three-hooped pot shall have ten hoops; and I will make it felony to drink small beer. [IV. ii. 65–68.]

The old drinking-pots, being of wood, were bound together, as barrels are, with hoops.

England. IV. vii. 6, 15.

> Only that the laws of England may come out of your mouth. [IV. vii. 6–7.]

From the Wat Tyler rebellion of 1381. On June 14th, 1381, Wat Tyler, it is alleged, boasted, "putting his hands to his lips, that within foure daies all the lawes of England should come foorth of his mouth." *Boswell Stone.*

England. IV. viii. 50.

> Spare England, for it is your native coast.
> Henry hath money, you are strong and manly;
> God on our side, doubt not of victory. [IV. viii. 50–52.]

Dr. Warburton reads: "Henry hath mercy." Commenting on this, Johnson remarks: "Dr. Warburton does not seem to have attended to the speaker's drift, which is to lure them from their present design by the hope of French plunder. He bids them spare England, and go to France, and encourages them by telling them that all is ready for their expedition; that they have *strength*, and the king has *money*."

England. IV. ix. 49.

> Come, wife, let 's in, and learn to govern better;
> For yet may England curse my wretched reign.
> [IV. ix. 48–49.]

In *The Contention*, the corresponding passage reads:

> Come let vs haste to London now with speed,
> That solemne prosessions may be sung,
> In laud and honour of the God of heauen,
> And triumphs of this happie victorie.

England's royal seat. V. i. 178.

> My lord, I have considered with myself
> The title of this most renowned duke;
> And in my conscience do repute his grace
> The rightful heir to England's royal seat.
> [V. i. 175–178.]

Salisbury tells the king that Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York is the rightful heir to the crown.

England's soil. I. i. 236.

> Cold news for me, for I had hope of France,
> Even as I have of fertile England's soil.
> [I. i. 235–236.]

See France, I., i., 235.

England's treasure. III. iii. 2.

> If thou be'st death, I 'll give thee England's treasure,
> Enough to purchase such another island,
> So thou wilt let me live, and feel no pain.
> [III. iii. 2–4.]

The corresponding passage in *The Contention* is:

> Oh death, if thou wilt let me liue but one whole yeare,
> Ile giue thee as much gold as will purchase such another Iland.

Malone remarks: The following passage in Hall's *Chronicle* probably suggested these lines: "During these doynges, Henry Beaufford, byshop of Winchester, and called the riche Cardynall, departed out of this worlde.—This man was—haut in stomach and hygh in countenance, ryche above measure of all men, and to fewe liberal; disdaynful to his kynne, and dreadful to his lovers. His covetous insaciable and hope of long lyfe made hym bothe to forget God, his prynce, and hymselfe, in his latter dayes; for Doctor John Baker, his pryvie counsailer and his chapellayn, wrote, that lying on his death-bed, he said these words: 'Why should I dye, having so muche riches? If the whole realme would save my lyfe, I am able either by pollicie to get it, or by ryches to bye it. Fye will not death be hyred, nor will money do nothynge? When my nephew of Bedford died, I thought my selfe halfe up the whele, but when I sawe myne other nephew of Gloucester diseased, than I thought my selfe able to be equal with kinges, and so thought to increase my treasure in hope to have worne a trypple croune. But I se nowe the worlde fayleth me, and so I am deceyved; praying you all to pray for me.'" *See also* Grafton's *Chronicle*, Vol. I., pp. 631–632.

Envy. III. ii. 315.

> As lean-faced Envy in her loathsome cave.
> [III. ii. 315.]

A personification of the Evil one.

Excursions. V. ii. 72.

Sallies; Sorties; an issuing of troops from a besieged place to attack the besiegers.

Falconers. II. i. p.1.

Fields between Dartford and Blackheath.

The Scene of Act V., Scene i. This scene opens with the arrival of York from Ireland at the head of a large army. Being met by Buckingham on behalf of the king to know why he comes in arms, York replies "to remove the traitor Somerset from the king's counsel." Buckingham tells York that the king has yielded to his demand and sent Somerset to the Tower, and York dismisses his army and sends his two sons—Edward and Richard—to the king as hostages. [For the arrival of Edward and Richard Plantagenet at this critical moment, there is no foundation, but the opinion of a Chronicler that it was the rumour of the Earl of March's coming that prevented York's arrest. But Edward was at this time only fourteen years old at the most, and Richard not four. *Courtenay.*] Iden appears with the head of Cade, and is knighted by Henry for his valiant deed in slaying the caitiff. Somerset now appears, and York charges Henry with a breach of faith. High words ensue between the parties, and the scene closes with preparations being made for the battle which immediately follows.

Fields near Saint Alban's.

The Scene of Act V., Scene iii. Stubbs remarks: "A battle followed, in which the Duke of Somerset, the earl of Northumberland, the earl of Stafford, son of Buckingham, and the lord Clifford, on the king's side, were slain, and he himself was wounded. Although in itself little more than a skirmish which lasted half an an hour, and cost comparatively little bloodshed, the first battle of S. Alban's sealed the fate of the kingdom; the duke of York was completely victorious; the king remained a prisoner in his hands, and he recovered at once all the power that he had lost. The battle of S. Alban's had one permanent result: it forced the queen forward as the head of the royal party."

La fin couronne les œuvres. V. ii. 28.

Clif. La fin couronne les œuvres.
[*They fight, and Clifford falls and dies.*]
York. Thus war hath given thee peace, for thou art still.
Peace with his soul, heaven, if it be thy will!
[V. ii. 28–30.]

"The end crowns the work." The story departs from historical accuracy here. Lord Clifford was not killed by York. For the true historical account of Clifford's death see the *Third Part of King Henry the Sixth*, I., i., 7–9:

Lord Clifford, and Lord Stafford, all abreast,
Charged our main battle's front, and breaking in
Were by the swords of common soldiers slain.

Fish Street. IV. viii. 1.

Up Fish Street! down Saint Magnus' Corner!
[IV. viii. 1.]

"Both these places (Fish Street and Saint Magnus' Corner) are on the opposite side of the river to Southwark, where the scene is supposed to take place. The name of *Fish Street* is preserved in *Fish Street Hill*, on which the Monument stands. There is a church of *Saint Magnus* in Lower Thames Street. Perhaps these directions were intended to be given to bands of the rebels who were to cross the bridge." *Irving edition.*

Fortune's Pageant. I. ii. 67.

And, being a woman, I will not be slack
To play my part in Fortune's pageant. [I. ii. 66–67.]

Hart remarks: "This *pageant plaied*, the Regent sent Peter of Luxenborough . . . to besiege the toune of Sainct Valerie." And again: "The Erle of Warwickes doynges, which must needes *play a pageaunt* in this enterlude, or else the plai wer at a poynt."

France. I. i. 80, 85, 90, 100, 104, 133, 144, 194, 211, 230; I. iii. 160, 169; III. ii. 405; IV. i. 113; IV. vii. 131; IV. viii. 17; IV. viii. 36, 49; V. i. 11.

France. I. i. 2.

As by your high imperial majesty
I had in charge at my depart for France,
As procurator to your excellence,
To marry Princess Margaret for your grace,
[I. i. 1–4.]

Grafton says: "This noble company came to the Citie of Toures in Tourayne, where they were honorably receyued, both of the French king, and of the king of Sicile. Where the Marques of Suffolke, as procurator to king Henry, espoused the sayde Lady, in the Church of saint Martins. At which mariage were present, the father and mother of the bride, the French king himselfe, which was Vncle to the husbande, and the French Quene also, which was Awnte to the wyfe. There were also the

Dukes of Orleaunce, of Calabar, of Alaunson, and of Britayne, seauen Erles, xij Barons, xx Bishops, beside knightes and gentlemen. There were triumphant Iustes, costly feastes, and delicate banquets: but all pleasure hath an ende, and euery ioye is not continuall. So that after these high solempnities finished, and these honorable ceremonies ended, the Marques had the Lady Margaret to him delyuered, which in great estate, he conueyed through Normandy to Deepe, and so transported her into Englande, where she landed at Portesmouth, in the Moneth of Aprill. This woman excelled all other, as well in beautie and fauour, as in wyt and pollicie, and was of stomacke and courage, more lyke to a man, then a woman. Sone after her arriuall, she was conueyed to the towne of Southwike in Hamshire, where she with all nupciall ceremonies, was coupled in matrimonie to king Henry the sixt of that name. After which mariage, she was with great triumph, conueyed to London, and so to Westminster, where vpon the xxx day of May, she with all solemnitie therevnto apperteyning, was crowned Queene of this Noble realme of Englande." Cf. *Extract* 1 from Holinshed.

France. I. i. 65.

> Cousin of York,
> We here discharge your grace from being regent
> I' the parts of France, till term of eighteen months
> Be full expired. [I. i. 63–66.]

Cf. *Extract* 9 from Holinshed.

France. I. i. 235; III. i. 87.

> Cold news for me, for I had hope of France,
> Even as I have of fertile England's soil.
> [I. i. 235–236.]

York hoped to be king of France as well as of England, as Henry the Fifth had been, and his son—Henry the Sixth—before the possessions and conquests of the English had been lost.

France. I. iii. 51.

> I tell thee, Pole, when in the city Tours
> Thou rann'st a tilt in honour of my love,
> And stol'st away the ladies' hearts of France,
> I thought King Henry had resembled thee
> In courage, courtship, and proportion:
> [I. iii. 49–53.]

See Grafton's *Chronicle*, Vol. I., page 625; and *Extract* 1 from Holinshed.

France. I. iii. 102, 134.

> If York have ill demeaned himself in France,
> Then let him be denayed the regentship.
> [I. iii. 102–103.]

> Thy sale of offices and towns in France,
> If they were known, as the suspect is great,
> Would make thee quickly hop without thy head.
> [I. iii. 134–136.]

Hart quotes from Polydore Vergil: "There was forthwith a companye readie to sedition . . . who . . . did urge forwarde, exhorte, and perswade her, to looke into the revenewes of the Crowne, to call for an accompt thereof, and so should she well understande that the duek had used the same, not for the common wealth but for his owne private commoditie." This is Somerset's charge.

France. II. ii. 25.

> Sent his poor Queen to France, from whence she came,
> And him to Pomfret. [II. ii. 25–26.]

See under Queen.

France. III. i. 62, 104, 106, 109.

> And did he not, in his protectorship,
> Levy great sums of money through the realm
> For soldiers' pay in France, and never sent it?
> [III. i. 60–62.]

York. Tis' thought, my lord, that you took bribes in France,
And, being protector, stayed the soldiers' pay;
By means whereof his highness hath lost France.
Glou. Is it but thought so? What are they that think it?
I never robbed the soldiers of their pay,
Nor ever had one penny bribe from France.
[III. i. 104–109.]

One of the charges brought against the Duke of Gloucester by the Duke of York. Somerset was also charged with the same offence.

France. III. i. 83.

King. Welcome, Lord Somerset. What news from France?
Som. That all your interest in those territories
Is utterly bereft you: all is lost. [III. i. 83–85.]

The Duke of Somerset was Regent in France. Cf. *Extract* 9 from Holinshed.

Hart quotes Hall: At the yielding of Caen, the Duke of Somerset . . . made an agrement with the Frenche kyng, that he would rendre the toun so that he and all of his might depart in sauegard with all their goodes and substaunce; whiche offre the Frenche kyng gladly accepted . . . Sir Davie Hall . . . departed to Chierburgh and from thence sailed

into Irelande to the Duke of Yorke, making relacion to hym . . . whiche thyng kyndeled so greate a rancoure in his harte & stomache that he never left persecutynge of the Duke of Somersette . . . Now rested English onely the toune of Chierburgh. . . . Thus was the duchie of Normandy lost ye whiche had continued in the english-mennes possession xxx. yeres, by the conquest of Kyng Henry the fifth . . . Others say, that the Duke of Somerset, for his owne peculiar profit, kept not halfe his nombre of souldiors, and put their wages in his purse."

France. III. i. 292, 295.

York. That Somerset be sent as regent thither.
'Tis meet that lucky ruler be employed;
Witness the fortune he hath had in France.

Som. If York, with all his far-fet policy,
Had been the regent there instead of me,
He never would have stayed in France so long.
[III. i. 290–295.]

In *The Contention* the passage is:

York. To keepe in awe the stubborne Irishmen,
He did so much good when he was in France.

Som. Had Yorke bene there with all his far fecht
Pollices, he might haue lost as much as I.

York. I, for Yorke would haue lost his liue before
That France should haue reuolted from Englands rule.

France. IV. i. 86.

By thee Anjou and Maine were sold to France.
[IV. i. 86.]

See Anjou, I., i., 212; IV., i., 86.

France. IV. vii. 21.

here 's the Lord Say,
which sold the towns in France; [IV. vii. 20–21.]

Holinshed says: "The Commons in the Parliament of 1450 charged with being principal parties to the cession of Anjou and Maine the duke of Suffolke, with William bishop of Salisburie, and sir Iames Fines, lord Saie, and diuerse others.

Gallowglasses. IV. ix. 26.

And with a puissant and a mighty power
Of gallowglasses and stout kerns
Is marching hitherward in proud array;
[IV. ix. 26–28.]

Stanihurst in his *Description of Ireland*, says: "The *galloglasse* useth a kind of pollax for his weapon. These men are grim of countenance, tall of stature, big of limme, and lusty of body, wel and strongly timbered. The *kerne* is an ordinary souldier, using for weapon his sword and target, and sometimes his peece, being commonly good marksmen. Kerne signifieth a shower of hell, because they are taken for no better than for rake-hells, or the devils blacke garde." *See also* Kerns.

Gelidus timor occupat artus. IV. i. 117.

"Cold fear seizes my limbs"; probably a reminiscence from the Eleventh Book of Virgil.

George. IV. i. 29.

Look on my George; I am a gentleman.
Rate me at what thou wilt, thou shalt be paid.
[IV. i. 29–30.]

A jewelled figure of St. George forming part of the insignia of the Order of the Garter. Cf. *The Tragedy of King Richard the Third*, IV., iv., 369–376:

K. Rich. Now, by my George, my garter, and my crown,—

Q. Eliz. Profan'd, dishonour'd, and the third usurp'd.

K. Rich. I swear—

Q. Eliz. By nothing; for this is no oath:
Thy George, profan'd, hath lost his lordly honour;
Thy garter, blemish'd, pawn'd, his knightly virtue;
Thy crown, usurp'd, disgrac'd his kingly glory.
If something thou would'st swear to be believ'd,
Swear then by something that thou hast not wrong'd.

George Bevis. IV. ii. p.1; IV. iii. p.1; IV. vi. p.1; IV. vii. p.23; IV. viii. p.1.

Bevis appears in company with John Holland on Blackheath, and they decide to join with Cade in his projected rebellion. He subsequently appears as a staunch follower of Cade, and brings in Lord Say, who has been taken prisoner in the fighting at Smithfield.

Gloucester's body. III. ii. p.149.

Re-enter Warwick *and others bearing* Gloucester's *body on a bed.*

"The stage-direction in the quarto is—Warwick draws the curtaines, [*i.e.* draws them open] and shows Duke Humphrey in his bed. In the folio—A bed with Gloster's body put forth. These are some of the many circumstances which prove, I think, decisively, that the theatres of our author's time were unfurnished with scenes. In those days, as I conceive, curtains were occasionally hung across the middle of the

stage on an iron rod, which, being drawn open, formed a second apartment, when a change of scene was required. The direction of the folio, 'to put forth a bed,' was merely to the property-man to thrust a bed forwards behind those curtains, previous to their being drawn open." *Malone.*

Gloucester's Garden.

The Scene of Act I., Scene iv. Shows the arrest of the Duchess of Gloucester, Margery Jourdain, the witch; Hume, Southwell and Bolingbroke for practising witchcraft. [Courtenay states: "For the prophecies which the conjurors extract from their spirits I find no authority. An insinuation that the charge against Eleanor was part of the scheme of 'persons near about the king,' is found by Fabyan. It certainly came opportunely to bring the Duke into disrepute; but 'he bore all things patiently, and said little.' . . . Whatever part Beaufort may have had in this affair, Queen Margaret certainly had none. Though Suffolk in the play announces it to the Queen as a contrivance to get the Duchess out of her way, it really occurred three years before she came to England."]

Gualtier. IV. i. 37, 38.

Suf. Thy name affrights me, in whose sound is death.
A cunning man did calculate my birth,
And told me that by water I should die:
Yet let not this make thee be bloody-minded;
Thy name is Gualtier, being rightly sounded.
Whit. Gualtier or Walter, which it is, I care not.
[IV. i. 33–38.]

The French form of "Walter." In Queen Margaret's letter to this Duke of Suffolk, by Michael Drayton, we read:

I pray thee, Poole, have care how thou dost pass,
Never the sea yet half so dangerous was,
And one foretold, by *water* thou should'st die.

The best account we have of Suffolk's death is No. 93 of the Paston Letters:

A.D. 1450, 5 May.
William Lomner to John Paston.
To my ryght worchipfull John Paston, at Norwich.

Ryght worchipfull sir, I recomaunde me to yow, and am right sory of that I shalle sey, and have soo wesshe this litel bille with sorwfulle terys, that on ethes ye shalle reede it.

As on Monday nexte after May day there come tydyngs to London, that on Thorsday before the Duke of Suffolk come into the costes of Kent full nere Dover with his ij. shepes and a litel spynner; the qweche spynner he sente with certeyn letters to certeyn of his trustid men unto Caleys warde, to knowe howe he shuld be resceyvyd; and with hym mette a shippe callyd Nicolas of the Towre, with other shippis waytyng on hym, and by hem that were in the spyner, the maister of the Nicolas hadde knowlich of the dukes comyng. And whanne he espyed the dukes shepis, he sent forthe his bote to wete what they were, and the duke hym selfe spakke to hem, and seyd, he was be the Kyngs comaundement sent to Caleys ward, &c.

And they seyd he most speke with here master. And soo he, with ij. or iij. of his men, wente forth with hem yn here bote to the Nicolas; and whanne he come, the master badde hym, 'Welcom, Traitor,' as men sey; and forther the maister desyryd to wete yf the shepmen woldde holde with the duke, and they sent word they wold not yn noo wyse; and soo he was yn the Nicholas tyl Saturday next folwyng.

Soom sey he wrotte moche thenke [thing] to be delyverd to the Kynge, but thet is not verily knowe. He hadde hes confessor with hym, &c.

And some sey he was arreyned yn the sheppe on here maner upon the appechementes and fonde gylty, &c.

Also he asked the name of the sheppe, and whanne he knew it, he remembred Stacy that seid, if he myght eschape the daunger of the Towr, he should be saffe; and thanne his herte fayled hym, for he thowghte he was desseyvyd, and yn the syght of all his men he was drawyn ought of the grete shippe yn to the bote; and there was an exe, and a stoke, and oon of the lewdeste of the shippe badde hym ley down his hedde, and he should be fair ferd wyth, and dye on a swerd; and toke a rusty swerd, and smotte of his hedde withyn halfe a doseyn strokes, and toke awey his gown of russet, and his dobelette of velvet mayled, and leyde his body on the sonds of Dover; and some sey his hedde

was sette oon a pole by it, and hes men sette on the londe be grette circumstaunce and preye... And the shreve of Kent doth weche the body, and sent his under shreve to the juges to wete what to doo, and also to the Kenge whatte shalbe doo.

Guards. I. iii. p.176; I. iv. 41; II. iii. p.1.

Hall of Justice. [St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster].

The Scene of Act II., Scene iii. The trial of the Duchess of Gloucester and her confederates for practising witchcraft has already taken place when this scene opens. The Duchess is condemned to undergo public penance and subsequent banishment to the Isle of Man, while the others are condemned to be executed. The scene closes with the duel between Peter and his master. *See also* Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester.

Hautboys. I. i. p.1.

A wind instrument, sounded through a reed and similar in shape to a clarinet.

Heads of Lord Say and Sir James Cromer. IV. vii. p.128.

See Lord Say and Sir James Cromer.

Henry. I. i. 76, 82; II. iii. 34.

King Henry the Fifth.

Henry Bolingbroke, Duke of Lancaster. II. ii. 21.

Afterwards King Henry the Fourth.

Henry's conquest. I. i. 94.

The French conquests of King Henry the Fifth.

Henry the Fifth. IV. ii. 156; IV. viii. 17, 34, 56.

Henry the Fourth. II. ii. 23.

Herald. II. iv. p.70.

Summons Gloucester "to his majesty's Parliament, holden at Bury St. Edmunds the first of the next month."

Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, Uncle to the King. I. i. p.1, 67, 74, 135, 157, 160, 167, 170, 175, 177, 181, 191, 201, 239, 251; I. ii. 1, 3, 33, 35, 62, 106; I. iii. 46, 77, 95, p.100, 148, p.151, 210; II. i. p.1, 32, 43, 49, 158, 185, 196; II. ii. 74; II. iii. p.1, 18, 22, 26, 40; II. iv. p.1, 23, 27, 37, 42, 98; III. i. 1, 20, 56, 65, 69, p.93, 95, 139, 202, 204, 217, 222, 225, 233, 250, 260, 321, 382; III. ii. 20, 29, 55, 72, 78, 123, 138, 182, 187, 202, 231, 248, 374; IV. i. 76; V. i. 56.

Gloucester is Protector of the realm, and adviser to the king, a strong and loyal supporter of his monarch. But Suffolk sees in him a stumbling-block to his own ambitions and gathers a party of nobles round him for Gloucester's destruction. The weak king, unable to fathom the deeper projects of his lords, submits to the plot and thus loses his staunchest ally, one who might have provided him with a loyal band of nobles and assured the peace and security of his throne and country.

It is seen in the course of the play that Gloucester's rule during Henry's minority has been of such consummate diligence that those who seek to remove him are at a loss to conceive a charge against him, but his wife Eleanor is his undoing. Her ambition is reckless, and through her desires an opportunity occurs to accuse Gloucester of coveting the crown.

His offer to resign is not sufficient for Suffolk and his followers, and they continue to accuse him before Henry, and Suffolk finally accuses him of treason. Gloucester is then led away to await trial, but before this can take place he is murdered by assassins hired by Suffolk.

Gloucester's deep love of his country is exemplified in the first act of the play; the abrupt termination of his reading the covenant of peace is a piece of exquisite dramatic force, and in his excuse the dramatist has conveyed in a masterly way his conception of Gloucester as a sincere patriot.

Gloucester is well aware of Suffolk's motives in causing his arrest, and his speech as he is led away to imprisonment expresses this in no uncertain way:

> Thus is the shepherd beaten from thy side,
> And wolves are gnarling who shall gnaw thee first.
> Ah! that my fear were false; ah! that it were;—
> For, good king Henry, thy decay I fear.
>
> [III. i. 191–194.

Inns of Court. IV. vii. 2.

> others to the inns of court : [IV. vii. 2.]

See Savoy.

Invitis nubibus. IV. i. 99.

> Advance our half-faced sun, striving to shine,
> Under the which is writ Invitis nubibus. [IV. i. 98–99.]

The device on King Edward the Third's standard was a sun breaking through the clouds, with the motto 'Invitis nubibus' = 'In spite of the clouds.'

Ireland. I. i. 192.

> And, brother York, thy acts in Ireland,
> In bringing them to civil discipline, [I. i. 192–193.]

An anachronism. The present scene is in 1445, and Richard, Duke of York, was not appointed Viceroy of Ireland until 1447, and delayed his departure until 1449.

Ireland. I. i. 230.

Ireland. III. i. 282, 310, 312.

> The uncivil kerns of Ireland are in arms
> The temper clay with blood of Englishmen :
> [III. i. 310–311.]

In *The Contention* the passage runs :

> Madame, I bring you newes from Ireland,
> The wilde Onele my Lords, is vp in Armes,
> With troupes of Irish Kernes that vncontrold,
> Doth plant themselues within the English pale.

Cf. I., i., 192–193.

Ireland. III. i. 329, 348, 360, 380.

For, A Report, drawn up by the chief persons in the County of Kildare, to Richard Duke of York, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, *see* Jones' *York and Lancaster*, 1399–1485, p. 62.

Ireland. IV. ix. 24 ; V. i. 1.

> The Duke of York is newly come from Ireland,
> [IV. ix. 24.]

Cf. *Extract* 26 from Holinshed.

Iris. III. ii. 407.

> For wheresoe'er thou art in this world's globe,
> I 'll have an Iris that shall find thee out.
> [III. ii. 406–4.]

In Greek mythology the messenger of the Gods. Because of her swiftness she is represented with wings, riding on a rainbow. One of her offices was to unloose the souls of women from the chains of the body, *e.g.* when Dido laid violent hands on herself, Juno despatched Iris to loose her soul from her body, as described by Virgil in the *Æneid*, Book IV :

> Then Juno, grieving that she should sustain
> A death so ling'ring, and so full of pain,
> Sent Iris down to free her from the stife
> of lab'ring nature, and dissolve her life. [Dryden's trans.]

Isle of Man. II. iii. 13 ; II. iv. 78, 94.

> Shall, after three days' open penance done,
> Live in your country here in banishient,
> With Sir John Stanley, in the Isle of Man.
> [II. iii. 11–13.]

Cf. *Extract* 15 from Holinshed.

Jack Cade, a Rebel. III. i. 357, 360 ; IV. ii. 4, p.32, 32, 153, 176 ; IV. iii. p.1 ; IV. iv. 13, 19, 28, 49 ; IV. v, 1 ; IV. vi. p.1, 7, 9 ; IV. vii. p.1, 11 ; IV. viii. p.1, 7, 33, 34, 47 ; IV. ix. 8, 31, 34 ; IV. x. p.1, 65, 66 ; V. i. 62, p.64, 67, 68.

The leader of a mob of rebels, hired by York to raise an insurrection in order to strenghen his hand against the king.

York describes his plot in a soliloquy after news has been brought to the king that the rebellion has broken out :

> I have seduced a headstrong Kentishman,
> John Cade of Ashford,
> To make commotion, as full well he can,
> Under the title of John Mortimer.
> [III. i. 356-359.]

We first meet Cade at Blackheath, surrounded by his Kentish followers. He makes wild promises of what he will do when he has achieved power, and defies the entreaties of Sir Humphrey Stafford to disperse the mob.

The succeeding scenes depict various phases of the rebellion ; the Staffords are slain, and the rebels capture London Bridge, and Cade, elated by this success, urges his followers to :

> go
> and set London Bridge on fire, and, if you can,
> burn down the Tower too.
> [IV. vi. 13-15.]

At Smithfield, Lord Say is brought before Cade and is executed at his command, together with his son-in-law.

Cade next appears at Southwark, at the head of the rebels, exclaiming :

> Up Fish Street ! down Saint Magnus' Corner !
> kill and knock down ! throw them into Thames !
> [IV. viii. 1-2.]

when a parley is sounded and Buckingham and Old Clifford with their forces enter. They offer free pardons to the rebels if they will return to their homes. The mob is won over and Cade, seeing his cause is lost, makes good his escape.

He is later seen climbing over the wall of Alexander Iden's garden, worn out with hunger and desperately seeking food. Iden appears and does not recognise the intruder, but Cade exclaims :

> Here 's the lord of the soil come to seize me for a stray, for entering his fee-simple without leave. Ah, villain, thou wilt betray me, and get a thousand crowns of the king by carrying my head to him. [IV. x. 24–27.]

Iden is surprised at these words, and is loth to accept the vagrant's challenge to fight, but Cade persists, and a duel ensues in which Cade is killed. As he lies mortally wounded he reveals his identity, and Iden rejoices that he has freed the country from so base a traitor.

See Appendix III.

Jerusalem. I. i. 47.

See Reignier.

Joan. II. i. 4.

> Yet, by your leave, the wind was very high,
> And, ten to one, old Joan had not gone out.
> [II. i. 3–4.]

The name of a hawk. The meaning is that the wind was so high it was ten to one that old Joan would not have taken her flight at the game. Johnson remarks : " I am told by a gentleman better acquainted with falconry than myself, that the meaning, however expressed, is, that, the wind being high, it was ten to one that the old hawk had flown quite away ; a trick which hawks often play their masters in windy weather."

John Goodman. I. iii. 15.

A man serving Cardinal Beaufort.

John Holland. IV. ii. p.1 ; IV. iii. p.1 ; IV. vi. p.1 ; IV. vii. p.1 ; IV. viii. p.1.

Appears with George Bevis on Blackheath, where they decide to throw in their lot with Jack Cade. Appears in all the rebellion scenes.

John Hume, a Priest. I. ii. p.70, 72, 85, 87, 88, 105 ; I. iv. p.1, 3, 8, p.13 ; II. iii. p.1.

Hume is a priest who takes part in the raising of the spirit in the Duke of Gloucester's garden

He tells the duchess at her house that all the plans have been made with Margery Jourdain the witch, and the conjuror Bolingbroke :

> This they have promised, to show your highness
> A spirit raised from death of under-ground,
> That shall make answer to such questions
> As by your grace shall be propounded him.
> [I. ii. 78–81.]

and on his departure reveals that he takes part in this from a purely mercenary motive, as his speech shows him to be an agent for Suffolk, who has planned thus to trap the ambitious duchess.

At the appointed hour Hume appears in the garden with Bolingbroke, Southwell and Margery Jourdain, and leaves his confederates to be at the Duchess' side.

Having been arrested with the others he is brought before the king, who orders him to be hanged.

Cf. *Extracts* 11 *and* 14 from Holinshed.

John Mortimer. III. i. 359, 372.

> I have seduced a headstrong Kentishman,
> John Cade of Ashford,
> To make commotion, as full well he can,
> Under the title of John Mortimer. [III. i. 356–359.]

A name assumed by Jack Cade. Cf. *Extract* 20 from Holinshed. Grafton says : " For although Richard Duke of Yorke was in person (as the kings Deputie) in the realm of Ireland, continually resiant ther : yet his breath puffed, and his winde blewe dayly, in many partes of this realme. . . . Vpon this coniecture, the friendes, kinsmen, and allies of the Duke of Yorke, which were of no small number, began to practise the gouernaunce of his title : Infusyng and puttyng into mens heades secretly his right to the Crowne, his politique gouernaunce, his gentle behauiour too all the Irishe Nacion, affirmyng, that he which had brought that rude and sauage nacion to ciuile fashion.

and English maners, would (if he once ruled in the realme of England) depose euill Counsaylors, correct euill Iudges, and reforme all matters amisse, and vnamended. And to set open the flood gates of these deuises, it was though necessary, to cause some great commocion, and ye risyng of people to be made agaynst the king: so that if they preuayled, then had the Duke of Yorke and his complices, their appetite and desyre. And because the Kentishemen he impacient in wronges, disdeyning of to much oppression, and euer desirous of newe chaunge, and newe fanglenesse: The ouerture of this matter was put foorth in Kent, and to the entent that it should not be knowen, that the Duke of Yorke or his friendes were the cause of the sodaine risyng: A certaine yong man of a goodly stature, and pregnant wit, was entysed to take vpō him the name of Iohn Mortimer, although his name were Iohn Cade, and not for a small pollicie, thinkyng that by that surname, the lyne and lynage of the assistent house of the Erle of Marche, which were so small number, should be to him both adherent and fauourable."

John Mortimer. IV. ii. 119.

To equal him, I will make myself a knight presently.
[Kneels.] Rise up Sir John Mortimer. Now have at him! [IV. ii. 118–120.]

Jack Cade knights himself to be equal with Sir Humphrey Stafford. Cf. *The Contention:*

Cade. Why then to equall him, ile make my selfe knight.
Kneele downe Iohn Mortemer,
Rise vp sir Iohn Mortemer,
Is there any more of them that be Knights?
Tom. I his brother. [*He Knights Dicke Butcher.*]
Cade. Then kneele downe Dicke Butcher,
Rise vp sir Dicke Butcher.

John of Gaunt, the Duke of Lancaster. II. ii. 14, 22, 54.

See *Extract* 13 from Holinshed.

John Southwell, a Priest. I. iv. p.1, 11; II. iii. p.1.

A priest who with Bolingbroke, raises a spirit in the Duke of Gloucester's garden, and for his part in the proceedings is condemned to death on the gallows by the king.

See also John Hume.

Jove. IV. i. 48, 49.

Jove sometime went disguised, and why not I?
Cap. But Jove was never slain, as thou shalt be.
[IV. i. 48–49.]

Jove assumed many disguises. Legends represent him as visiting Danae in a shower of gold; Leda in the similitude of a swan; and Antiope in the form of a satyr. As a beautiful white bull he carried off Europa, the daughter of Agenor, King of Phœnicia, and counterfeiting the modesty of Diana corrupted Calista, the daughter of Lycaon, king of Arcadia.

Julius Cæsar. IV. i. 137.

Brutus' bastard hand
Stabbed Julius Cæsar; [IV. i. 136–137

See Brutus' bastard hand stabbed Julius Cæsar.

Kenilworth Castle.

The Scene of Act IV., Scene ix. Buckingham and Clifford announce to the king that Cade's insurrection has been crushed, and Henry grants pardon to all the rebel's followers, many of whom have been conveyed to Kenilworth with halters round their necks. News is now brought that the Duke of York with an army has arrived with the sole purpose of removing the Duke of Somerset from the king's counsel, and Somerset is committed to the Tower, until York and his army be dismissed.

See also Killingworth.

Kent. IV. i. 100.

The Commons here in Kent are up in arms.
[IV. i. 100.]

Grafton says: "the Queene somewhat fearyng the destruction of the Duke, but more the confusion of herselfe, caused the Parliament, before begon at the black Friers in London, to be adiourned to Leycester, thinkyng there by force and rigor of the lawe, to subdue and represse all the malice and euill will, conceyued agaynst the Duke and her: at which place fewe of the Nobility would appere, wherefore it was againe adiourned to Westminster, where was a whole companie and a full apperaunce. In the which session, the Commons of the nether house, put vp to the king and the Lordes, many articles of treason, misprision and

misdemeanour, agaynst the Duke of Suffolke;" For the Articles proposed by the Commons against the Duke of Suffolke, See Grafton's *Chronicle*, Vol. I., page 638-639.

Kent. IV. ii. 121; IV. vii. 54, 55; IV. x. 43, 73; V. i. 75.

Kent. IV. vii. 60.

> Kent, in the Commentaries Cæsar writ,
> Is termed the civil'st place in all this isle:
> [IV. vii. 60–61.]

"The moſt civiliz'd People among 'em are the Kentiſh Men, whoſe Country lyes altogether upon the Sea-Coaſts; and their Cuſtoms are much the ſame with thoſe of the Gauls: The Inland People ſeldom trouble themſelves with Agriculture, living on Milk and Fleſh Meat, and are clad with Skins; but all of 'em paint themſelves blue with Woad, that they may look the more dreadful to their Enemies in Battel; the Hair of their Heads they wear very long, but ſhave all the reſt of their Bodies, except the upper Lip"; Cæsar's *Commentary of his War in Gaul*.

Kent. Iden's Garden.

The Scene of Act IV., Scene x. Cade, in a famished condition enters the garden of Alexander Iden, a Kentish squire where, during a fight which follows he is mortally wounded by Iden.

Kerns. III. i. 310, 361, 367; IV. ix. 26.

> The uncivil kerns of Ireland are in arms
> And temper clay with blood of Englishmen:
> [III. i. 310–311.]

Cf. *The Contention:*

> Madame, I bring you newes from Ireland,
> The wilde Onele my Lords, is vp in Armes,
> With troupes of Irish Kernes that vncontrold,
> Doth plant themselues within the English pale.

See also Gallowglasses.

Killingworth. IV. iv. 39, 44.

Kenilworth Castle in Warwickshire. During Cade's rebellion Henry the Sixth and Queen Margaret took refuge at Kenilworth. Cf. *Extract* 25 from Holinshed.

King Charles. I. i. 41, 43.

Charles the Seventh, King of France.

King Henry the Sixth. I. i. p.1, 24, 45, 46, 59, 128, 151, 216, 249; I. ii. 7, 20, 39; I. iii. 45, 52, p.100; I. iv. 30, 59; II. i. p.1, 172; II. ii. 54; II. iii. p.1, 23, 30, 32, 39, 44; III. i. p.1, 189, 194, 224, 383; III. ii. p.15, 35, 38, 121, 131, 289; III. iii. p.1; IV. i. 50; IV. iv. p.1; IV. ix. p.1, 18; V. i. 2, 17, 31, 48, p.56; V. ii. p.72.

The character of Henry is portrayed as the direct antithesis of Margaret his queen; she is wilful, impetuous and headstrong, while he is weak, and might almost be described as "willless," and helpless amid the troubles of the times, the jealousies of the nobles and the impending disastrous civil strife between the houses of Lancaster and York.

Suffolk is king rather than Henry at the commencement of this Part, and Gloucester aptly describes him as "the new-made duke that rules the roast."

That Henry is totally unfitted to be king is shown by the manner in which he always allows one of the nobles to make a decision for him. He appears to be totally incapable, or afraid to speak for himself, with the authority he should command. He must turn to Gloucester for advice in such a simple matter as Peter's accusation against his master Horner; this is but one instance of his entire lack of self-confidence.

The queen soon tires of this weak-minded husband whose mind is

> bent to holiness,
> To number Ave-Maries on his beads": [I. iii. 54–55.]

and it is small wonder that the nobles are able to do just as they please. A little pleading, even when it is obvious to Henry that he should refuse their request, is all that is necessary to obtain his consent. Gloucester's murder is planned by Suffolk and his followers, and Henry, on hearing their accusations against him, exclaims:

> My lords, what to your wisdoms seemeth best,
> Do or undo, as if ourself were here. [III. i. 195–196.]

and then immediately turning to Margaret says:

Ay, Margaret; my heart is drowned with grief,
. . . . . .
Ah! uncle Humphrey, in thy face I see
The map of honour, truth and loyalty. [III. i. 198–203.]

Instances such as this are to be found throughout the play, and Henry remains the plaything of the nobles, swayed from opinion to opinion, from party to party, until finally in the last Act we hear York's challenge:

From Ireland thus comes York to claim his right,
And pluck the crown from feeble Henry's head.
[V. i. 1–2.]

and after the battle of St. Albans, Margaret, who has lost all patience with Henry's utter helplessness exclaims:

What are you made of? you 'll not fight nor fly;
Now is it manhood, wisdom and defence,
To give the enemy way, and to secure us
By what we can, which can no more but fly.
[V. ii. 74–77.]

Henry's downfall is assured from the moment he allowed Gloucester to be arrested by his enemies, for Gloucester, in spite of all that Margaret could say against him, was his chief supporter, and Suffolk was crafty enough to see that Henry would be helpless without him.

Responsibility for Gloucester's death must be laid on Henry, and no more striking example could be found to show the utter lack of willpower displayed by this weakling monarch, than his acceptance of Gloucester's arrest and murder, feeling sure all the while, as he must have done, that Gloucester was no traitor.

[King Henry the Sixth is also a character in the *Third Part of King Henry the Sixth* (q.v.).]

King of England's own proper cost and charges. I. i. 59.

On April 9th, 1446, the Commons gave Henry a fifteenth and a tenth, but, in specifying the purposes to which these grants were to be applied, they did not mention the 'costs and charges' of bringing Margaret to England or any other expenses connected with her marriage. Cf. I., i., 130–132:

A proper jest, and never heard before,
That Suffolk should demand a whole fifteenth
For costs and charges in transporting her!

King of France. I. i. 6.

Charles the Seventh. Mentioned here as being present at Tours at the espousal of Queen Margaret. Cf. *Extract* 1 from Holinshed.

King of Sicil. I. i. 6.

Reignier, Duke of Anjou, father of Margaret, was titular king of Sicily. Present at the espousal of his daughter—Margaret—to Henry the Sixth. Cf. *Extract* 1 from Holinshed.

Lacies. IV. ii. 45.

My wife descended of the Lacies,— [IV. ii. 45.]

A noted family from which Jack Cade claims his wife to be descended, to which Dick the Butcher [aside] replies: "She was, indeed, a pedlar's daughter, and sold many laces"; "But now of late," adds Smith the Weaver, "not able to travel with her furred pack, she washes bucks here at home."

Ladies.

Lancaster. I. i. 242, 255; II. ii. 29.

The House of Lancaster.

Lancaster. II. ii. 66.

But I am not your king
Till I be crowned and that my sword be stained
With heart-blood of the house of Lancaster;
[II. ii. 64–66.]

Cf. *The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke, and the good King Henry the Sixt:*

I cannot weepe, for all my breasts moisture
Scarse serues to quench my furnace burning hart;
I cannot ioie till this white rose be dide,
Euen in the hart bloud of the house of Lancaster.

Lancaster. IV. i. 51.

Suf. Obscure and lowly swain, King Henry's blood,
The honourable blood of Lancaster,
Must not be shed by such a jaded groom.
[IV. i. 50–52.]

"Suffolk had none of this blood in his veins, according to Blakeway. But Hall says that Suffolk assumed a good ancestry." *Hart.*

Lent. IV. iii. 6.

therefore thus will I reward
thee, the Lent shall be as long again as it is; and thou
shalt have a license to kill for a hundred lacking one.
[IV. iii. 5–8.]

The selling of meat in Lent was restricted to those butchers who had secured a special license, permitting them to kill a limited number of animals each week. In Dick's case the number is to be ninety-nine. *Barnwell.* In *The Contention* the passage is:

And thus I will reward thee. The Lent shall be as long againe as it was. Thou shalt haue licence to kill for foure score & one a week.'

Shakespeare changed the number to ninety-nine. In the reign of Elizabeth, butchers were strictly enjoined not to sell fresh meat in Lent, not with a religious view, but for the double purpose of diminishing the consumption of flesh meat during that period, and so making it more plentiful during the rest of the year, and of encouraging the fisheries and augmenting the number of seamen.

Lionel, Duke of Clarence. II. ii. 13, 34, 50, 56.

See *Extract* 13 from Holinshed.

London. II. i. 176, 198; V. ii. 81.

London. V. iii. 24, 32.

For, as I hear, the king is fled to London,
To call a present court of Parliament: [V. iii. 24–25.]

Malone remarks: "The King and Queen left the stage only just as York entered, and have not said a word about calling a Parliament. Where then could York hear this?—The fact is, as we have seen, that in the old play the King does say, 'he will call a parliament,' but our author has omitted the lines. He has, therefore, here, as in some other places, fallen into an impropriety, by sometimes following and at others deserting his original."

London bridge. IV. iv. 49.

The famous old bridge across the River Thames. The heads of the principal rebels were exposed over the draw-bridge. Grafton says: But this counsayle came to small effect: for the multitude of the rebels draue the Citezens from the stoulpes at the bridge foote, to the drawe bridge, and beganne to set fyre in dyuers houses. Alas what sorrower it was to beholde that miserable chaunce: for some desyring to eschewe the fyre, lept on his enimies weapon, and so died, fearefull women with children in their armes, amased and appalled, lept into the riuer: other doubting how to saue themselues betweene fyre, water, and sworde, were in their houses suffocat and smoldered. Yet the Capteynes nothing regarding these chaunces, fought on the drawe bridge all the night valyauntly, but in conclusion, the rebels gate the drawe bridge, and drowned many, and slue Iohn Sutton Alderman, and Robert Heysande a hardy Citizen, with many other."

London bridge. IV. vi. 14.

But first, go
and set London bridge on fire, [IV. vi. 13–14.]

London bridge was built of wood. When Cade entered London he cut the ropes of the draw-bridge, and the houses on the bridge were set on fire, and many of the inhabitants perished. Cf. *Extract* 25 from Holinshed.

London. Cannon Street.

The Scene of Act IV., Scene vi. Cade and his followers arrive in Cannon Street, and striking his sword on London Stone declares he is 'Lord of the City.' After giving orders to fire London Bridge and to burn down the Tower Cade proceeds to Smithfield to engage the king's forces.

London. The Duke of York's Garden.

The Scene of Act II., Scene ii. In this Scene the Duke of York sets forth in detail his claim to the crown. See *Extract* 13 from Holinshed.

London gates. IV. viii. 23.

Hath my sword therefore broke through London gates, that you should leave me at the White Hart in Southwark? [IV. viii. 23–25.]

Stowe in his *Survey of London*, says: "Gates in the wall of this city of old time were four; to wit, Aeldgate for the east, Aldersgate for the north, Ludgate for the west, and the Bridgegate over the river of Thames for the south; but of later times, for the ease of citizens and passengers, divers other gates and posterns have been made. . . . In the reign of Henry II (saith Fitzstephen) there were seven double gates in the wall of this city, but he nameth them not. It may, therefore, be supposed, he meant for the first, the gate next the Tower of London, now commonly called the Postern, the next be Aeldgate, the third Bishopsgate, the fourth Ealdersgate, the fifth Newgate, the sixth Ludgate, the seventh Bridgegate. Since the which time hath been builded the postern called Moor-

gate, a postern from Christ's hospital towards St. Bartholomewe's hospital in Smithfield, &c."

See also Harben's *Dictionary of London*.

London. The Palace.

The Scene of Act I., Scenes i. and iii ; Act IV., Scene iv.

Act I., Scene i. Opens with the introduction of Queen Margaret to the king and his court by Suffolk who had been sent to France to marry her as the king's proxy. In the Articles of Contracted Peace ceding the provinces of Anjou and Maine, Courtenay remarks that it is "apparently the composition of the dramatist." The Duke of York and the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick condemn the marriage, affirming that it is unprofitable to the realm, in consequence of which a bitter feud breaks out between the nobles, and the Dukes of Buckingham and Somerset join with the Cardinal and Suffolk to oust Gloucester from his protectorship as being the first step towards their own selfish ambitions. The closing scene shows the ambition of York who threatens to "raise aloft the milk-white rose" and assert his claim to the throne.

Act I., Scene iii. Shows the popularity of the Duke of Gloucester, and the relations between the queen and the Duke of Suffolk ; the alliance against Gloucester for the accomplishment of their own selfish motives and the quarrels which subsequently follow. Petitioners present themselves at the palace with petitions to Gloucester asking for certain abuses to be redressed. Margaret complains of the weakness of her husband, and shows her animosity against the Duchess of Gloucester. A debate takes place whether York or Somerset shall be Regent of France. The episode of the dropped fan and the box on the ear which Margaret gives Eleanor is purely imaginary. Horner the armourer and his man Peter being accused of treason are brought in, guarded, and the king orders a duel to be fought between the two men to establish which of them is in the right.

Act IV., Scene iv. A petition is presented to the king on behalf of Cade, and Henry promises to send—to avoid bloodshed—"some holy bishop" to entreat with Cade. A messenger enters with the news that Cade has arrived at Southwark, and is followed by another messenger who bears tidings that the rebels have captured London Bridge, and Buckingham urges the king to seek safety at Kenilworth, until the insurrection shall be crushed.

London. Smithfield.

The Scene of Act IV., Scene vii. In the fight at Smithfield the king's troops are defeated and Matthew Goffe is slain. Cade orders the Savoy, and the Inns of Court to be demolished. Lord Say and Sir James Cromer are beheaded and their heads are brought on two poles and exhibited in the streets of the city.

London-stone. IV. vi. p.1 ; IV. vi. 2.

The central milliarium or milestone of Roman London, similar to that in the Forum at Rome. It is now built into the street wall of St. Swithin's Church, Cannon Street. Grafton says : "The Capitaine being aduertised of the Kings absence, came first into Southwarke, and there lodged at the whyte Hart, prohibyting to all men, murder, rape, or robbery : by which coulour he allured to him the harts of the common people. But after that he entered into London, and cut the ropes of the draw bridge, striking his sworde on London stone, saiyng : now is Mortimer Lorde of this Citie, and rode in euery streete lyke a Lordly Capitayne." Cf. *Extract* 25 from Holinshed.

Harben in his *Dictionary of London*, records : "A rounded block of stone set in a large stone case, in which is an oval opening through which it can be seen. Built into the south wall of St. Swithin's Church on the north side of Cannon Street.

Earliest mention : Stow says it is mentioned in a Gospel book given by King Athelstan to Christ's Church, Canterbury.

He describes it as on the south side of Cannon Street, where it is shown in Leake's map, opposite the south-west corner of St. Swithin's Church. But it appears from the Vestry Minute Book of St. Swithin's that in 1742 the stone commonly called London Stone was ordered to be removed and placed against the church on the east side of the door.

In 1798 it was again removed and placed in its present position.

It is oolite stone, such as was used by the Romans in their buildings, and Strype tells us

that it was much worn away and only a stump remaining, so that to preserve it it was cased over with stone " cut hollow underneath, so that the old Stone might be seen, the new one being over it, to shelter and defend the old venerable one.

Stow tells us that in his time the stone was fastened very deeply into the ground with bars of iron and so strongly set that if carts ran against it the stone remained unshaken.

Many suggestions have been made as to the origin of the stone: That it formed part of a large upright stone, or of a monument or building of the Romans. Camden calls it a " Milliarium " or milestone, from which the British high-roads radiated and from which the distances on them were reckoned, similar to the one in the forum at Rome. Wren agrees with this, but suggests that it was not simply a pillar but a building like the Milliarium Aureum at Constantinople.

Perhaps used for Proclamations, etc., or a monument of heathen worship (Strype).

The stone is frequently alluded to in London records to mark the situation of adjacent houses and property, etc., and appears from early times as a surname of London citizens.

The first Mayor of London was named Henricus Filius Eylwini de Londenestane, 1188, his house being situated near at hand."

Proclamation Stones.—" At Totnes is Brutus Stone, on which the mayor stands to proclaim a new sovereign. London Stone appears from Shakespeare (2 Henry VI., iv., 6), following Holinshed, to have conferred special sanction on a new ruler. On the Coronation Stone the new sovereign receives his crown. At St. Austell is the Maengaw Stone, where proclamations of peace and war and new reigns used to be made. Rev. F. G. Odell (*Notes and Queries*, July, 1919).

See also Jack Cade.

London Streets. IV. viii. 45.

> Were 't not a shame, that whilst you live at jar,
> The fearful French, whom you late vanquished,
> Should make a start o'er seas and vanquish you?
> Methinks already in this civil broil
> I see them lording it in London streets.
> [IV. viii. 41–45.]

Clifford visualises the French—taking advantage of the civil strife—already in charge of London.

London. The Tower.

The Scene of Act IV., Scene v. The Lord Mayor of London craves the assistance of Lord Scales—who is in command of the Tower—and Scales sends Matthew Goffe with troops to defend the city.

Lord Clifford. IV. viii. p.6, 20, 54; IV. ix. p.7; V. i. 114, p.123, 123, 125, 127, 132; V. ii. i, 5, 6, 9, p.13, 61.

First appears with Buckingham in a parley with Cade and his rebel followers at Southwark. They plead for peace, Clifford exclaiming:

> What say ye, countrymen? will ye relent
> And yield to mercy, whilst 'tis offer'd you,
> Or let a rabble lead you to your deaths?
> Who loves the king, and will embrace his pardon,
> Fling up his cap and say—" God save his majesty."
> [IV. viii. 11–15.]

At these words the crowd exclaim:

> God save the king! God save the king!
> [IV. viii. 19–19.]

Cade next addresses the crowd, and having heard his speech they signify their intention to follow him; and Clifford makes another appeal, which causes the crowd to change its allegiance once more, and Cade, seeing his danger makes good his escape.

Clifford next appears before the king at Kenilworth, bringing with him a number of prisoners from the ranks of Cade's followers, and informs Henry that Cade has fled.

> He 's fled, my lord, and all his powers do yield;
> And humbly thus, with halters on their necks,—
> Expect your highness' doom, of life or death.
> [IV. ix. 10–12.]

On Blackheath Clifford next appears, summoned by the queen:

> Call hither Clifford; bid him come amain,
> To say if that the bastard boys of York
> Shall be the surety for their traitor father.
> [V. i. 114–116.]

He kneels before Henry, greeting his sovereign loyally " Health and all happiness to my lord the king! " but York interposes with " We are thy sovereign, Clifford," to receive the reply " This is my king, York; I do not mistake " and learning that York intends to claim the throne cries out:

He is a traitor; let him to the Tower,
And chop away that factious pate of his.
[V. i. 134–135.]

Civil strife having commenced, we next find Lord Clifford opposing the rebel forces at St. Albans. He encounters York, whom he fights, and Clifford falls mortally wounded.

[Thomas de Clifford, twelfth Baron Clifford, a staunch supporter of the House of Lancaster. Killed at the first battle of St. Albans, 22nd May, 1455.]

Lord Mortimer.=IV. iv. 28; IV. vi. 6; IV. vii. 30;

A name assumed by Jack Cade. *See* John Mortimer.

Lord Say. IV. ii. 159; IV. iv. p.1, 43; IV. vii. 20, p.23.

Dick the butcher, a follower of Jack Cade the rebel, vows to kill Lord Say, exclaiming:

And furthermore, we 'll have the Lord Say's head
for selling the dukedom of Maine. [IV. ii. 159–160.]

which threat is mentioned by the king, when Say appears before him. Lord Say answers:

Ay, but I hope your highness shall have his.
[IV. iv. 20.]

The next time we meet Say, he is a prisoner in the hands of the rebels, and is brought before Cade, who accuses him of selling Normandy to the Dauphin, "corrupted the youth of the realm in erecting a grammar-school"; and various other "crimes" of a like nature. Cade orders his execution, and Say exclaims:

Tell me wherein have I offended most?
Have I affected wealth or honour? speak.
Are my chests filled up with extorted gold?
Is my apparel sumptuous to behold?
Whom have I injured, that ye seek my death?
These hands are free from guiltless blood-shedding,
This breast from harbouring foul deceitful thoughts.
O! let me live! [IV. vii. 96–103.]

Cade answers to this touching appeal:

I feel remorse in myself with his words:
but I 'll bridle it: he shall die, an it be but for
pleading so well for his life. Away with him!
[IV. vii. 104–106.]

Later rebels appear bearing the head of Lord Say, together with that of his son-in-law, Sir James Cromer, and Cade exclaims:

Let them kiss one another,
for they loved well when they were alive. Now part
them again, lest they consult about the giving up
of some more towns in France. [IV. vii. 128–131.]

[James Fiennes, Baron Say and Sele; Sheriff of Kent; Constable of Dover Castle and Warden of the Cinque Ports, 1447–9. Created Baron Say and Sele, 1447; lord chamberlain and privy councillor; lord treasurer, 1447. Accused of maladministration was imprisoned in the Tower and handed over by the Governor to Jack Cade who had him—along with his son-in-law Sir William Cromer—beheaded.]

Lord Scales, Governor of the Tower. IV. v. p.1.

Appears on the Walls of the Tower, before a number of citizens and demands of them:

How now! Is Jack Cade slain? [IV. v. i.]

but a citizen replies that he is not, but

The lord mayor craves aid of your honour
from the Tower, to defend the city from the rebels.
[IV. v. 4–6.]

To this Lord Scales replies:

Such aid as I can spare you shall command;
But I am troubled here with them myself;
The rebels have essayed to win the Tower.
But get you to Smithfield and gather head,
And thither I will send you Matthew Goffe;
Fight for your king, your country, and your lives;
And so farewell, for I must hence again.
[IV. v. 7–13.]

[Thomas de Scales, seventh Baron Scales. Served in the French Wars, 1422; K.G. 1425; Raised a force against Jack Cade; and was in command in the fight against the rebels at London Bridge. Assisted in the defence of the Tower of London, 1460, and was slain while trying to seek sanctuary at Westminster.]

Lords.

Maine. I. i. 49, 57, 108, 117, 212, 234.

See Anjou and Reignier.

Maine. I. i. 207, 208, 210.

Sal. Then let 's make haste away, and look unto the main.
War. Unto the main! O father, Maine, is lost!
That Maine which by main force Warwick did win,
And would have kept so long as breath did last:
Main chance, father, you meant; but I meant Maine,
Which I will win from France, or else be slain.
[I. i. 206–211

This punning passage is taken from *The Contention :*

Sal. Come sonnes away and looke vnto the maine.
War. Vnto the Maine, Oh father Maine is lost,
Which Warwicke by main force did win from France,
Maine chance father you meant, but I meant Maine,
Which I will win from France, or else be slaine.

See also Anjou and Reignier.

Maine. IV. i. 86.

By thee Anjou and Maine were sold to France,
[IV. i. 86.]

Grafton says : " Wherefore they (not mindyng to be more charged, then their backes would beare, and perceiuying that by negligent prouision and improuident pollicie, the affayres and businesse in the partes beyonde the sea, dayly decayed, and more were like to do) began first to make exclamacion agaynst the Duke of Suffolke, affirmyng him, to be the onely cause of the deliuery of Aniow, and Main, . . . The commons of the lower house, not forgetting their olde grudge, beseched the King, that such persons, as assented to the relese of Angeow, and deliueraunce of Maine, might be extremely punished, and tormented : and to be priuie to this fact, they accused, as principall, the Duke of Suffolke, with Iohn Bishop of Salisbury, and sir Iames Fynes, Lord Say, and diuers other."

Maine. IV. ii. 160 ; IV. vii. 65.

And furthermore, we 'll have the Lord Say's head
for selling the dukedom of Maine. [IV. ii. 159–160.]

See *Extract* from Grafton, under Maine, IV., i., 86.

Margaret, Queen to King Henry. I. i. p.1, 4, 17, 37, 46 ; I. ii. 39 ; I. iii. p.6 ; II. i. p.1 ; II. iii. p.1, 198, 207 ; IV. i. 58 ; IV. iv. p.1, 55 ; IV. ix. p.1 ; V. i. 83, p.84 ; V. ii. p.72, 73.

As the play opens, Margaret is led in to meet her husband. Henry receives her graciously, exclaiming :

Her sight did ravish, but her grace in speech,
Her words y-clad with wisdom's majesty,
Makes me from wondering fall to weeping joys ;
Such is the fullness of my heart's content.
[I. i. 32–35.]

but to the nobles this marriage symbolises nothing but the loss of England's power in France, the surrender of all that Henry V. had so dearly won, and the speeches of Gloucester, Salisbury and Warwick at the conclusion of the scene typify the general feeling that the marriage was wrong.

Margaret is impetuous and strong-willed, she is jealous of Gloucester's protectorship, and would have the king rule for himself. We first note this trait in her character when petitioners enter, and she says :

" To my Lord Protector ! " Are your supplications
to his lordship ? Let me see them : [I. iii. 13–14.]

and turning to Suffolk exclaims :

My Lord of Suffolk, say, is this the guise,
Is this the fashion in the court of England ?
. . . . . .
Am I a queen in title and in style,
And must be made a subject of a duke ?
[I. iii. 41–48.]

She loses no opportunity of defaming Gloucester, and at the Parliament at Bury St. Edmunds, on the king enquiring the reason for Gloucester's non-arrival, she hints that he is seeking the crown and has won the affections of the people with this in his mind, and later in the scene she exclaims :

This Gloucester should be quickly rid the world,
To rid us from the fear we have of him.
[III. i. 233–234.]

Margaret turned to Suffolk as her guide and counsellor ; she had implicit faith in him, and on his death was deeply distressed. She sadly mourns his loss, and on hearing of Cade's advance on London, says :

Ah ! were the Duke of Suffolk now alive,
These Kentish rebels would be soon appeased !
[IV. iv. 41–42.]

On her last appearance in the Play we find Margaret at the battle of Saint Albans, doing her best to encourage Henry to escape while there is yet time, so that they may find security in London.

[Queen Margaret is also a character in the *Third Part of King Henry the Sixth* (q.v.).]

Margery Jourdain, a Witch. I. ii. 75 ; I. iv. p.1, 10 ; II. iii. p.1.

Hume, a priest, arranges for Margery Jourdain

to raise a Spirit before the Duchess of Gloucester, so that she (the Duchess) may learn what the future holds in store.

She appears in Gloucester's garden accompanied by Hume, Bolingbroke (a conjuror), and others, and when the spirit appears in answer to their incantations she addresses it :

> Asmath !
> By the eternal God, whose name and power
> Thou tremblest at, answer that I shall ask ;
> For till thou speak thou shalt not pass from hence.
> [I. iv. 24–27.]

Bolingbroke questions the spirit, and, having replied it is allowed to depart.

Jourdain is later brought to trial with the others concerned and is sentenced to death by the King :

> The witch in Smithfield shall be burned to ashes,
> [II. iii. 7.]

Douce says : "It appears from Rymer's Fœdera, that in the tenth year of King Henry the Sixth, *Margery Jourdemayn*, John Virley clerk, and friar John Ashwell were, on the ninth of May, 1433, brought from Windsor by the constable of the castle, to which they had been committed for sorcery, before the council at Westminster, and afterwards, by an order of council, delivered into the custody of the lord chancellor. The same day it was ordered by the lords of council that whenever the said Virley and Ashwell should find security for their good behaviour they should be set at liberty, and in like manner that Jourdemayn should be discharged on her husband's finding security. This woman was afterwards burned in Smithfield, as stated in the play and also in the chronicles." *See also* Grafton's *Chronicle*, Vol. I., p. 622.

Master. IV. i. p.1.

The master of the party which captures Suffolk and his friends who are fleeing to France.

He assesses the ransom of the First gentleman at one thousand crowns.

> A thousand crowns, or else lay down your head.
> [IV. i. 16.]

Master's-Mate. IV. i. p.1.

One of Suffolk's captors.

Matthew Goffe. IV. v. 11 ; IV. vii. p.1.

The leader of the king's forces against the followers of Jack Cade, the rebel. He appears in the fight at Smithfield where he is slain, and his men put to flight.

Mayor of Saint Alban's. II. i. p.68.

Appears before the king and his nobles, at the head of a crowd of people in the midst of which is Simpcox, carried on a chair, who claims that he has received his sight by a miracle wrought at the shrine of St. Alban.

Medea. V. ii. 59.

> Meet I an infant of the house of York,
> Into as many gobbets will I cut it
> As wild Medea young Absyrtus did : [V. ii. 57–59.]

See Absyrtus.

Medice, teipsum. II. i. 53.

= "Physician, heal thyself." Cf. *St. Luke*, iv., 23.

Melford. I. iii. 20.

> "Against the Duke of Suffolk,
> for enclosing the commons of Melford." [I. iii. 19–20.]

Long Melford in Suffolk. Trouble arising from enclosing common land was one of the causes of Kett's rebellion, in 1549.

Messengers. I. ii. p.56 ; IV. iv. p.26, p.49 ; IV. vii. p.19 ; IV. ix. p.23.

I., ii., p. 56. Conveys the king's orders that the Duke of Gloucester is to repair to St. Albans.

IV., iv., p. 26. Brings news to the king that Cade's forces are in Southwark and that their leader proclaims himself Lord Mortimer and has vowed to seize the crown. He advises the king to flee.

IV. iv. p. 49. Announces the progress of the rebel army ; that they have taken London Bridge and are pressing onward.

IV., vii., p. 19. Brings Cade the news that Lord Say has been captured.

IV., ix., p. 23. Reports to the king the arrival of the Duke of York with his army from Ireland.

Michael. IV. ii. p.110 ; IV. iii. p.1 ; IV. vi. p.1 ; IV. vii. p.1 ; IV. viii. p.1.

One of Cade's followers. On his first appearance on Blackheath, he warns Cade that Sir Stafford and the royal forces are close at hand.

He also appears in the remaining scenes describing the rebellion.

Miracle, A ! II. i. p.59.

See Saint Alban's shrine.

Morisco. III. i. 365.

> And, in the end being rescued, I have seen
> Him caper upright like a wild Morisco,
> Shaking the bloody darts as he his bells.
> [III. i. 364–366.]

A Moorish, or morris-dancer; in the Middle ages, a peculiar kind of dance, supposed to have been first brought into England in the reign of Edward the Third when John of Gaunt returned from Spain. In the earliest Morisco dance, a boy came into the hall when supper was finished, with his face blackened, his forehead bound with white or yellow taffeta, and bells tied to his legs. Malone quotes Harris: "*Morrice-dancing*, with bells on the legs, is common at this day in Oxfordshire and the adjacent counties, on May-Day, Holy-Thursday, and Whitsun-ales, attended by the fool, or, as he is generally called, the 'Squire, and also a lord and lady; the latter most probably the Maid Marian mentioned in Mr. Tollet's note: 'nor is the hobby-horse forgot,'" Cf. Pliny (Holland's translation): "The Curets taught to daunce in armour; and *Pyrrhus* the Morisk, in order of battell; and both these were taken vp first in Crete."

Mort Dieu. I. i. 121.

= "Death of God." Cf. Marlowe: *Massacre of Paris:*

> *Mort Dieu* ! were not the fruit within thy womb,
> Of whose increase I set some longing hope,
> This wrathful hand should strike thee to the heart.

Mortimer. IV. ii. 40.

> My father was a Mortimer,— [IV. ii. 40.]

Cade claims his father was of the family of Mortimer, to which Dick the Butcher, [aside] replies: "He was an honest man, and a good bricklayer."

See also John Mortimer; London-stone.

Mortimer. IV. vi. 1.

> Now is Mortimer lord of this city. [IV. vi. 1.]

= Jack Cade. *See* John Mortimer; London-stone.

Mounsieur Basimecu. IV. vii. 28.

A contemptuous term for a Frenchman, applied here by Cade to the Dauphin of France.

Naples. I. i. 47.

See Reignier.

Naples. V. i. 118.

> O blood-bespotted Neapolitan,
> Outcast of Naples, England's bloody scourge !
> [V. i. 117–118.]

York's reference to Margaret.

Nell. I. ii. 17, 59; II. iv. 10, 26, 58 67, 74.

= Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester.

Nell. III. ii. 26.

> I thank thee, Nell; these words content me much.
> [III. ii. 26.]

King Henry's reply to his wife. Theobald remarks: "There can be no reason why he should forget his own wife's name, and call her Nell instead of Margaret." Reed observes: "It has been observed by two or three commentators, that it is no way extraordinary the King should forget his wife's name, as it appears in no less than three places that she forgets it herself, calling herself Eleanor. It has also been said, that, if any contraction of the real name is used, it should be *Meg*."

Nevil's crest. V. i. 202.

> Now, by my father's badge, old Nevil's crest,
> The rampant bear chained to the ragged staff,
> [V. i. 202–203.]

"This well-known badge of the Neville family came to the Earl of Warwick from the Beauchamps through his marriage with the heiress of Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. The crest of the Nevilles was a dun bull's head, which is still borne by the Earls of Abergavenny; the supporters of their arms being two bulls, argent, armed, collared, and chained." *Irving edition.* Cf. French *Shakspeareana Genealogica*, [Earl of Warwick], page 192.

Nevil's parts. I. i. 238.

> And therefore I will take the Nevils' parts
> And make a show of love to proud Duke Humphrey,
> [I. i. 238–239.]

See *Extract* 26 from Holinshed.

Nevils. I. iii. 72; II. ii. 8, 80; III. ii. 215.

The family name of the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick.

Normandy. I. i. 85.

Normandy. I. i. 112, 213.

> These counties were the keys of Normandy. [I. i. 112.]
>
> the state of Normandy
> Stands on a tickle point now they are gone.
> [I. i. 213–214.]

Grafton states: "by this pretie cautele and sleight imposture, was the towne of Pountlarche taken and surprised, which towne was the key and passage ouer the Riuer of Some, from Fraunce to Normandie, beyng distant from Roan, onely foure leagues."

See also under Anjou.

Normandy. IV. vii. 28, 65.

> What canst thou answer to my majesty for giving up of Normandy unto Mounsieur Basimecu, the Dauphin of France? [IV. vii. 27–29.]

See Maine, IV., i., 86.

Officers, (Sheriff). II. iv. p.17.

Owen Glendower. II. ii. 41.

> This Edmund, in the reign of Bolingbroke,
> As I have read, laid claim unto the crown;
> And, but for Owen Glendower, had been king,
> Who kept him in captivity till he died. [II. ii. 39–42.]

See under Edmund, II., ii., 38, 39, page 833.

Paris. I. i. 92.

> And hath his highness in his infancy
> Crowned in Paris, in despite of foes? [I. i. 91–92.]

The coronation of King Henry the Sixth as King of France took place at Notre Dame on the 16th of December, 1430.

Paris. I. i. 213; I. iii. 171.

Peter, the Armourer's man. I. iii. p.1, p.176; II. iii. 67, 68, 70, 81, 82, 89, 93, 97.

Appears before Suffolk and Margaret bearing a petition against his Master for declaring the Duke of York to be the rightful heir to the throne.

He is led away on Suffolk's instructions, and brought back accompanied by his master Horner. Peter repeats his accusations, and Gloucester orders them to fight a duel. Peter protests, saying he cannot fight, but he is told he must fight or be hanged.

On the appointed day, Peter having promised all his belongings to his friends should he be killed, the duel takes place and Peter is victorious, his master confessing treason as he dies.

See also Thomas Horner.

Petitioners. I. iii. p.1.

Appear at the palace, in London, awaiting the appearance of the Duke of Gloucester.

Suffolk and the Queen enter, and the Duke is mistaken for the Protector. The queen demands to hear the petitions and the first petitioner says:

> Mine is, an 't please your grace, against John Goodman, my lord cardinal's man, for keeping my house, and lands, and wife, and all, from me.
> [I. iii. 15–17.]

The second presents an accusation against the Duke of Suffolk for enclosing the commons of Melford, and the third petitioner, Peter, presents his petition against his master Horner for declaring the Duke of York to be the rightful heir to the throne.

See also Peter, the Armourer's man.

Philippe. II. ii. 35, 49.

Daughter of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, the third son of King Edward the Third. She married Edmund Mortimer, Third Earl of March. See *Extract* 13 from Holinshed *and under* Roger, Earl of March.

Picardy. IV. i. 88.

> and Picardy
> Hath slain their governors, surprised our forts,
> And sent the ragged soldiers wounded home.
> [IV. i. 88–90.]

An old Province of France. In 1435 by the Treaty of Arras part of the province was ceded to Burgundy, but on the death of Charles the Bold in 1477, the province was united to France under Louis XI.

Plantagenet. IV. ii. 43.

My mother a Plantagenet,— [IV. ii. 43.]

Cade claims his mother was of the house of Plantagenet, to which Dick the Butcher [aside] replies: "I knew her well; she was a midwife."

Pomfret. I. ii. 26.

Pomfret [Pontefract] Castle in Yorkshire, where, according to Holinshed, Richard the Second was murdered. See *King Richard the Second*, Act V., Scene v.

Pompey the Great. IV. i. 138.

savage islanders
Pompey the Great; [IV. i. 138.]

Unhistorical. Pompey was killed on the coast of Egypt by two of Ptolemy's soldiers. "The land being a great way off from his Galley, when he saw never a man in the boat speak friendly unto him, beholding *Septimus*, he said unto him: Methinks my friend I should know thee, for that thou hast served with me heretofore. The other nodded with his head that it was true, but gave him no answer, nor shewed him any courtesie. *Pompey* seeing that no man spake to him, took a little book he had in his hand, in the which he had written an oration that he meant to make unto King *Ptolomy*, and began to read it. When they came near the shoar, *Cornelia* with her seruants and friends about her, stood up in her ship in great fear, to see what should become of *Pompey*. So she hoped well, when she saw many of the Kings people on the shoar, coming towards *Pompey* at his landing, as it were to receive and honour him. But even as *Pompey* took *Philip* his hand more easily, *Septimus* came first behind him and thrust him through with his sword. Next unto him also *Salvius* and *Achillas* drew out their swords in like manner, *Pompey* then did no more but took up his Gown with his hands and hid his face, and manly abid the wounds they gave him, onely fighting a little. Thus being nine and fifty years old, he ended his life the next day after the day of his birth." *Plutarch.*

Pool. IV. i. 70.

Suf. Thou dar'st not for thy own.
Cap. [Yes, Pole.
Suf. Pole!]
Cap. Pool! Sir Pool! lord!
Ay, kennel, puddle, sink; whose filth and dirt
Troubles the silver spring where England drinks.
[IV. i. 69–72.]

In *The Contention* the passage is:

Suf. Thou darste not for thine owne.
Cap. Yes Poull.
Suf. Poull.
Cap. I Poull, puddle, kennell, sinke, and durt,
Ile stop that yawning mouth of thine.

Hart states: "In Peele's *Jack Straw* (Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, v., 412) similar quibbling on a similar occasion occurs:

Why, Morton, are you so lusty, with a pox?
I pulled you out of Rochester Castle by the *poll*!
Morton. And in recompense I will help to set your head on a *pole*.
Wat Tyler. Pray you, let 's be *poll'd* first."

Post, A. III. i. p.282.

= A Messenger.

'Prentices. II. iii. p.59.

Supporters of Peter who appear with him on the occasion of his duel with his master Horner. To them Peter bequeaths various articles:

Here, Robin, an if I die, I give thee my apron: and Will, thou shalt have my hammer: and here, Tom, take all the money that I have. O Lord, bless me! [II. iii. 74–77.]

Queen. II. ii. 25.

Sent his poor Queen to France, from whence she came,
And him to Pomfret; [II. ii. 25–26.]

Isabella, daughter of King Charles the Sixth of France, and second wife of King Richard the Second. Cf. *King Richard the Second*, V., i., 53–54.

Rebels' Supplication. IV. iv. p.1.

The Rebels' Petition to the king. The following is from Grafton: "And to the entent that the cause of this glorious Captaynes commyng thether, might be shadowed from the king and his Counsail, he sent to him an humble suppli-

cacion, with louyng wordes, but with malicious entent: affirmyng his commyng, not to be against him, but against diuers of his counsaile, louers of themselues, and oppressors of the poore Commonaltie, flatterers to the King, and enemies to his honor, suckers of his pursse, and robbers of his subiectes, parciall to their friendes, and extreme to their enemies, for rewardes corrupted, and for indifferencie nothyng doyng."

Reignier, King of Naples, Sicilia and Jerusalem. I. i. 47, 109.

Father of Margaret of Anjou. Consents to his daughter's betrothal to Henry VI conditionally that he may peaceable enjoy Anjou and Maine. "This Reiner duke of Aniou named himselfe king of Sicill, Naples, and Ierusalem; having onelie the name and stile of those realmes, without anie penie, profit, or foot of possession."

Richard. II. ii. 19, 31.

= King Richard the Second.

Richard. II. ii. 27.

> And him to Pomfret; where, as all you know,
> Harmless Richard was murdered traitorously.
> [II. ii. 26–27.]

= King Richard the Second. *See* Pomfret.

Richard, Earl of Cambridge. II. ii. 45.

See Roger, Earl of March, page 857, and Earl of Cambridge [*King Henry the Fifth*], page 665.

Richard, England's king. II. ii. 63.

> Long live our sovereign Richard, England's king!
> [II. ii. 63.]

= Richard Plantagenet, third Duke of York. Killed at the battle of Wakefield, 1460.

Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York. I. i. p.1, 63, 67, 84, 192, 205, 228, 237, 246, 254; I. iii. 25, 69, 96, p.100, 101, 102, 105, 107, 159, 163, 177, 178, 182, 191, 206; I. iv. p.41, 76; II. ii. p.1, 7, 55, 63, 76, 79, 81; II. iii. p.1, 87; II. iv. 53; III. i. p.1, 39, 158, 244, 245, 293, 304, 305, 309, 318, 321, 330, 331, 375; IV. i. 153; IV. ix. 24, 31, 35; V. i. p.1, 1, 88, 106, 115, 119, 129; V. ii. p.8, 16, 19, 51, 57; V. iii. p.1, 31.

In a soliloquy at the conclusion of the first scene, we are made aware of the Duke of York's ambitions and his method of obtaining them. He says:

> for I had hope of France,
> Even as I have of fertile England's soil.
> A day will come when York shall claim his own;
> And therefore I will take the Nevils' parts
> And make a show of love to proud Duke Humphrey,
> And, when I spy advantage, claim the crown,
> For that 's the golden mark I seek to hit.
> [I. i. 235–241.]

and:

> Then, York, be still awhile, till time do serve:
> Watch thou and wake when others be asleep,—
> To pry into the secrets of the state;
> [I. i. 246–248.]

The news of York's purpose comes to Henry's ears through Peter's accusation of his master Horner, and though York vehemently denies the charge it is evident that Henry suspects its truth.

We next find York in company with Buckingham in the Duke of Gloucester's garden, where they surprise and arrest the sorcerers, and York sends an invitation to Salisbury and Warwick to sup with him the following night.

They meet, and the meal being over, York unfolds his project:

> Our simple supper ended, give me leave
> In this close walk to satisfy myself,
> In craving your opinion of my title,
> Which is infallible, to England's crown. [II. ii. 2–5.]

and receiving a favourable reply, goes on to trace his claim to the crown from Edward III, to which Warwick exclaims:

> Then, father Salisbury, kneel we together,
> And in this private plot be we the first
> That shall salute our rightful sovereign
> With honour of his birthright to the crown.
> [II. ii. 59–62.]

This begins once more the feud between the houses of Lancaster and York, and the Duke advises his followers to bide their time, until Gloucester has been removed.

York is present at the duel between Horner and his man Peter, and we next find him at the Parliament at Bury, when he supports the accusations against Gloucester, alleging that he had received bribes from France and had tortured law-breakers in England. The scene ends with York's commission to proceed to

Ireland to put down a rebellion which has broken out there, and this he accepts without demur, for he has his own use for a body of men such as will be provided for the expedition.

Soon the king is warned of York's rebellious return, Buckingham being sent to meet him, and the first scene of Act V opens with York's cry :

> From Ireland thus comes York to claim his right,
> And pluck the crown from feeble Henry's head :
> Ring, bells, aloud ; burn, bonfires, clear and bright,
> To entertain great England's lawful king. [V. i. 1–4.]†

but on Buckingham enquiring the reason for his armed return, York discreetly covers the truth and says he has come but to preserve the king from Somerset. On being told that Somerset is in prison he disbands his forces and with Buckingham repairs to the king's tent, only to be confronted there by Somerset, and thereupon York denounces Henry.

The strife between the rival factions now breaks out anew, and the final scenes of the play depict the battle of St. Albans. York kills Clifford and the king's forces are defeated. York then decided to pursue Henry to London, and with the cry :

> Saint Alban's battle, won by famous York,
> Shall be eterniz'd in all age to come.
> Sound drums and trumpets ! and to London all :
> And more such days as these to us befall !
> [V. iii. 30–34.]

the play ends.

[Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, is also a character in the *Third Part of King Henry the Sixth* (q.v.).]

† Upon his return from Ireland the Duke issued from Ludlow Castle a Manifesto to the burgesses of Shrewsbury denouncing Somerset. *See* Appendix II.

Richard, son to Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York. V. i. p.122 ; V. ii. p.66 ; V. iii. p.1, 16.

Richard Plantagenet. who afterwards became Richard III, appears with his brother Edward as surety for his father when he is accused of treason.

See also Edward, son to Richard Plantagenet.

Robin. II. iii. 74.

The name of an apprentice, to whom Peter, the armourer's man, bequeaths his apron :

> Here, Robin, an if I die, I give thee my apron :

In *The Contention* Peter bequeaths to Robin his hammer :

> Here Robin, and if I die, here I give thee my hammer.

Roger, Earl of March. II. ii. 37, 38, 48.

Fourth Earl, son of Edmund Mortimer, Third Earl of March. Grafton says : " And by aucthoritie of the same Parliament, Sir Roger Mortimer Erle of March, and sonne and heyre vnto Sir Edmond Mortimer, and of Dame Philip eldest daughter and heyre vnto Sir Lyonell the second sonne of Edward the thirde, was sone after proclaymed heyre apparaunt to the Crowne of Englande. The which Sir Roger shortly after sayled into Ireland, to suppresse the rebellion & vnquietnesse of the people of his Lordship of Wolster, which he was Lorde of by his aforesayd mother. But while he was there occupied about the same, the wylde Irishe came vpon him in a great number, and slue him and many of his company.

This Sir Roger had issue, Edmond, and Roger, Anne, Alice, and Alianor that was made a Nonne. The two aforesayde soones dyed without issue, and Anne the eldest daughter was maryed to Richarde Erle of Cambridge, which Richard had issue by the sayde Anne, Isabell Ladie Bourcher, and Richard that was after Duke of Yorke, and father to King Edward the Fourth, which sayde Richard Erle of Cambridge was put to death by Henrie the fift at Southhamton." See *Extract* 13 from Holinshed.

Rome. I. iii. 61.

Saint Alban. II. i. 91, 107, 129.

Protomartyr of Britain, and a native of Verulam (St. Albans).

Saint Alban's. II. i. 134.

The City of St. Alban's.

Saint Alban's. I. ii. 57, 83 ; I. iv. 72.

> My lord protector, 'tis his highness' pleasure
> You do prepare to ride unto Saint Alban's,
> Where as the king and queen do mean to hawk.
> [I. ii. 56–58.]

In Hertfordshire where the king and queen were hawking. Staunton quotes from Thomas Nash's *Quaternio, or, Fourefold Way to a Happie Life*, 1633:—"And to heare an Accipitrary relate againe, how he went forth in a cleare, calme, and Sun-shine Evening, about an houre before the Sunne did usually maske himselfe, unto the River, where finding of a Mallard, he whistled off his Faulcon, and how shee flew from him as if shee would never have turned head againe, yet presently upon a shoote came in, how then by degrees, by little and little, by flying about and about, she mounted so high, until she had lessened herselfe to the view of the beholder, to the shape of a Pigeon or Partridge, and had made the height of the Moone the place of her flight, how presently upon the landing of the fowle, shee came downe like a stone and enewed it, and suddenly got up againe, and suddenly upon a second landing came downe againe, and missing of it, in the downecome recovered it, beyond expectation, to the admiration of the beholder at a long flight."

Where hawking was first exercised is not exactly known but it is mentioned by a Latin writer of the fourth century, and it is considered to have been borrowed by the Romans from the Britons, as early as the reign of Vespasian. Boniface, Archbishop of Mons, who was himself a native of England, presented to Ethelbert, King of Kent, one hawk and two falcons; and a king of the Mercians requested the same Boniface to send him two falcons that had been trained to kill cranes; so that at this period the art must have been better understood in France than in England. Harold, afterwards King of England, is painted going on a most important embassy with a hawk in his hand, and a dog under his arm; and even females of distinction were occasionally thus represented as we know from an ancient sculpture in the church of Milton Abbas, in Dorsetshire, where the consort of King Athelstan appears with a falcon in her fist tearing a bird. In France, hawking seems to have been prosecuted with more ardour, and sustained with still greater state and ceremony than in England. From the capitularies of the eighth and ninth centuries we learn that the *grand fauconnier* was an officer of great eminence; his annual salary was 4000 florins, he was attended by fifty gentlemen and fifty assistant falconers, was allowed to keep three hundred hawks, licensed every vendor of those birds, and received a tax upon all that were sold. It was the favourite amusement not only of kings and nobles, but of ladies of distinction, and of the clergy, who attached themselves to it not less zealously than they had done to hunting, although it was equally included in the prohibiting canons of the church. In the reign of Edward III the Bishop of Ely excommunicated certain persons for stealing a hawk that was sitting upon her perch in the cloisters of Bermondsey, in Southwark; but this piece of sacrilege was committed during Divine service in the choir, and the hawk was the property of the Bishop. To part with the hawk, indeed, even in circumstances of the utmost extremity, was deemed highly ignominious. By the ancient laws and capitularies of France, a knight was forbidden to give up his sword and his hawk, even as the price of his ransom. How highly these birds were appreciated may be gathered not only from the severity of the laws, but from the prices occasionally recorded to have been given for them. At the commencement of the seventeenth century, a goshawk and tassel-hawk were sold for 100 marks, a large sum in those days. In the reign of James I., Sir Thomas Monson gave £1000 for a cast of hawks, and Federigo, the hero of Boccaccio's ninth novel, although he had spent all his substance, refused to part with his favourite hawk. In the book of St. Alban's, the sort of bird assigned to the different ranks of persons are placed in the following order:

The eagle, the vulture, and the merloun for an emperor.
The ger-falcon, and the tercel of the ger-falcon for a king.
The falcon gentle, and the tercel gentle for a prince.
The falcon of the rock for a duke.
The falcon peregrine for an earl.
The bastard for a baron.
The sacre and the sacret for a knight.
The lanere and the laneret for an esquire.
The marlyon for a lady.
The hobby for a young man.
The gos-hawk for a yeoman.
The tercel for a poor man.
The sparrow-hawk for a priest.
The musket for a holy-water clerk.
The nesterel for a knave or a servant.

Saint Alban's.

The Scene of Act II., Scene i. Exhibits the court hawking at St. Alban's; and renews the

quarrel between Gloucester and the Cardinal, in which the Queen takes a decided part against Gloucester. The Cardinal, churchman as he is, agrees to fight a duel with Gloucester; in fact, makes the first overture towards this method of settling the dispute. [There is no known authority for Beaufort's challenge, but the queen's part is from Holinshed.] Buckingham arrives with the news that a number of persons—of which the Duchess of Gloucester is one—have been arrested for practising witchcraft.

Saint Alban's.

The Scene of Act V., Scene ii. A considerable interval of time elapses—approximately five years—from the death of Cade to the First Battle of St. Albans, which was fought on the 22nd of May, 1455, in which Clifford and Somerset are among the slain.

Holinshed describes the battle as follows: "The king enformed hereof, assembled lykewise a great host, and meaning to meet with the duke, rather in the north parts than about London, where it was thought he had too many friends, with great speede, and small lucke, being accompanied with the Dukes of Somerset and Buckingham, the Erles of Pembroke, Stafford, Northumberland, Devonshire, Dorset, and Wiltshire, the Lords Clifford, Sudley, Berneis, Roos, and others, beeing in all above two thousande men of warre, departed from Westminster the twentith, or, as some have, the one and twentith of May, and lay the first night at Wadford. Of whose doings the duke of Yorke by espials having still advertisement, with all his power, being not past three thousande men (as some write), coasted the countrey, and came to the toune of Saint Albons, the third day next ensuing. The king there had pight his standerte in a place called Gosclowe, otherwise Sandiford, in Saint Peeters streete; the Lord Clifforde kept the barriers of the toune, to stop that the Duke, being assembled in Keye field, should not enter the toune. . . . The king, when first he heard of the Dukes approche, sent to him messengers, as the Duke of Buckingham and others, to understand what he meant by his comming, thus furnished after the manner of warre. The Duke of Buckingham, doing his message as hee had in commaundement, was answered by the Duke of York and his complices, that they were all of them the king's faithfull liege subjects, and intended no harme to him at all: but the cause of our comming (saie they) is not in meaning anie hurt to his person. But let that wicked and naughtie man the duke of Somerset be delivered unto us, who hath lost Normandie, and taken no regard to the preservation of Gascoigne; and furthermore hath brought the realme into this miserable estate: that where it was the floure of nations, and the princesse of provinces, now is it haled into desolation and spoile, not so dreadfull by malice of forren enimie, that indeed utterlie (as yee knowe) seeketh our ruine, as by the intollerable outrages of him that so long ago and even still appeares to have sworne the confusion of our king and realme. If it therefore please the king to deliver that bad man into our hands, we are readie without trouble or breach of peace, to returne into our countrie. But if the king be not minded so to do, because he cannot misse him; let him understand, that we will rather die in the field, than suffer such a mischeefe unredressed.

The king, advertised of this aunswere, more wilfull than reasonable, chose rather to trie battell than deliver the duke of Somerset to his enimies. Whereof they ascertained made no longer staie, but straightway sounded the trumpet to battell, or rather as Hall hath, while King Henry sent forth his ambassadors to treate of peace at the one end of the toune, the Erle of Warwike, with his Marchmen, entred at the other end, and fiercely setting on the king's foreward, within a small tyme discomfited the same. The place where they first brake into the towne was about the middle of saint Peter's street. The fight for a time was ryghte sharp and cruell, for the Duke of Somerset, with the other lords, coming to the succours or their companions, that were put to the worse, did what they could do beate back the enimies, but the Duke of York sent ever fresh men to succour the wearie, and to supplie the places of them that were hurt, by which policie, the king's army was finally brought to confusion, and all the chiefetaines of the fielde slaine and beaten doune. For there dyed under the sign of the Castell, Edmund Duke of Somerset, who, as hath bin reported, was warned long before to avoid all castels: and beside hym laye Henry the second of that name Earle of Northumber-

land, Humfrey erle of Stafford, son to the Duke of Buckingham, John Lord Clifford, sir Barthram Antwisell knight, a Norman born (who forsaking his native countrie to continue in his loiall obedience to king Henrie, came over to dwell here in England when Normandie was lost), William Zouch, John Boutreux, Rafe Babthorp, with his sonne, William Corwin, William Cotton, Gilbert Faldinger, Reginald Griffon, John Dawes, Elice Wood, John Eith, Rafe Woodward, Gilbert Skarlock, and Rafe Willoughbie esquires, with many other, in all to the number of eight thousand, as Edward Hall saith in his chronicle: if there escaped not a fault in the impression, as 8000 for 800, sith hundreds in verie deed would better agree with the number of the kings whole power, which he brought with him to that battell, being not manie above two thousand, as by writers appeareth.

Humfrey, duke of Buckingham, being wounded, and James Butler, Earle of Ormond and Wiltshire, and Thomas Thorpe lord cheefe baron of the escheker, seeing fortune thus to bee against them, left the king alone and with a number fledde away. Those that thus fled, made the best shift they could to get awaie through gardens and backesides, through shrubs, hedges, and woods, seeking places where to hide themselves, untill that dangerous tempest of the battell were overblowne. Diverse of the kings house also, that could better skill to plaie the courtiers than warriors, fled with the first; and those of the east parts of the realme were likewise noted of too much lacke of courage, for their speedie withdrawing themselves, and leaving the king in danger of his adversaries, who, perceyving hys men thus fledde from him, withdrewe into a poor mans house to save himselfe from the shot of arrowes, that flew about his eares as thicke as snowe."

"The immediate result of the victory," says Sharon Turner, "was the appointment of York to be the constable of England; Warwick to be captain of Calais; and viscount Bourchier, treasurer of England. The duke of Buckingham soon after joined the triumphant party, and the earl of Wiltshire solicited a similar reconciliation." In a foot-note Turner quotes from the *Harleian MSS.*, "The Harl., MSS., distinctly names, besides Somerset, Northumberland, and Clifford 14 squires, 1 gentleman and 4 yeomen, who fell; besides 25 more whose names were not known, and makes 48 persons, the whole number buried on the king's part. Yet the romancing Hall states 8000 men to have fallen on the king's side, which is almost double the amount of all the troops, of both parties in the battle. The abbot, who was on the spot, gives the force of York as only 3,000, and the Harleian MSS., states the king's as 2,000 and more. The original letter, in Fenn. i, p. 100 mentions only six score persons to have fallen of the king's men. It was the death of the leaders, not the number of the killed, that made the victory so complete."

The following account is from the *Paston Letters*, No. 239, edited by Gairdner:

A.D. 1455, 21–22 May.

THE BATTLE OF ST. ALBAN'S.

Bellum apud Seynt Albons.

Be yt knowen and hadde in mynde that the xxj. day of May the xxxiij. zere of the regne of Kyng Herry and Sext, our sovereigne Lord Kyng toke his jurnay from Westmynster toward Seynt Albones, and rested at Watford all nyght; and on the morwe be tymes he cam to Seynt Albones, and wyth him on his partye assembled under his baner the Duyke of Bockingham, the Duke of Somersete, the Erle of Penbrok, the Erle of Northumburlond, the Erle of Devynsshire, the Erle of Stafford, the Erle of Dorsete, the Erle of Wyltsshire, the Lorde Clyfford, the Lord Dudley, the Lord Burneys, the Lord Rose, wyth other dyversse knyghtes, squyeres, and other gentilmen and yemen to the nounbre of ijml [2000] and moo. And upon the xxij. day of the seyde moneth above rehersed assembled the Duyk of Yorke, and wyth hym come yn companye the Erle of Salesbury, the Erle of Warrewyke with diverse knyghtes and squyers unto ther partye into the felde, called the Key Feld, besyde Seynt Albones. Fyrthermore, oure seyd sovereyne Lord the Kyng, heryng and knowyng of the seyde Dukes comyng with other Lordes afore seyde, pygth his baner at the place called Boslawe in Seynt Petrus Strete, whych place was called afore tyme past Sandeforde, and commaundeth the warde and barrers to be kepte in strong wyse; the for seyde Duyk of York abydyng in the feld aforeseyde frome vij. of the clokke in the morn tyl yt was al most x. without ony stroke smeton on eyther partye. The seyde Duke sende to the Kyng our sovereyne

Lord, be the avyse of his councell, prayng and be sekyng hym to take him as his true man and humble suget; and to consider and to tender at the reverence of Almyghty God, and in way of charite the true entent of his comyng—to be good and gracyous sovereyne Lorde to his legemen, whech with al ther power and mygth wille be redy at alle tymes to leve and dye with hym in his rigth. And to what thyng shoulde lyke his Mageste Ryall to commaunde hem, yf yt be his worsship, kepyng right of the Croune and welffare of the londe; 'More over, gracyous Lord, plese yt zour Majeste Ryall of zour grete goodnesse and ryghtwesnesse to enclyne zour wille to here and fele the ryghtwyse partye of us zoure sugettes and legemen; fyrst, prayng and besechyng to oure Lord Jesus of his hye and myghty power to geve un to zou vertu and prudence, and that thorugh the medyacyon of the glorious martyr Seynt Albon to geve very knowleche to knowe the entent of oure assembleng at this tyme; for God that is [in] Heven knoweth than our entent is rightful and true. And there fore we pray unto Almyghty Lord Jesus these wordes—*Domine sis clipeus defensionis nostræ.* Wherefore, gracyus Lord, plese it your hyghe Majeste to delyvere such as we wole accuse, and they to have lyke, as they have deserved and done, and ze to be honorabled and worsshept as most ryghtffull Kyng and oure governour. For and we shall now at this tyme be promysed, as afore this tyme ys not unknowen, of promes broken whech ful fayth fully hath ben promysed, and there upon grete othes made, we wyll not now cesse for noon such promysse, surete, ne other, tyl we have hem whych hav deserved deth, or elles we to dye there fore.'

And to that answered the Kyng our sovereyne Lord, and seyde: 'I, Kyng Herry, charge and comaund that no maner persone, of what degre, or state, or condicyon that evere he be, abyde not, but voyde the felde, and not be so hardy to make ony resystens ageyne me in myn owne realme; for I shall knowe what traytor dar be so bolde to reyse apepull in myn owne lond, where thorugh I am in grete desese and hevynesse. And by the feyth that I owe to Seynt Edward and to the Corone of Inglond, I shal destrye them every moder sone, and they be hanged, and drawen, and quartered, that may be taken afterward, of them to have ensample to alle such traytours to be war to make ony ruch rysyng of peple withinne my lond, and so traytorly to abyde her Kyng and governour. And, for a conclusyon, rather then they shall have ony Lorde, here with me at this tyme, I shall this day, for her sake, and in this quarrell my sylff lyve or dye.'

Wych ansuere come to the Duke of Yorke, the wheche Duke, by the avyce of the Lordes of hys Counceill, seyde unto hem thise wordes: 'The Kyng our sovereyne Lord will not be reformed at our besechyng ne prayer, ne wylle not understonde the entent that we be comen heder and assembled fore and gadered at this tyme; but only ys full purpose, and there noon other wey but that he wole with all his power pursue us, and yf ben taken, to geve us a shameful deth, losyng our lyvelode and goodes, and our heyres shamed for evere. And ther fore, sythe yt wole be noon other wyse but that we shall ootterly dye, better yt ys for us to dye in the feld than cowardly to be put to a grete rebuke and asshamefful deth; more over, consederyng yn what peryle Inglonde stondes inne at thys owre, therefore every man help to help power for the ryght there offe, to redresse the myscheff that now regneth, and to quyte us lyke men in this querell; preyng to that Lord that ys Kyng of Glorye, that regneth in the kyngdom celestyall, to kepe us and save us this day in our right, and thorugh the helpe of His holy grace we may be made strong to with stonde the grete abomynable and cruell malyse of them that purpose fully to destrye us with shameful deth. We ther fore, Lord, prey to The to be oure confort and Defender, seyng the word afore seyde, *Domine sis clipeus defensionis nostræ.*'

And whanne this was seyde, the seyde Duke of Yorke, and the seyd Erle of Salesbury, and the Erle of Warrewyk, betwene xj. and xij. of the clocke at noon, the broke into the toun in thre diverse places and severelle places of the fore seyd strete. The Kyng beyng then in the place of Edmond Westley, hunderdere of the seyd toun of Seynt Albones, comaundeth to sle alle maner men of lordes, knyghthtes, end squyeres, and zemen that myght be taken of the for seyde Dukes of York. Thys don, the fore seyd Lord Clyfford kept strongly the barrers that the seyde Duke of York myght not in ony wise, with all the power that he hadde,

entre ne breke into the toun. The Erle of Warrewyk, knowyng ther offe, toke and gadered his men to gedere and ferosly brake in by the gardeyne sydes betuene the signe of the Keye and the signe of the Chekkere in Holwell strete; and anoon as they were wyth inne the toon, sodeynly the blew up trumpettes, and sette a cry with asshout and a grete voyce, 'A Warrewe! A Warrewyk! A Warrewyk!,' and into that tyme the Duke of York mygth nevere have entre into the toun; and they with strong hond kept yt, and myghttyly faught to gedere, and anoon, forth with after the brekyng in, they sette on them manfully. And as of Lordes of name were slayn the Lord Clyfford, the Duke of Somersete, the Erle of Northumberlond, Sir Bartram Entuwysselle, Knynght; and of men of courte, Wyllam Zouch, John Batryaux, Raaff of Bapthorp and hys sone, Wyllyam Corbyn, squyers; William Cotton, receyver of the Ducherye of Lancastre; Gylbert Starbrok, squyer; Malmer Pagentoun, William Botelore, yomen; Rogere Mercroft, the Kynges messanger; Halyn, the Kynges porter; Raufe Wyllerby; and xxv. mo, whych her names be not yet knowen. And of hem that ben slayn ben beryed in Sent Albonos xlviij. And at this same tyme were hurt Lordes of name—the Kyng, our sovereyne Lord, in the neck with an arrowe; the Duke of Bukingham, with an arrowe in the vysage; the Lord of Stafford in the hond, with an arowe; the Lord of Dorsette, sore hurt that he myght not go, but he was caryede hom in a cart; and Wenlok, Knyght, in lyke wyse in a carte sore hurt; and other diverse knyghtes and squyers sore hurt. The Erle of Wyldsshyre, Thorpe, and many other flede, and left her harneys behynde hem cowardly, and the substaunce of the Kynges partye were dyspoyled of hors and harneys. This done, the seyde Lordes, that ys to wote, the Duke of Yorke, the Erle of Salesbury, the Erle of Warrewyke, come to the Kyng, our sovereyne Lord, and on here knees he soughte hym of grace and foryevenesse of that they hadde doon yn his presence, and be sought hym of his Heynesse to take hem as hys true legemen, seyng that they never attendyde [intended] hurt to his owne persone, and ther fore [the] Kyng oure sovereyn Lord toke hem to grace, and so desyred hem to cesse there peple, and that there shulde no more harme be doon; and they obeyde hys commaundement, and lote make a cry on the Kynges name that al maner of pepull shulde cesse and not so hardy to stryke ony stoke more after the proclamacyon of the crye; and so cessed the seyde batayle, *Deo gratias*.

And on the morwe the Kyng and the seyde Duke, with other certeyn Lordes, come in to the Bysshops of London, and there kept resydens with joye and solempnyte, concludyng to holde the parlement at London, the ix. day of July next comyng.

Letter 240.

A.D. 1455, [22 May].

The Battle of St. Alban's.

[From MS. Phillipps, 9735, No. 278.]

The solecytouriz and causerys of the feld takyng at Seynt Albonys, ther namys shewyn her aftyr:—

The Lord Clyfford.
Rauff Percy.
Thorpe.
Tresham and Josep.

The inony [enemy's] batayle was in the Market-place, and the Kynges standard was pight, the Kynge beynge present with these Lordes, whos namys folwe:

The Duke of Bokyngham.
The Duke Somyrcete.
The Erle Devynshire.
The Erle of Northombirlond.
The Erle Stafford.
The Erle Dorcete.
The Lord Clyfford.
The Lord Ros.

With many Knyghtes and Squyeriz, to the noumbre in alle that faught that day iij^{ml}. [3000], and it was done on Thursday last past atwyx xj. and xij at mydday.

The namys of the Lordes that were on the othir party shewyn here aftyr:

The Duke of York.
The Erle of Salysbury.
The Erle of Warwyk.
The Lord Clynton.
Sir Robert Ocle.

With many otheriz, to the noumbre of v^{ml}. [5000] men.

And Sir Rober Ocle tok vj^{c}. [600] men of the Marchis, and tok the Market-place or ony man was war; than the larum belle was ronge, and every man yed to harneys, for at that tyme every man was out of ther aray, and they joynid batayle anon; and it was done with inne di. [*i.e. one half*,] houre, and there were slayn the men, whos namys folwyn:

The Duke Somyrcete.
The Erle Northombirlond.
The Lord Clyfford.
The Lord Clynton.
Sir Bartyn at Wessyll.
Babthorpe and hese sone.
Cotton, Receyvour of the Duchye.
Gryphet, Ussher of Hall.
Herry Loweys.
Wyllyam Regmayde.
John Raulyns. Asple.
Harpour, Yoman of the Groune.

} With many othir men, to the noumbre of iiij^{c} [400], and as many or mo hurt. The Kynge was hurte with an harwe in the necke. The Duke of Bukkyngham hurt, and fled in to the Abbey. The Erle Devynshire hurt. The Erle Stafford and Dorcetyr gretly hurt. Fylongley faught manly, and was shet thorwe the armys in iij. or iiij. placys.

The Duke of Norfolke come a day aftyr the jurney was done with vj^{mll}. [6000] men.

And the Erle of Oxinford also.
The Erle of Shrewysbury.
Lord Crumwelle,
And Sir Thomas Stanley.

} with x^{mll}. [10,000] men were comynge.

The Kynge with all the Lordes come to London to Westmenstyr on Fryday, at vj. of clocke at aftyr none, and London went a generalle processyon the same day.

Saint Alban's battle. V. iii. 30.

The First Battle of St. Alban's. "The First Battle of St. Albans occurred chiefly in St. Peter's Street. The town was occupied by the Lancastrians under Henry VI., and the Duke of Somerset. The Yorkists attacked the Barriers in Shropshire Lane, now Victoria Street, and at Sopwell Lane leading from Holywell Hill. Warwick, the King-Maker, in the meantime broke through between the gates, his men poured into Chequer Street, and thus cut the Lancastrian force into two parts. They made their way into St. Peter's Street, and here the chief affray occurred. The Duke of Somerset, who had been warned to beware of a Castle, was slain upon the doorsteps of the "Castle" Inn, which stood at the top of Victoria Street upon the left-hand side, and is now a tobacconist's. The King, with an arrow wound in his neck, took refuge in Hall Place, beyond St. Peter's Church, which is seen at the end of the street. North of St. Peter's Church, until quite recently, stood Hall Place, the house where Henry VI. took refuge. The upper portion of St. Peter's Street is termed Bow Gate, or Borough Gate, from the mediaeval Bars which stood there." Burrow's *Official Handbook to St. Albans*. For accounts of the Battle see *inter alia* Barrett's "Battles and Battlefields in England," 1896. Bayley's "An Account of the First Battle of St. Albans from a contemporary Manuscript [*Archæologia*, vol. xx, 1824]. Gairdner's Houses of Lancaster and York, with the conquest and loss of France." 1927. Ramsay's "Lancaster and York: a century of English History (A.D. 1399–1485)." 1892, *and under* Saint Alban's, Act V., Scene ii.,

Saint Alban's shrine. II. i. 63.

> Forsooth, a blind man at Saint Alban's shrine,
> Within this halt hour hath received his sight;
> A man that ne'er saw in his life before. [II. i. 63–65.]

Founded on a story in Sir Thomas More's *Dialogue*: "This Humffrey Duke of Gloucester, descending of the blood royal, was not onely noble and valyant in all his actes and doings, but sage, pollitique, and notably well learned in the Ciuile lawe. And among other his worthy prayses, this followyng is not to be forgotten, which most liuely and plainely declareth him to be both prudent and wise, & to his great laude and praise is written and set forth by Sir Thomas Moore knight, in a booke of hys, entituled a *Dialogue* concerning heresies and matters of religion, and in the xiiij. chapter of the same booke, in this wise follwyng. In the time of King Henry the sixt (sayeth he) as he roade in Progresse, there came to the towne of Saint Albons a certaine begger with hys wyfe, and there was walking about the towne begging fiue or sixe dayes before the kinges comming thether, sayeng that he was borne blinde and neuer sawe in all his life, and was warned in his dreame that he should come out of Berwike, where he sayd that he had euer dwelled, to seke Saint Albon, and that he had bene at his Shrine, and was not holpen, and therefore he would go seeke him at some other place; For he had heard some saye sence he came, that Saint Albons body should be at Colyn, and in dede such a contention hath there bene. But of truth as I am certainly informed (sayth Sir Thomas Moore) he lyeth here at saint Albones, sauing some reliques of him, which they there shewe shryned. But to tell you foorth, when the king was come, and the towne full of people, sodainely this blind man at saint Albones Shryne had his sight, & the same was solempnly rong for a miracle, and

Te deum songen, so that nothing was talked of in all the towne, but this miracle. So happened it then that Duke Humfrey of Gloucester, a man so lesse wise, than also well learned, hauing great ioy to see muche a miracle, called the poore man vnto him, and first shewyng himselfe ioyous of Gods glorie, so shewed in the getting of his sight, and exhorting him to mekenesse, and to no ascribyng of any part of the worship to himselfe, not to be prowde of the peoples praise, which would call him a good & a godly man therby, at the last he looked well vpon his eien, & asked whether he could euer see any thing at al in all his life before. And when as well his wife as himselfe affirmed fastly, no, then he looked aduisedly vpon his eyen agayne, and sayde, I beleue you very well, for me thinketh that ye can not see well yet. Yes Sir quoth he, I thanke God and his holy Martir, I can see now as well as any man: yea, can, quod the Duke, what colour is my Gowne? Then anone the begger tolde him. What colour quod he is this mans Gowne? he tolde him also without anye stayeng or stomblyng, and tolde the names of all the colours that coulde be shewed him. And when the Duke sawe that, he bade him walke Faytoure, and made him to be set openly in the stockes: For though he could haue sene sodaynely by miracle the difference betwene dyuers coloures, yet could he not by sight, so sodainely tell the names of all these coloures, except he had knowne them before, no more then he coulde name all the men whome he should sodainely see, thus farre mayster Moore."

Saint George's Field. V. i. 46.

Meet me to-morrow in Saint George's field. [V. i. 46.]

See *Second Part of King Henry the Fourth*, III. ii., 190.

Saint Magnus' Corner. IV. viii. 1.

Up Fish Street! down Saint Magnus' Corner! [IV. viii. 1.]

See Fish Street. Cf. *Extract* 25 from Holinshed.

Savoy. IV. vii. 1.

So, sirs. Now go some and pull down the Savoy; others to the inns of court: down with them all. [IV. vii. 1–2].

The Duke of Lancaster's Palace in the Strand. It was destroyed by Wat Tyler and his followers in 1381. Annexed to the crown by Henry IV it was rebuilt as a hospital by Henry VII about 1505. Cade's suggestion to "pull down the Savoy" is derived from the account of Tyler's revolt. Hart quotes from Fabyan's account of the 1381 rebellion: "They . . . came vnto ye duke of Lancasters place standyng without ye Temple Barre, callyd *Sauoy*, & spoyled that was therein & after set it upon fyre & brent it. . . . Than they entryd the cytie & serchied the Temple and other inns of Court, & spoyled theyr places & brent theyr bokys of lawe, & slewe as many men of lawe & questmongers as they myght fynde; & that done they went to Seynt Martyns ye Graunde, & toke with them all seyntwary men, & the prysons of Newgate, Ludgate, & of bothe Counters, & distroyed theyr registers & bokis, & in lyke maner they dyd with the prysoners of the Marshalse & Kynges Benche in Southwerke." Fabyan names the leaders as follows: "In this mayers yere and ende of the thyrde yere of Kyng Richard . . . ye comons arose sodeynly and ordeynyd to them rulers and capytaynys, & specially in Kent and Essex, the whiche namyd theyr leders Iacke Strawe, Wyl Wawe, Watte Tyler, Iacke Shepeherde, Tomme Myller, and Hobbe Carter." Cf. *Extract* 25 from Holinshed.

Sea Captain, A. IV. i. p.1.

The captain of the party which intercepts Suffolk and his friends in their flight to France. Bringing the prisoners ashore he exclaims:

Therefore bring forth the soldiers of our prize,
For whilst our pinnace anchors in the Downs
Here shall they make their ransom on the sand,
Or with their blood stain this discoloured shore.
[IV. i. 8–11.]

and allots them to the members of his crew:

Master, this prisoner freely give I thee;
And thou that art his mate make boot of this;
The other (*pointing to Suffolk*) Walter Whitmore,
is thy share. [IV. i. 12–14.]

He orders Suffolk's execution, saying:

Hale him away, and let him talk no more. [IV. i. 131.]

and then orders that the remainder of the prisoners be released:

And as for these whose ransom we have set,
It is our pleasure one of them depart: [IV. i. 139–140].

Sennet. I. iii. p.100 ; III. i. p.1.

A signal call on a trumpet. The word occurs chiefly in the stage directions of old Plays.

Servants. I. iii. p.33.

Serving-men who lead Peter away when he has made an accusation of treason against his master.

Servingman. I. iv. p.79 ; IV. iv. p.1.

A male servant.

Sheriff. II. iv. p.17, 74, 100.

Escorts the Duchess of Gloucester during the performance of the penance imposed upon her by Henry for her part in the sorcery practised in her garden. The penance done, the Sheriff hands her over to Sir John Stanley.

Sicilia. I. i. 47.

See Reignier.

Simpcox, an Imposter. II. i. p.68, 91, 123, 124.

An inhabitant of St. Albans, who appears before Henry accompanied by the Mayor of St. Albans, and a great crowd of townspeople. He says that he was born blind, and,

> being called
> A hundred times and oftener in my sleep,
> By good Saint Alban ; who said, ' Simpcox, come ;
> Come, offer at my shrine, and I will help thee.'
> [II. i. 89–92.]

had obeyed the message, and had miraculously received his sight.

His wife bears out this statement, but the Cardinal, noticing that the man is lame, is sceptical, and asks :

> What ! art thou lame ?
> . . . . . .
> How cam'st thou so ? [II. i. 94–96.]

to receive the reply :

> A fall off of a tree. [II. i. 97.]

This further arouses the suspicions of the nobles, and Gloucester asks him to name the colour of his cloak and his gown. Simpcox answers correctly, and thus exposes the trick. A beadle is sent for, and to test his lameness Simpcox is whipped, which causes him to leap over a stool and run away.

Simpcox' wife pleads for mercy, saying :

> Alas ! sir, we did it for pure need. [II. i. 154.]

but Gloucester commands :

> Let them be whipped through every market-town
> till they come to Berwick, from whence they came.
> [II. i. 155–156.]

Foxe in his *Acts and Monuments*, draws attention to the imposture practised at St. Albans. *See* Vol. III., pp. 712–713 ; and Vol. VI., p. 296.

Sir Humphrey Stafford. I. iv. 52 ; IV. ii. 112, p.121 ; IV. iii. p.1 ; IV. iv. 34.

Leader of a part of the king's forces against the rebel Cade and his followers. With his brother William Stafford, he pleads with the rebels, both their words are disregarded, and in an encounter which follows, both Sir Humphrey Stafford and his brother William are slain.

A messenger to Henry exclaims :

> Sir Humphrey Stafford and his brother's death
> Hath given them heart and courage to proceed.
> [IV. iv. 34–35.]

Sir James Cromer. IV. vii. 110.

> and then break into his son-in-law's
> house, Sir James Cromer, and strike off his head, and
> bring them both upon two poles hither.
> [IV. vii. 109–111.]

It was *William Crowmer*, Sheriff of Kent, whom Cade put to death. Lord Say and he had been previously sent to the Tower, and both, or at least the former, convicted of treason, at Cade's mock commission of oyer and terminer at Guildhall. Cf. *Extract* 25 from Holinshed.

See also Lord Say.

Sir John. I. ii. 68.

A title frequently bestowed on the clergy. Grafton remarks : " In this new rufflyng, the king easily graunted that Abbots, Deanes, & Curates should be elected frely euery where, so that the lawes of the realme were truely obserued. But against that were the Bishops, alleagyng theyr Canonical decrees, & rules synodall, determinyng the king therein to haue nothing a do, but onely to geue his consent after they had once elected. But among that com-

pany, there were some that consented not to that error; A sort also there were of prelates that time which were not pleased that the landes interdiction should ceasse, till the king had payde all which their Clergie in all quarters of the realme had demaunded without reason: yea euery sawcy Sir Ihon for his part, euen to the very breakyng of their hedges, the stealyng of their Apples, and their other occasionall dammages, demaunded allowance which grew to an incredible summe and impossible to be answered."

Sir John Stanley. II. iii. 13; II. iv. p.17, 77, 79, 84, 91, 104.

It is to Sir John Stanley's castle in the Isle of Man that the Duchess of Gloucester is condemned to be sent:

> You, madam, for you are more nobly born,
> . . . . . .
> Shall, after three days' open penance done,
> Live in your country here in banishment,
> With Sir John Stanley, in the Isle of Man.
> [II. iii. 9–13.]

Sir Pool. IV. i. 70.

See Pool.

Smith the Weaver. IV. ii. 29, p.32; IV. iii. p.1; IV. vi. p.1; IV. vii. p.1; IV. viii. p.1.

One of Cade's followers, appearing in all the scenes describing the insurrection.

Smithfield. II. iii. 7.

> The witch in Smithfield shall be burned to ashes.
> [II. iii. 7.]

A district of London, the scene of tournaments, fairs, and cattle markets, and a place of executions and burning of so-called heretics. Margery Jourdain, the witch, was burned to death for sorcery at this place. Stowe says: "There was taken afso Margery Gurdemaine a witch of Eye befides Weftminster, whofe forcerie and witchcrafte the faid Elianor hadde long time ufed, and by her medicines & drinkes enforced the Duke of Gloucefter to loue her, and after to wedde her, wherefore, and for caufe of relapfe, the fame Witch was brent in Smithfield, on the twentie-feauen day of October."

Smithfield. IV. v. 10; IV. vi. 11.

In IV., v., 10 the citizens are ordered "to gather head" at Smithfield and resist Cade; and in IV., vi., 11–12 Dick the Butcher informs Cade "there 's an army gathered together in Smithfield."

Soldiers. IV. ii. p.121; IV. vi. p.7; V. iii. p.1.

Southwark.

The Scene of Act IV., Scene viii. Cade and his followers arrive at Southwark. Lords Buckingham and Clifford enter offering pardon to all who lay down their arms. ["This *free pardon*, according to Hall, was brought by the Archbishop of Canterbury, then chancellor of England, and the Bishop of Winchester: 'The archebishop of Canterbury, beyng then chauncelor of England, and for his suerty lyenge in the Towre of London, called to him the bishop of Winchester, whiche also for feare, lurked at Halywell. These two prelates seyng the fury of the Kentish people, by reason of their betyng backe, to be mitigate and minished, passed the ryuer of Thamyse from the Towre, into Southwarke, bringing with them vnder the kynges great seale, a general pardon vnto all the offenders: which they caused to be openly proclaimed and published. Lorde how glad the poore people were of this Pardone (ye more then of the great Jubile of Rome) and how thei accepted thesame, in so muche that the whole multitude, without biddyng farewel to their capitain, retired thesame night, euery man to his awne home, as men amased, and strikē with feare." *Irving edition.*] Being forsaken by many of his followers, Cade seeks safety in flight, and Buckingham offers a reward of a thousand crowns for his capture.

Southwark. IV. iv. 28; IV. viii. 25.

A metropolitan borough on the Surrey side of the Thames. Jack Cade the rebel in his march on London entered Southwark on the 1st of July, 1450.

See also London-stone.

Spirit, A. I. iv. p.23.

The spirit which is raised in the Duke of Gloucester's garden to answer questions con-

cerning the king, the Duke of Suffolk and the Duke of Somerset.

Asked what shall become of the king, the spirit replies : ''

> The duke yet lives that Henry shall depose ;
> But him outlive, and die a violent death.
> [I. iv. 30–31.]

as for the Duke of Suffolk,

> By water shall he die, and take his end. [I. iv. 33.]

and the Duke of Somerset,

> Let him shun castles :
> Safer shall he be upon the sandy plains
> Than where castles mounted stand. [I. iv. 35–37.]

Having given these answers the spirit exclaims ;

> Have done, for more I hardly can endure.
> [I. iv. 38.]

and it is commanded thereupon to

> Descend to darkness, and the burning lake :
> [I. iv. 39.]

and amid thunder and lightning it disappears into the ground.

Street, A.

The Scene of Act II., Scene iv. The penance of the Duchess of Gloucester, and the summons of the Duke of Gloucester to attend a Parliament to be held at Bury St. Edmunds.

See also Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester.

Suffolk's body. IV. i. p.142.

For the account of Suffolk's death *see under* Gualtier.

Sylla. IV. i. 84.

> By devilish policy art thou grown great,
> And, like ambitious Sylla, overgorged
> With gobbets of thy mother's bleeding heart.
> [IV. i. 83–85.]

The Captain here compares Suffolk with C. Cornelius Sulla the Roman Dictator. Sulla was the first to introduce the proscription. In 82 B.C. after his decisive victory over the Samnites and Lucanians under Pontius Telesinus before the Colline Gate of Rome, he drew up a list of proscribed persons, and many thousands were put to death.

Tantæne animis cœlestibus iræ? II. i. 24

= " Is there such anger in heavenly minds ? " (Virgil's *Æneid*).

Ten Commandments. I. iii. 141.

> Could I come near your beauty with my nails
> I 'd set my ten commandments in your face.
> [I. iii. 140–141.]

A popular expression for the ten fingers. Hudson (Windsor edition) quotes *Selimus, Emperor of the Turks*, 1594 : ' I would set a tap abroach and not live in fear of my wife's *ten commandments*.' Again, in *Westward Hoe*, 1607 : ' Your harphy has set his *ten commandments* on my back.' And in Udal's version of Erasmus's *Apophthegms :* ' When Xantippe had pulled awaye her husbandes cope from his backe, even in the open streete, and his familiar compaignons gave him a by warning to avenge suche a naughtie touche or pranks with his *tenne commandments*." Cf. I., iii., 189 where Peter swears by " these ten bones."

Thames. IV. viii. 2.

The River Thames.

Thomas Horner, an Armourer. I. iii. 24, p.176 ; II. iii. p.59, 59.

Is accused of treason by Peter his man, who alleges that Horner has said that the Duke of York is the rightful heir to the throne and that Henry is a usurper.

Horner is brought before the King, and denies the accusation, saying :

> An 't shall please your majesty, I never said
> nor thought any such matter ; God is my witness, I
> am falsely accused by the villain. [I. iii. 186–189.]

declaring that he is accused out of pure malice :

> My accuser is my prentice ; and when I
> did correct him for his fault the other day, he did
> vow upon his knees he would be even with me : I
> have good witness of this : [I. iii. 197–200.]

Gloucester advises a combat between Horner and his man as the best way to settle the quarrel and this takes place before the king.

Horner, before the duel commences, exclaims :

> Masters, I am come hither, as it were, upon
> my man's instigation, to prove him a knave, and myself an honest man : and touching the Duke of York,
> will take my death. [II. iii. 85–88.]

York urges them to fight, and in the course of the combat Horner is struck down mortally wounded. As he expires, he confesses his guilt:

Hold, Peter, hold! I confess, I confess treason.
[II. iii. 93.]

Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester. II. ii. 16.

The sixth was Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester.
[II. ii. 16.]

Thomas of Woodstock was the seventh and last son of King Edward the Third, erroneously referred to here as the 'sixth son' see *Extract* 13 from Holinshed.

Thump. II. iii. 83, 84.

Sal. Come, leave your drinking and fall to blows. Sirrah, what 's thy name?
Peter. Peter, forsooth.
Sal. Peter! what more?
Peter. Thump.
Sal. Thump! then see thou thump thy master well.
[II. iii. 79–84.]

The Surname of Peter the armourer's man.

Tom. II. iii. 76.

An apprentice to whom Peter, the armourer's man, bequeaths all the money he has: "and here, Tom, take all the money that I have."

Tours. I. i. 5; I. iii. 49.

I tell thee, Pole, when in the city Tours
Thou rann'st a tilt in honour of my love,
And stol'st away the ladies' hearts of France,
[I. iii. 49-51.]

Cf Marlowe: *Edward the Second*:

Tell Ifabel, the queen, I look'd not thus,
When for her fake I ran at tilt in France,
And there unhors'd the duke of Cleremont.

See Grafton's *Chronicle*, Vol. I., page 625; and *Extract* 1 from Holinshed.

Tower. IV. v. 5, 9; IV. vi. 15; IV. ix. 38; V. i. 41, 134.

The Tower of London.

Troy. I. iv. 17.

Deep night, dark night, the silent of the night,
The time of night when Troy was set on fire;
[I. iv. 16-17].

An ancient city of Asia Minor, immortalised in Homer's *Iliad*. Cf Peele's *Fall of Troy*:

It was the time when midnight's sleep and rest
With quiet pause the town of Troy possess'd . . .
Now Troy, as was foretold, began to burn.

Troy. III. ii. 118.

To sit and witch me, as Ascanius did
When he to madding Dido would unfold
His father's acts, commenced in burning Troy!
See Ascanius. [III. ii. 116–118.]

Tully. IV. i. 136.

A Roman sworder and banditto slave
Murdered sweet Tully. [IV. i. 135-136].

= Marcus Tullius Cicero, Roman philosopher and orator. On the formation of the second triumvirate was proscribed and put to death. Plutarch states: "But in the mean time came the murtherers appointed to kill him, *Herennius* a Centurion, and *Popilius Lena*, Tribune of the fouldiers (to wit, Colonell of a thoufand men, whofe caufe *Cicero* had once pleaded before the Judges, when he was accufed for the murther of his own father) having fouldiers attending upon them. So *Cicero's* gate being fhut, they entred the houfe by force, and miffing him, they asked them of the houfe what was become of him. They anfwered they could not tell. Howbeit, there was a young boy in the houfe called *Philologus*, a flave enfranchifed by *Quintus Cicero*, whom *Tullius Cicero* had brought up in the Latine tongue, and had taught him the liberal Sciences: he told this *Herennius* that his fervants carried him in a Litter towards the fea, through dark narrow lanes, fhadowed with wood on either fide. *Popilius* the Colonel taking fome fouldiers with him, ran about on the outfide of the lanes to take him at his comming out of them: and *Herennius* on the other fide entred the lanes. *Cicero* hearing him comming, commanded his men to fet down his Litter, and taking his beard in his left hand, as his manner was, he floutly looked the murtherers in the faces, his head and beard being all white, and his face lean and wrinckled, for the extream forrows he had taken: divers of them that were by, held their hands before their eyes, whilft *Herennius* did cruelly murther him. So *Cicero* being threefcore and four years of age, thruft his neck out of the Litter and had his head cut off by *Antonius* commandment, and his hands alfo, which wrote the Orations (called the *Philippians*) againft him. For fo

did *Cicero* call the Orations he wrote againſt him, for the malice he bare him: and they do yet continue the fame name untill this present time."

Two brave bears. V. i. 144.

> Call hither to the stake my two brave bears,
> That with the very shaking of their chains
> They may astonish these fell-lurking curs:
> Bid Salisbury and Warwick come to me.
> [V. i. 144–147.]

An allusion to the well-known badge of the bear and the ragged staff. "This well-known badge of the Neville family came to the Earl of Warwick from the Beauchamps through his marriage with the heiress of Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick." Cf. *Third Part of King Henry the Sixth*, V., vii., 10–12:

> With them, the two brave bears, Warwick and Montague,
> That in their chains fetter'd the kingly lion,
> And made the forest tremble when they roar'd.

Two Gentlemen, Prisoners with Suffolk. IV. i. p.1.

Appear with the Duke of Suffolk on the seashore near Dover. They, with the duke, are intercepted when about to cross to France. The first gentleman asks:

> What is my ransom, master? Let me know.
> [IV. i. 15.]

The master replies:

> A thousand crowns, or else lay down your head.
> [IV. i. 16.]

Suffolk having been killed, the captain orders that all the other captives be freed, and they depart, with the exception of the first gentleman, who, seeing Suffolk's body exclaims:

> O barbarous and bloody spectacle!
> His body will I bear unto the king: [IV. i. 144–145.]

Two Murderers. III. ii. p.1.

The murderers of the Duke of Gloucester, hired for the purpose by the Duke of Suffolk.

Vaux. III. ii. p.367, 367.

A messenger who brings news that Cardinal Beaufort is lying dangerously ill, and desires to see Henry.

[Sir William Vaux of Harrowden, Northamptonshire. For his adherence to the Lancastrian cause he was attainted and his estates confiscated by Edward IV. in 1461. He was killed at the battle of Tewkesbury, 1471.]

Villiago. IV. viii. 46.

> Crying "Villiago!" unto all thy meet. [IV. viii. 46.]

A coward.

Walter. IV. i. 38.

See Gualtier.

Walter Whitmore. IV. i. p.1, 14, 31, 44, 115, 142.

On his capture the Duke of Suffolk is given into the charge of Whitmore, who exclaims:

> I lost mine eye in laying the prize aboard,
> And therefore to revenge it shalt thou die; [To Suffolk]
> [IV. i. 25–26.]

On hearing these words Suffolk begs for ransom, and on hearing Whitmore say his name is much alarmed. Being asked the reason, he says;

> Thy name affrights me, in whose sound is death.
> A cunning man did calculate my birth,
> And told me that by water I should die:
> Yet let not this make thee be bloody-minded;
> Thy name is Gaultier, being rightly sounded.
> [IV. i. 33–37.]

Whitmore exclaims:

> Gaultier or Walter, which it is, I care not; [IV. i. 38.]

and seizes Suffolk, who now reveals his true identity in a last endeavour to save himself;

> Stay, Whitmore; for thy prisoner is a prince,
> The Duke of Suffolk, William de la Pole.
> [IV. i. 44–45.]

His pleadings, however, are of no avail, and Whitmore kills him, afterwards bringing in his body and leaving it upon the shore exclaiming:

> There let his head and lifeless body lie,
> Until the queen his mistress bury it. [IV. i. 142–143.]

Westminster. I. ii. 37; IV. iv. 31.

= Westminster Abbey.

White Hart. IV. viii. 24.

A famous tavern in Southwark. Cf. *Extract* 25 from Holinshed.

Wife to Simpcox. II. i. p.68.

Appears with her husband before the king at

St. Albans, and supports his story of the miraculous cure of his blindness, while on a visit to the Shrine of St. Alban.

When their deception is found out she exclaims :

> Alas ! sir, we did it for pure need. [II. i. 154.]

but the Duke of Gloucester orders that the pair be " whipped through every market-town, till they come to Berwick, from whence they came."

See also Simpcox, an Impostor.

Will. II. ii. 75.

An apprentice to whom Peter, the armourer's man, bequeaths his hammer : " and, Will, thou shalt have my hammer " : In *The Contention* Peter bequeaths to Will his apron : " And, Will, thou shalt haue my aperne."

William of Hatfield. II. ii. 12, 33.

See *Extract* 13 from Holinshed.

William of Windsor. II. ii. 17.

William of Windsor was the sixth son of King Edward the Third, erroneously referred to here as the ' seventh and last.' See *Extract* 13 from Holinshed.

William Stafford. IV. ii. 112, p.121 ; IV. iii. p.1 ; IV. iv. 34.

Leader of a force against the rebel followers of Jack Cade, in company with his brother Sir Humphrey Stafford.

The brothers endeavour to plead with the rebels, but their words are unheeded, whereupon William Stafford exclaims :

> Well, seeing gentle words will not prevail,—
> Assail them with the army of the king.
> [IV. ii. 173–174.]

In another part of Blackheath, the rival forces meet, and in a fierce encounter both the Staffords are killed.

Wingham. IV. ii. 23.

A village in Kent.

York. IV. i. 94.

= The House of York.

Young Clifford, son to Lord Clifford. V. i. p.123 ; V. ii. p.31, p.83.

Appears with his father before the king when York has announced his intention of seizing the crown. Lord Clifford declares that the traitors should be executed, and Young Clifford supports his father with the words :

> And so to arms, victorious father,
> To quell the rebels and their complices.
> [V. i. 211–212.]

Later, during the battle of St. Albans, Young Clifford appears, and seeing the dead body of his father lying on the battle-field vows to be revenged for his death, and bears the corpse away.

Son of the Lord Clifford of this Play, and the Lord Clifford of the *Third Part of King Henry the Sixth*, in which Play he figures prominently.

APPENDIX I.

EXTRACTS FROM HOLINSHED[1] THAT ILLUSTRATE THE *Second Part of King Henry the Sixth.*

1. [In November, 1444, Suffolk and a splendid retinue] came to the citie of Tours in Touraine, where they were honorablie receiued both of the French king and of the king of Sicill. The marquesse of Suffolke, as procurator to king Henrie, espoused the said ladie in the church of saint Martins. At the which mariage were present the father and mother of the bride; the French king himselfe, which was vncle to the husband; and the French queene also, which was aunt to the wife. There were also the dukes of Orleance, of Calabre, of Alanson, and of Britaine, seauen earles, twelue barons, twentie bishops, beside knights and gentlemen. When the feast, triumph, bankets and iusts were ended, the ladie was deliuered to the marquesse, who in great estate conueied hir through Normandie vnto Diepe, and so transported hir into England, where she landed at Portesmouth in the moneth of Aprill.

2. Upon the thirtith of Maie next following, she was crowned queene of this realme of England at Westminster, with all the solemnitie thereto apperteining.

3. One thing seemed to be a great hinderance to peace; which was, bicause the king of England occupied a great part of the duchie of Aniou, and the whole countie of Maine, apperteining (as was alledged) to king Reiner.

The earle of Suffolke (I cannot saie), either corrupted with bribes, or too much affectioned to this vnprofitable mariage, condescended, that the duchie of Aniou and the countie of Maine should be deliuered to the king the brides father; demanding for hir mariage neither penie nor farthing: as who would saie, that this new affinitie passed all riches, and excelled both gold and pretious stones.

4. The marquesse of Suffolke, by great fauour of the king, & more desire of the queene, was erected to the title and dignitie of duke of Suffolke, which he a short time inioied.

5. During the time of the truce, Richard duke of Yorke and diuerse other capteins repaired into England; both to visit their wiues, children, and freends, and also to consult what should be doone, if the truce ended.

6. [Suffolk] with his wife and manie honorable personages of men and women richlie adorned both with apparell & iewels, hauing with them manie costlie chariots and gorgeous horslitters, sailed into France, for the conueiance of the nominated queene into the realme of England. For King Reiner hir father, for all his long stile, had too short a pursse to send his daughter honorablie to the king hir spouse.

The king had not one penie with hir; and, for the fetching of hir, the marquesse of Suffolke demanded a whole fifteenth in open parlement.

7. [About the year 1448,] began a new rebellion in Ireland; but Richard duke of Yorke, being sent thither to appease the same, so asswaged the furie of the wild and sauage people there, that he wan him such fauour amongst them, as could neuer be separated from him and his linage; which in the sequele of this historie may more plainelie appeare.

8. Diuerse articles were laid against him [Gloucester] in open councell, and in especiall one: That he had caused men, adiudged to die, to be put to other execution, than the law of the land assigned. Suerlie the duke, verie well learned in the law ciuill, detesting malefactors, and punishing offenses in seuritie of iustice, gat him hatred of such as feared condign reward for their wicked dooings.

9. [In 1446,] a parlement was called, in the which it was especiallie concluded, that by good foresight Normandie might be so furnished for defense before the end of the truce, that the French king should take no aduantage through want of timelie prouision: for it was knowne, that, if a peace were not concluded, the French king did prepare to imploie his whole puissance to make open warre. Heerevpon monie was granted, an armie leuied, and the duke of Summerset appointed to be regent of Normandie, and the duke of Yorke thereof discharged.

I haue seene in a register booke belonging sometime to the abbeie of saint Albons, that the duke of York was established regent of France, after the decease of the duke of Bedford, to continue in that office for the tearme of fiue yeares; which being expired, he returned home, and was ioifullie receiued of the king with thanks for his good seruice, as he had full well deserued in time of that his gouernement: and, further, that now, when a new regent was to be chosen

1. *Shakespeare's Holinshed*, by W. G. Boswell-Stone.

and sent ouer, to abide vpon safegard of the countries beyond the seas as yet subiect to the English dominion, the said duke of *Yorke* was eftsoones (as a *man* most *meet* to supplie that roome) appointed to go ouer againe, as *regent of France*, with all his former allowances.

But the duke of Summerset, still maligning the duke of Yorkes aduancement, as he had sought to hinder his dispatch at the first when he was sent ouer to be regent, (as before yee haue heard,) he likewise now wrought so, that the king reuoked his grant made to the duke of Yorke for enioieng of that office the terme of other fiue yeeres, and, with helpe of William marquesse of Suffolke, obteined that grant for himselfe.

10. Although the duke of Yorke was worthie (both for birth and courage) of this honor and preferment, yet so disdeined of Edmund duke of Summerset, (being cousine to the king,) that by all meanes possible he sought his hinderance, as one glad of his losse, and sorie of his well dooing: by reason whereof, yer the duke of Yorke could get his dispatch, Paris and diuerse other of the cheefest places in France were gotten by the French king.

11. Diuers secret attempts were aduanced forward this season, against this noble man Humfreie duke of Glocester, a far off, which, in conclusion, came so neere, that they beereft him both of life and land; as shall hereafter more plainelie appeere.

For, first, this yeare, dame Eleanor Cobham, wife to the said duke, was accused of treason; for that she by sorcerie and inchantment intended to destroie the king, to the intent to aduance hir husband vnto the crowne. . . . At the same season were arrested, arreigned, and adiudged giltie, as aiders to the duchesse, Thomas Southwell priest, and canon of S. Stephans at Westminster, Iohn Hun priest, Roger Bolingbrooke a cunning necromancer (as it was said), and Margerie Iordeine, surnamed the witch of Eie.

The matter laid against them was, for that they (at the request of the said duchesse) had deuised an image of wax, representing the king, which by their sorcerie by little and little consumed; intending thereby in conclusion to waste and destroie the kings person.

12. Richard, duke of Yorke, (being greatlie alied by his wife to the chiefe peeres and potentates of the realme, beside his owne progenie,) perceiuing the king to be no ruler, but the whole burthen of the realme to rest in direction of the queene, & the duke of Suffolke, began secretlie to allure his friends of the nobilitie; and priuilie declared vnto them his title and right to the crowne, and likewise did he to certeine wise gouernours of diuerse cities and townes. Which attempt was so politikelie handled, and so secretlie kept, that prouision to his purpose was readie, before his purpose was openlie published; and his friends opened themselues, yer the contrarie part could them espie: for in conclusion all shortlie in mischiefe burst out, as ye may hereafter heare.

York's Claim.

13. *Edward the third* had issue, *Edward prince of Wales; William of Hatfield*, his *second sonne; Lionell the third, duke of Clarence; Iohn of Gant*, fourth, *duke of Lancaster; Edmund of Langleie, fift, duke of Yorke; Thomas of Woodstoke, sixt, duke of Glocester;* and *William of Windsor, seauenth.*

The said *Edward* prince of Wales, which *died* in the life time of *his father*, had issue *Richard*, which succeeded *Edward the third* his grandsire; Richard died without issue; *William of Hatfield*, the second sonne of Edward the third, *died without* issue; Lionell *the third sonne* of Edward the third, *duke of Clarence, had issue Philip* his *daughter* and heire, which was coupled in matrimonie vnto *Edmund Mortimer* [3rd] *earle of March*, and *had issue Roger* Mortimer [4th] *earle of March*, hir sonne and heire; which *Roger had issue Edmund* [5th] erle of March, Roger Mortimer, *Anne, Elianor;* which Edmund, Roger, and Elianor died without issue. And the said *Anne* coupled in matrimonie to *Richard earle of Cambridge*, the *sonne* of *Edmund of Langleie*, the *fift sonne* of *Edward the third*, and had issue Richard Plantagenet, commonlie called duke of Yorke. . . . To the which Richard duke of Yorke, as sonne to Anne, daughter *to Roger* Mortimer *earle of March, sonne* and heire of the said *Philip, daughter* and heire of the said *Lionell*, the third sonne of king Edward the third, the right, title, dignitie roiall, and estate of the crownes of the realmes of England and France, and the lordship of Ireland, perteineth and belongeth afore anie issue of the said Iohn of Gant, the fourth sonne of the same king Edward.

14. Margerie Iordeine was burnt in Smithfield, and Roger Bolingbrooke was drawne to Tiborne, and hanged and quartered; taking vpon his death that there was neuer anie such thing by them imagined. Iohn Hun had his pardon, and Southwell died in the Tower the night before his execution.

15. [The Duchess of Gloucester] was examined in saint Stephans chappell before the bishop of Canturburie, and there by examination conuict, and iudged to doo open penance in three open places within the citie of London . . . and after that adiudged to perpetuall imprisonment in the Ile of Man, vnder the keeping of sir Thomas Stanlie, knight.

16. [The Queen] disdaining that hir husband should be ruled rather than rule, could not abide that the duke of Glocester should doo all things concerning the order of weightie affaires, least it might be said, that she had neither wit nor stomach, which would permit and suffer hir husband, being of most perfect age, like a yoong *pupill*, to be gouerned by the direction of an other man. Although this toy entered first into hir braine thorough hir owne imagination, yet was she pricked forward to the matter both by such of hir husbands counsell, as of long time had borne malice to the duke for his plainnesse vsed in declaring their vntruth (as partlie ye haue heard), and also by counsell from king Reiner hir father; aduising that she and the king should take vpon them the rule of the realme, and not to be kept vnder, as wards and mastered orphanes.

What needeth manie words? The queene, persuaded by these meanes, first of all excluded the duke of Glocester from all rule and gouerance. . . .

17. But, to auoid danger of tumult that might be raised, if a prince so well beloued of the people should be openlie executed, his enimies determined to worke their feats in his destruction, yer he should haue anie warning. For effecting whereof, a parlement was summoned to be kept at Berrie; whither resorted all the peeres of the realme, and amongst them the duke of Glocester, which on the second daie of the session was by the lord Beaumont, then high constable of England, (accompanied with the duke of Buckingham, and others,) arrested, apprehended, and put in ward, and all his seruants sequestred from him, and thirtie two of the cheefe of his retinue were sent to diuerse prisons, to the great admiration of the people.

18. Oft times it hapneth that a man, in quenching of smoke, burneth his fingers in the fire; so the queene, in casting how to keepe hir husband in honor, and hir selfe in authoritie, in making awaie of this noble man, brought that to passe, which she had most cause to haue feared; which was the deposing of hir husband, & the decaie of the house of Lancaster, which of likelihood had not chanced if this duke had liued: for then durst not the duke of Yorke haue attempted to set foorth his title to the crowne, as he afterwards did, to the great trouble of the realme, and destruction of king Henrie, and of many other noble men beside.

19. Although the duke sufficientlie answered to all things against him obiected; yet, because his death was determined, his wisedome and innocencie nothing auailed.

20. Those that fauoured the duke of Yorke, and wished the crowne vpon his head, for that (as they iudged) he had more right thereto than he that ware it, procured a commotion in Kent on this manner. A certeine yoong man, of a goodlie stature and right pregnent of wit, was intised to take vpon him the name of Iohn Mortimer, coosine to the duke of Yorke; (although his name was Iohn Cade, or, of some, Iohn Mend-all, an Irishman, as *Polychronicon* saith;), and not for a small policie, thinking by that surname, that those which fauoured the house of the earle of March would be assistant to him.

21. The duke, the night after he was thus committed to prison, being the foure and twentith of Februarie, was found dead in his bed, and his bodie shewed to the lords and commons, as though he had died of a palsie, or of an imposteme.

But all indifferent persons (as saith *Hall*) might well vnderstand that he died of some violent death. Some iudged him to be *strangled*, some affirme that an hot spit was put in at his fundament, other write that he was smouldered betweene two feather-beds; and some haue affirmed that he died of verie greefe, for that he might not come openlie to his answer.

22. [In 1449–50 people] began to make exclamation against the duke of Suffolke, charging him to be the onelie cause of the deliuerie of Aniou and Maine, the cheefe procuror of the duke of Glocester's death, the verie occasion of the losse of Normandie, the swallower vp of the kings treasure, the remoouer of good and vertuous councellours from about the prince, and the aduancer of vicious persons, and of such as by their dooings shewed themselues apparant aduersaries to the common-wealth.

The queene hereat, doubting not onelie the duke's destruction, but also hir owne confusion, caused the parlement, before begun at the Blackfiers, to be adiourned to Leicester; thinking there, by force and rigor of law, to suppresse and subdue all the malice and euill will conceiued against the duke & hir. At which place few of the nobilitie would appeare: wherefore it was againe adiourned to Westminster, where was a full appearance. In the which session the commons of the nether house put vp to the king and the lords manie articles of treason, misprison, and euill demeanor, against the duke of Suffolke: . . .

23. The parlement was adiourned to Leicester, whither came the king and queene in great estate, and with them the duke of Suffolke, as cheefe councellour. The commons of the lower house, not forgetting their old grudge, besought the king, that such persons, as assented to the release of Aniou, and deliuerance of Maine, might be dulie punished. . . . When the king

perceiued that there was no remedie to appease the peoples furie by anie colourable waies, shortlie to pacifie so long an hatred, he first sequestred the lord Saie, (being treasuror of England,) and other the dukes adherents, from their offices and roomes; and after banished the duke of Suffolke, as the abhorred tode and common noiance of the whole realme, for tearme of fiue yeares: meaning by this exile to appease the malice of the people for the time, and after (when the matter should be forgotten) to reuoke him home againe.

But Gods iustice would not that so vngratious a person should so escape; for, when he shipped in Suffolke, intending to transport himselfe ouer into France, he was incountered with a ship of warre, apperteining to the duke of Excester, constable of the Tower of London, called the Nicholas of the Tower.[1] The capteine of that barke with small fight entered into the dukes ship, and, perceiuing his person present, brought him to Douer road, and there, on the one side of a cock bote, caused his head to be striken off, and left his bodie with the head lieng there on the sands. Which corps, being there found by a chapleine of his, was conueied to Wingfield college in Suffolke, and there buried.

24. [The rebels] began to shew proofe of those things which they had before conceiued in their minds, beheading all such men of law, iustices, and iurors, as they might catch, and laie hands vpon, without respect of pitie, or remorse of conscience: alledging that the land could neuer enioy hir natiue and true libertie, till all those sorts of people were dispatched out of the waie.

25. The queene (that bare rule), being of his retrait aduertised, sent sir Humfreie Stafford knight, and William his brother, with manie other gentlemen, to follow the Kentishmen, thinking that they had fled: but they were deceiued, for at the first skirmish both the Staffords were slaine, & all their companie discomfited.

Iacke Cade, vpon victorie against the Staffords, apparelled himselfe in sir Humfreies brigandine set full of guilt nailes, and so in some glorie returned againe toward London: diuerse idle and vagarant persons, out of Sussex, Surreie and other places, still increasing his number.

[Cade] sent vnto the king an humble supplication, affirming that his comming was not against his grace, but against such of his councellours, as were louers of themselues, and oppressors of the poore commonaltie; flatterers of the king, and enimies to his honor; suckers of his purse, and robbers of his subiects; parciall to their freends, and extreame to their enimies; thorough bribes corrupted, and for indifferencie dooing nothing.

[Cade] came againe to the plaine of Blackheath, & there stronglie incamped himselfe; to whome were sent from the king, the archbishop of Canturburie, and Humfreie duke of Buckingham, to common with him of his greefes and requests.

These lords found him sober in talke, wise in reasoning, arrogant in hart, and stiffe in opinion; as who that by no means would grant to dissolue his armie, except the king in person would come to him, and assent to the things he would require. The K., vpon the presumptuous answers & requests of this villanous rebell, begining asmuch to doubt his owne meniall seruants, as his vnknowen subiects, (which spared not to speake, that the capteins cause was profitable for the common-wealth,) departed in all hast to the castell of Killingworth in Warwikeshire, leauing onlie behind him the lord Scales to keepe the Tower of London. The Kentish capteine, being aduertised of the kings absence, came first into Southwarke, and there lodged at the white hart, prohibiting to all his retinue, murder, rape, and robberie; by which colour well meaning he the more allured to him the harts of the common people.

The Maior and other the magistrates of London perceiuing themselues neither to be sure of goods, nor of life well warranted, determined to repell and keepe out of their citie such a mischieuous caitife and his wicked companie. And, to be the better able so to doo, they made the lord Scales, and that renowmed capteine Matthew Gough, priuie both of their intent and enterprise; beseeching them of their helpe and furtherance therein. The lord Scales promised them his aid, with shooting off the artillerie in the Tower; and Matthew Gough was by him appointed to assist the maior and Londoners in all that he might. . . .

[Cade] entred into London, cut the ropes of the draw bridge, & strooke his sword on London stone; saieng: "*Now is Mortimer lord of this citie?*"

[The citizens] tooke vpon them in the night to keepe the bridge, and would not suffer the Kentishmen once to approch. The rebels, who neuer soundlie slept for feare of sudden assaults, hearing that the bridge was thus kept, ran with great hast to open that passage, where betweene both parties was a fierce and cruell fight.

Matthew Gough, perceiuing the rebels to stand to their tackling more manfullie than he thought they would haue doone, aduised his companie not to aduance anie further toward Southwarke, till the daie appeared; that they might see where the place of ieopardie rested, and so to prouide for the same: but this little auailed. For the rebels with their multitude draue back the citizens from the stoops at the bridge foot to the draw bridge, & began to set fire to diuerse houses. . . .

1 *The Nicholas of the Tower* was the name of one of the ships of war which accompanied Henry V., from Southampton to Harfleur.

Yet the capteins, not sparing, fought on the bridge all the night valiantlie: but, in conclusion, the rebels gat the draw bridge, and drowned manie; and slue Iohn Sutton alderman, and Robert Heisand, a hardie citizen, with manie other, beside Matthew Gough, a man of great wit and much experience in feats of chiualrie, the which in continuall warres had spent his time in seruice of the king and his father.

[The rebels marched to John of Gaunt's] house of the Sauoie, to the which, in beautie and statelinesse of building, with all maner of princelie furniture, there was not any other in the realme comparable; which, in despite of the duke, (whom they called traitor,) they set on fire, and by all waies and means indeuored vtterlie to destroie it. . . .

Now after that these wicked people had thus destroied the duke of Lancasters house, and done what they could deuise to his reproch, they went to the temple; and burnt the men of lawes lodgings, with their bookes, writings, and all that they might lay hand vpon.

The common vplandish people, . . . purposed to *burne* and destroie *all records*, euidences, court-rolles, and other muniments, that, the remembrance of ancient matters being remooued out of mind, their landlords might not haue whereby to chalenge anie right at their hands.

[Cade declared] if either by force or policie they might get the king and queene into their hands, he would cause them to be honourablie vsed, and take such order for the punishing and reforming of the misdemeanours of their bad councellours, that neither *fifteens* should hereafter be demanded, nor once anie impositions or taxes be spoken of.

[Cade] caused sir Iames Fines, lord Saie, and treasuror of England, to be brought to the Guildhall, and there to be arreigned*; who, being before the kings iustices put to answer, desired to be tried by his peeres, for the longer delaie of his life. The capteine, perceiuing his dilatorie plee, by force tooke him from the officers, and brought him to the standard in Cheape, and there (before his confession ended) caused his head to be striken off, and pitched it vpon an high pole, which was openlie *borne before* him *thorough the streets*.

[Cade afterwards] went to Mile end, and there apprehended sir Iames Cromer, then shiriffe of Kent, and sonne in law to the said lord Saie; causing him likewise (without confession or excuse heard) to be beheaded, and his head to be fixed on a pole; and with these two heads this bloudie wretch entred into the citie againe, and as it were in a spite caused them in euerie street to kisse togither, to the great detestation of all the beholders.

[The battle] indured in doubtfull wise on the bridge, till nine of the clocke in the morning: for somtime, the Londoners were beaten backe to saint Magnus corner: and suddenlie again, the rebels were repelled to the stoops in Southwarke, so that both parts being faint and wearie, agreed to leaue off from fighting till the next daie; vpon condition, that neither Londoners should passe into Southwarke, nor Kentishmen into London.

The archbishop of Canturburie, being chancellor of England, and as then for his suertie lieng within the Tower, called to him the bishop of Winchester, who for some safegard laie then at Haliwell. These two prelats, seeing the furie of the Kentish people, by their late repulse, to be somewhat asswaged, passed by the riuer of Thames from the Tower into Southwarke; bringing with them, vnder the kings great seale, a generall pardon vnto all the offendors, and caused the same to be openlie published. The poore people were so glad of this pardon, and so readie to receiue it, that, without bidding farewell to their capteine, they withdrew themselues the same night euerie man towards his home.

But Iacke Cade, despairing of succours, and fearing the reward of his lewd dealings, put all his pillage and goods that he had robbed into a barge, and sent it to Rochester by water, and himselfe went by land, and would haue entred into the castle of Quinborow with a few men that were left about him; but he was there let of his purpose: wherefore he, disguised in strange attire, priuilie fled into the wood countrie beside Lewes in Sussex, hoping so to scape. The capteine & his people being thus departed, not long after proclamations were made in diuerse places of Kent, Sussex, and Southerie, that, whosoeuer could take the foresaid capteine aliue or dead, should haue a thousand markes for his trauell.

The king himselfe came into Kent, and there sat in iudgement vpon the offendors; and, if he had not mingled his iustice with mercy, more than fiue hundred by rigor of law had beene iustlie put to execution. Yet he, punishing onelie the stubborne heads, & disordered ringleaders, pardoned the ignorant and simple persons, to the great reioising of all his subiects.

26. The duke of Yorke, pretending (as yee haue heard), a right to the crowne, as heire to Lionell duke of Clarence, came this yeare out of Ireland vnto London, in the parlement time, there to consult with his speciall freends: as Iohn duke of Northfolke, Richard earle of Salisburie, and the lord Richard, his sonne, (which after was earle of Warwike,) Thomas Courtneie earle of Deuonshire, & Edward Brooke lord Cobham. After long deliberation and aduise taken, it was thought expedient to keepe their cheefe purpose secret; and that the duke should raise an armie of men, vnder a pretext to remooue diuerse councellors about the king, and to reuenge the manifest iniuries doone to the common-wealth by the same rulers. Of the which, as principall, the duke of Summerset was namelie accused, both for that he was greatlie hated of the commons

for the losse of Normandie ; and for that it was well knowne, that he would be altogether against the duke of Yorke in his chalenge to be made (when time serued) to the crowne,

[Yorke] assembled a great hoast, to the number of ten thousand able men, in the marches of Wales ; publishing openlie, that the cause of this his gathering of people was for the publike wealth of the realme. The king, much astonied at the matter, by aduise of his councell raised a great power, and marched forward toward the duke. But he, being thereof aduertised, turned out of that way, which by espials he vnderstood that the king held, and made streight toward London ; and, hauing knowledge that he might not be suffered to passe through the citie, he crossed ouer the Thames at Kingston bridge, and so kept on towards Kent, where he knew that he had both freends & well-willers, and there on Burnt heath, a mile from Dertford, and twelue miles from London, he imbatelled, and incamped himselfe verie stronglie, inuironing his field with artillerie and trenches. The king hereof aduertised, brought his armie with all diligence vnto Blackeheath, and there pight his tents.

Whilest both these armies laie thus imbattelled, the king sent the bishop of Winchester, and Thomas Bourchier, bishop of Elie, Richard Wooduile, lord Riuers, and Richard Andrew, the keeper of his priuie seale, to the duke : both to know the cause of so great a commotion, and also to make a concord ; if the requests of the duke and his companie seemed consonant to reason. The duke, hearing the message of the bishops, answered : that his comming was neither to damnifie the king in honour, nor in person, neither yet anie good man ; but his intent was, to remooue from him certeine euill disposed persons of his councell, bloud-succours of the nobilitie, pollers of the cleargie, and oppressours of the poore people.

Amongst these, he cheeflie named Edmund duke of Summerset, whome if the king would commit to ward, to answer such articles as against him in open parlement should be both proponed and proued, he promised not onelie to dissolue his armie, but also offered himselfe (like an obedient subiect) to come to the kings presence, and to doo him true and faithfull seruice, according to his loiall and bounden dutie.

It was so agreed vpon by aduise, for the auoiding of bloudshed, and pacifieng of the duke and his people, that the duke of Summerset was committed to ward, as some say ; or else commanded to keepe himselfe priuie in his owne house for a time.

The duke of Yorke, the first of March, dissolued his armie, brake vp his campe, . . . and came to the kings tent, where contrarie to his expectation, & against promise made by the king (as other write) he found the duke of Summerset going at large and set at libertie, whome the duke of Yorke boldlie accused of treason, briberie, oppression, and manie other crimes. The duke of Summerset not onelie made answer to the dukes obiections, but also accused him of high treason ; affirming, that he with his fautors and complices had consulted togither, how to come by the scepter and regall crowne of this realme.

Whilest the councell treated of sauing or dispatching of this duke of Yorke, a rumor sprang through London, that Edward earle of March, sonne and heire apparant to the said duke, with a great armie of Marchmen, was comming toward London : which tidings sore appalled the queene and the whole councell.

APPENDIX II.

The Manifesto issued by Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York from Ludlow Castle to the burgesses of Shrewsbury, denouncing Somerset, the 3rd February, 1452. [*Historical Letters*, edited by Sir H. Ellis].[1]

Right worshipful friends, I recommend me unto you ; and I suppose it is well known unto you, as well by experience as by common language said and reported throughout all Christendom, what laud, what worship, honour and manhood, was ascribed of all nations unto the people of this realm whilst the kingdom's sovereign lord stood possessed of his lorship in the realm of France and duchy of Normandy ; and what derogation, loss of merchandise, lesion of honour and villainy, is said and reported generally unto the English nation for loss of the same ; namely [especially] unto the Duke of Somerset, when he had the commandance and charge thereof : the which loss hath caused and encouraged the King's enemies for to conquer and get Gascony and Guienne, and now daily they make their advance for to lay siege unto Calais, and to other places in the marches there, for to apply them to their obeisance, and so for to come into the land with great puissance ; to the final destruction thereof, if they might prevail, and to put the land in their subjection, which God defend. And on the other part it is to be supposed it is not unknown to you that, after my coming out of Ireland, I, as the King's true liegeman and servant (and ever

shall be to my life's end) and for my true acquittal, perceiving the inconvenience before rehearsed, advised his Royal Majesty of certain articles concerning the weal and safeguard, as well of his most royal person, as the tranquillity and convervation of all this his realm: the which advertisements, howbeit that it was thought that they were full necessary, were laid apart, and to be of none effect, through the envy, malice and untruth of the said Duke of Somerset; which for my truth, faith and allegiance that I owe unto the King, and the good will and favour that I have to all the realm, laboureth continually about the King's highness for my undoing, and to corrupt my blood, and to disinherit me and my heirs, and such persons as be about me, without any desert or cause done or attempted on my part or theirs, I make our Lord Judge. Wherefore, worshipful friends, to the intent that every man shall know my purpose and desire for to declare me such as I am, I signify unto you that, with the help and supportation of Almighty God, and of Our Lady, and of all the Company of Heaven, I, after long sufferance and delays [though it is] not my will or intent to displease my sovereign Lord, seeing that the said Duke ever prevaileth and ruleth about the King's person, and that by this means the land is likely to be destroyed, am fully concluded to proceed in all haste against him with the help of my kinsmen and friends; in such wise that it shall prove to promote ease, peace, tranquillity and safeguard of all this land: and more, keeping me within the bounds of my allegiance, as it pertaineth to my duty, praying and exhorting you to fortify, enforce, and assist me, and to come to me with all diligence, wheresoever I shall be, or draw, with as many goodly and likely men as ye may, to execute the intent above said. Written under my signet at my castle of Ludlow, the 3rd day of February.

Furthermore I pray you that such strait appointment and ordinance be made that the people which shall come in your fellowship, or be sent unto me by your agreement, be demeaned in such wise by the way, that they do no offence, nor robbery, nor oppression upon the people, in lesion of justice. Written as above, etc.

Your good friend,

R. York.

To my right worshipful friends, the bailiffs, burgesses and commons of the good town of Shrewsbury.

1 Colby's *Selections from the Sources of English History.*

APPENDIX III.

From *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles, with Historical Memoranda* by John Stowe, edited by Dr. James Gairdner. [Camden Society].

And than the comynes of Kent a rose and hade chosen hem a capteyne the whiche namyd hym sylfe John Mortymer, whose very trew name was John Cade, and he was an Iresheman; and so he come to the Black hethe withe the comynes of Kentt. And the kynge with all his lordis made hem redy with all her power for to with stonde him. . . . And Sir Umfrey Stafford, knyght, and John Stafford, squyer, with her peple went in the forwarde, and they were slayne and myche of her peple. . . . And the Meire of London with the comynes of the cite came to the kynge besekynge him that he wolde tarye in the cite and they wolde lyve and dye with him, and pay for his costes of housholde an halff yere; but he wold nott, but toke his jorney to Kyllingworthe. And whan the kynge was gone the capteyn with the comynes of Kent came a yene to the Black hethe. And the iij^{the} day of Juyll he came to London; and as sone as thei entred in London they rubbed Phelippe Malpas. And the iiij day of Jule he behedid Crowmer and a nother man at Myle Ende; and the same day at after none the Lords Say was fett oute of the Toure to the Yelde Hall to for the maire to have jugement, and whan he came befor the meir he saide he wolde be juged by his perys. And then the comenes of Kent toke him from the officers and ledd him to the Standart in Chepe and there smote of his hede. And than the capteyn did do drawe him thorowe London, and over London brige, and so Seint Thomas Watring, and ther he was hanged and quartered, and his hede and Crowmers hede and a nother manes hede were sett on London brige. And after that he smote of ij other menes hedis in Sowthewerke. And the vth. day of Jule at nyght (and beyng Sondaye) the comynes of London sett upon the comynes of Kent, for they began to rubbe. And all the men of Kent that were in London that nyght they went to her capteyne in to Sowthewerke. And the same nyght the Meir and Shoreffes and my Lorde Scalys and Mathew Gowghe and the comynes of London went to London Brygge, and ther they faughte from ix of the cloke at eve till ix on the morowe, and at the laste the capteyne fired the drawe brigge. And forthe withe went the Chaunseler to the capteyne and

sessed him and yave him a chartur and his men a nother, and so with drowe hem homward. Than the xij daye of Juyll was in every shire proclamed that whate man that couthe take the forsaide capteyne shulde have a M[l] marke and brynge him to the kynge quycke or dede, and as for any man that longed to him, x marke; for hit was openly knowe that his name was nott Mortymer, his name was John Cade, and therfor his chartor stode in no streynthe. And so one Alexandre Iden, a squyre of Kent, toke hym in a garden yn Sowthsex the xiij day of Jule; and in the takynge of him he was hurtt and died that same nyght, and on the morowe he was brought in to the Kynges Bynche, and after was drawe throwe London and his hede set on London brige.

For "A proclamation made by Jacke Cade, Captytayn of ye Rebelles in Kent," and a *Satirical Dirge* "made by the comons of Kent in the tyme of ther rysynge, when Jack Cade was theyr cappitayn." See *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, edited by James Gairdner [Camden Society], and Jones' *York and Lancaster*, 1399–1485.

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The Third Part of King Henry the Sixth

Written. Uncertain.

Published. 1595, and was known as " The | true Tragedie of Richard | *Duke of Yorke, and the death of* | good King Henrie the Sixt, | *with the whole contention betweene* | the two Houses Lancaster | and Yorke, as it was sundrie times | acted by the Right Honoura- | ble the Earl of Pem- | brooke his seruants. | Printed at London by P. S. for Thomas Milling- | *ton, and are to be sold at his shoppe under* | *Saint Peters Church in* | Cornwal, 1595." This version was probably written by Greene, Peele and Marlowe.

In 1600 a reprint appeared under the same title, printed by W. W. for Thomas Millington. Some years later a third edition made its appearance. This edition, instead of a title-page, bears the heading " The Second Part. | Containing the Tragedie of | Richard Duke of Yorke, and the | *good King Henrie the* | *Sixt.* | "

The version known as the *Third Part of King Henry the Sixth* was first published in the first folio of 1623.

Source of the Plot. The *Chronicles* of Edward Hall and Raphael Holinshed[1]

The *Third Part of King Henry the Sixth* covers a period of sixteen years, from the first battle of Saint Albans in 1455 to the death of King Henry in 1471.

Outline of the Play. The First Act opens in the Parliament House in London. York, accompanied by his two sons and several of his followers, enters. Warwick wonders how the king managed to escape their hands. York replies that Henry " slily stole away," while Northumberland, whose war-like ears could never brook retreat, " Cheer'd up the drooping army," and was, with the Lords Clifford and Stafford slain by common soldiers. To this Edward adds that Stafford's father—the Duke of Buckingham—must be " either slain or wounded dangerous " as he had " cleft his beaver with a downright blow " while Montague boasts of having encountered the Earl of Wiltshire. Stepping forward, and throwing down the head of Somerset, Richard—the youngest son of York—grimly bids the gruesome object to speak :

> Speak thou for me, and tell them what I did.

York considers that Richard has done better than all his other sons in slaying Somerset, and Richard replies " Thus do I hope to shake King Henry's head."

Warwick then suggests that York take possession of the throne :

> Victorious Prince of York,
> Before I see thee seated in that throne
> Which now the house of Lancaster usurps,
> I vow by heaven these eyes shall never close.
> This is the palace of the fearful king,
> And this the regal seat : possess it, York ;
> For this is thine and not King Henry's heirs'.

[1] *See* Appendix I.

and York consents, providing Warwick and Norfolk will support him :

> Assist me then, sweet Warwick, and I will ;
> For hither we have broken in by force.

York having seated himself upon the throne, Warwick advises that when Henry arrives, no violence should be offered him, unless he attempts to thrust them out by force, while York remarks that the queen will be surprised when she arrives to find them at her council, where he intends to " win our right " either " by words or blows." Warwick then predicts that unless " bashful Henry is deposed, whose cowardice Hath made us by-words to our enemies," and York be king, this parliament shall be known as the " bloody parliament," and York counsels his followers to stay with him and " be resolute " for he means " to take possession of my right." Warwick then boasts that he will " plant Plantagenet " and dares anyone to try to displace him, and again urges York to claim his right :

> Neither the king, nor he that loves him best,
> The proudest he that holds up Lancaster,
> Dares stir a wing if Warwick shake his bells.
> I 'll plant Plantagenet, root him up who dares.
> Resolve thee, Richard : claim the English crown.

Trumpets sound, and Henry with his retinue enters. On seeing York occupying the throne, Henry denounces him as a rebel :

> My lords, look where the sturdy rebel sits,
> Even in the chair of state ! belike he means,
> Back'd by the power of Warwick, that false peer,
> To aspire unto the crown and reign as king.

Westmoreland suggests that they pluck York from the throne, but Henry counsels patience. To this Clifford remarks that " Patience is for poltroons," and tells the king that York dared not have sat there if his (Henry's) father had been alive, and asks the king's permission—in which he is supported by Northumberland—to remove York by force. But Henry, who does not wish " To make a shambles of the parliament-house ! " replies that " frowns, words and threats Shall be the war which he means to use " and orders York to descend from the throne, and " kneel for grace and mercy," as he is his sovereign. York retorts that he is the lawful king, and a fierce altercation takes place between the opposing parties.

> What title hast thou, traitor, to the crown ?
> Thy father was, as thou art, Duke of York.
> Thy grandfather, Roger Mortimer, Earl of March.
> I am the son of Henry the Fifth,
> Who made the Dauphin and the French to stoop,
> And seized upon their towns and provinces.

remarks Henry, and Warwick retorts : " Talk not of France, sith thou hast lost it all." " The lord protector lost it, and not I : When I was crown'd I was but nine months old," is Henry's reply, and Richard tells him " You are old enough now, and yet, methinks, you lose," and turning to York, says :

> Father, tear the crown from the usurper's head.

Henry declares his title is good,—although aside he confesses his title is weak—since his father was king and his grandfather [Henry IV] king by conquest. " 'Twas by rebellion against his king," answers York. But " Richard resign'd the crown

to Henry the Fourth," pleads Henry. "He rose against him, being his sovereign, And made him to resign his crown perforce," is York's retort. Clifford declares that he will fight in defence of Henry be his "title right or wrong," but the weakness of Henry's claim is so apparent that some of his followers begin to waver. Seeing this, York calls upon Henry to resign the crown, and Warwick threatens that unless Henry does so he will

> fill the house with armed men,
> And o'er the chair of state, where now he sits,
> Write up his title with usurping blood.

He stamps his foot and soldiers enter the Parliament house, and turning to Warwick the weak-kneed monarch asks permission to let him during his life-time reign as king, and the crown shall then pass to York and his heirs.[1] Incensed at Henry's feeble-mindedness, Westmoreland, Northumberland and Clifford denounce him. Westmoreland calls him "Base, fearful, and despairing Henry!" and Clifford suggests that they leave to tell the queen that her son has been disinherited. As they march out of the Parliament-house Westmoreland addressed Henry:

> Farewell, faint-hearted and degenerate king,
> In whose cold blood no spark of honour bides,

and Northumberland:

> Be thou a prey unto the house of York,
> And die in bands for this unmanly deed!

to which Clifford adds:

> In dreadful war may'st thou be overcome,
> Or live in peace abandon'd and despised!

As he sadly watches them take their departure, Henry sighs, not for himself but for his son whom he admits he has unnaturally disinherited, and again repeats his willingness to "entail" the crown to York and his "heirs for ever," conditionally upon York taking an oath to cease the civil strife and to allow him to reign in peace. York agrees to this, and coming down from the throne, embraces Henry, after which they depart; York to Sandal Castle his residence near Wakefield; Warwick to "keep London with my soldiers"; Montague "unto the sea from whence I came," while Henry with a sigh mutters:

> And I with grief and sorrow, to the court.

On the news being conveyed to the queen that her son had been disinherited she was furious, and proceeds forthwith to the Parliament-house. As she enters, seeing the anger betrayed upon her face, Exeter and the king try to steal away:

> *Exe.* Here comes the queen, whose looks bewray her anger:
> I 'll steal away.
> *K. Hen.* Exeter, so will I.

"Nay, go not from me; I will follow thee," exclaims Margaret. Henry entreats her to be patient, but the queen in anger upbraids him for proving so unnatural a father as to disinherit his only son:

> Who can be patient in such extremes?
> Ah! wretched man; would I had died a maid,
> And never seen thee, never borne thee son,
> Seeing thou hast proved so unnatural a father.
> Hath he deserved to lose his birthright thus?

[1] This was determined by Parliament, October, 1460. *Cf.* Extract I from Holinshed, and Appendix II.

" Father, you cannot disinherit me. If you be king, why should not I succeed ? " asks the Prince, and Henry craves pardon as he has been compelled to forfeit his rights :

> Pardon me, Margaret ; pardon me, sweet son :
> The Earl of Warwick and the duke enforced me.

" Enforced thee ! " shouts Margaret in a rage, " art thou king, and wilt be forced ? I shame to hear thee speak. Ah ! timorous wretch," and declares that if she had been in the Parliament-house, Warwick's soldiers would have " tossed me on their pikes " before she would have consented to such a dishonourable act :

> Had I been there, which am a silly woman,
> The soldiers should have toss'd me on their pikes
> Before I would have granted to that act ;
> But thou preferr'st thy life before thine honour ;

and threatens to divorce him unless

> that act of parliament be repeal'd
> Whereby my son is disinherited.

She reminds him that the northern lords have renounced him for his weakness, but that they have sworn to follow her, as she intends to raise the royal standard to uphold the house of Lancaster. " Thus do I leave thee," ejaculates Margaret, and turning to her son, says :

> Come, son, let 's away ;
> Our army is ready ; come, we 'll after them.

" Stay, gentle Margaret, and hear me speak," pleads Henry, and Margaret retorts : " Thou hast spoke too much already ; get thee gone." " Gentle son Edward, thou wilt stay with me ? " asks his father, and the prince replies :

> When I return with victory from the field
> I 'll see your grace : till then I 'll follow her.

Having gone, Henry excuses himself by saying that it is the affection the queen has for himself and for their only son that made her " break out into terms of rage," but as the defection of the Lords Westmoreland, Northumberland and Clifford torments his heart he will write letters to them and ask for their reconciliation, to which Exeter adds :

> And I, I hope, shall reconcile them all.

We are now transferred to Sandal Castle. It opens with a discussion between Richard, Edward and Montague as to who shall " play the orator," when they are interrupted by York who enquires as to the nature of their quarrel. Edward replies there is " No quarrel, but a slight contention." Richard informs his father that they were discussing that

> which concerns your grace and us ;
> The crown of England, father, which is yours.

York reminds Richard that it is not his until Henry is dead, he having taken an oath that Henry should " quietly reign." Edward declares that " for a kingdom any oath may be broken," in fact he " would break a thousand oaths to reign one year." To this Richard adds that " an oath is of no moment," except it be taken " Before a true and lawful magistrate," and in consequence the declaration which York has taken is " vain and frivolous," and declaring that he cannot rest until the white

rose he wears is dyed with Henry's blood, reminds his father it is a sweet thing to wear a crown, and therefore appeals to York to assume the diadem :

> Within whose circuit is Elysium,
> And all that poets feign of bliss and joy.

York decides that he will be " king, or die," and forthwith directs Montague to proceed to London, to " whet on Warwick to this enterprise," Richard to the Duke of Norfolk, and " tell him privily of our intent," and Edward to visit Lord Cobham " With whom the Kentishmen will willingly rise " : but they must keep their designs secret in order that neither the king nor any of the house of Lancaster may be " privy to my drift."

At this point a messenger enters with the news that Queen Margaret, accompanied by the " northern earls and lords," is at hand at the head of twenty thousand men. York who declares he has no fear, orders Edward and Richard—his two sons—to stay, and immediately despatches Montague to London to acquaint Warwick, Cobham and the rest to " strengthen themselves " and " trust not simple Henry nor his oaths."

Sir John and Sir Hugh Mortimer now enter and Sir John suggests that it will be better to meet Margaret in the field than be besieged in the castle. " What ! " exclaims York, " with five thousand men ? " " Ay, with five hundred, father, for a need. A woman's general ; what should we fear ? " ejaculates Richard. Drums sound and York gives orders for his men to be set in order, and as they issue forth to battle, he recalls the victories he had won in France against overwhelming odds :

> Five men to twenty ! though the odds be great,
> I doubt not, uncle, of our victory.
> Many a battle have I won in France,
> Whenas the enemy hath been ten to one :
> Why should I not now have the like success ?

The next scene shows us a Field of battle between Sandal Castle and Wakefield. Young Rutland—York's youngest son—with his Tutor enters, and the boy is wondering how he can escape falling into the hands of the foe just as Clifford and soldiers appear on the scene :

> Ah, whither shall I fly to 'scape their hands ?
> Ah, tutor, look, where bloody Clifford comes !

Clifford orders the Tutor away : " Chaplain away ! thy priesthood saves thy life," but as for young Rutland he shall die :

> As for the brat of this accursed duke,
> Whose father slew my father, he shall die.

The Tutor appeals to Clifford to spare the lad :

> Ah, Clifford, murder not this innocent child,
> Lest thou be hated both of God and man !

but Clifford orders the soldiers to take him away. In terror, the lad faints, but regaining consciousness, young Rutland appeals to Clifford for mercy, telling him " Be thou revenged on men, and let me live." Clifford answers that he pleads in vain, for his (Clifford's) " father's blood Hath stopp'd the passage where thy words should enter." " Then let my father's blood open it again : He is a man, and, Clifford, cope with him " is Rutland's reply, but Clifford, who is out for revenge tells him that

Had I thy brethren here, their lives and thine
Were not revenge sufficient for me ;
. . . . . .
The sight of any of the house of York
Is as a fury to torment my soul ;
And till I root out their accursed line,
And leave not one alive, I live in hell.

Clifford raises his sword to slay Rutland, who asks to be allowed to pray before being put to death :

O, let me pray before I take my death !
To thee I pray ; sweet Clifford, pity me !

" Such pity as my rapier's point affords," replies Clifford. " I never did thee harm : why wilt thou slay me ? " asks Rutland, and Clifford retorts " Thy father hath." " But 'twas ere I was born," is Rutland's rejoinder, and again appeals to Clifford to spare him :

Thou hast one son ; for his sake pity me,
Lest in revenge thereof, sith God is just,
He be miserably slain as I.

Rutland tells Clifford that he has no cause to put him to death. Clifford in anger retorts " No cause ! Thy father slew my father ; therefore, die," and he plunges his sword in the breast of the lad, who falls mortally wounded, exclaiming " Di faciant laudis summa sit ista tuæ ! " [The gods grant that this be the culmination of thy glory], and Clifford departs to seek out York, vowing that he will not wipe off his sword the blood of Rutland until it has congealed with the blood of his father.

The concluding scene of this Act shows us another part of the battle-field. York enters and announces that Queen Margaret's forces have been victorious ; that all his army is scattered and his two uncles slain in rescuing him. His two sons—Edward and Richard—who fought " Like men born to renown by life or death " he knows not what has become of them, while Richard " Three times made a lane to me " and shouted " Courage, father ! fight it out ! "

The army of the queen hath got the field :
My uncles both are slain in rescuing me ;
. . . . . .
My sons, God knows what hath bechanced them :
But this I know, they have demean'd themselves
Like men born to renown by life or death.
Three times did Richard make a lane to me,
And thrice cried " Courage, father ! fight it out ! "
And full as oft came Edward to my side,
. . . . . .
Richard cried " Charge ! and give no foot of ground ! "
And cried " A crown, or else a glorious tomb !
A sceptre, or an earthly sepulchre ! "
With this, we charged again : but, out, alas !
We bodged again :

York's troops being defeated, father and sons are swept apart. There is an alarum, and York, who is too " faint and cannot fly their fury," finding himself hemmed in by the enemy, mutters :

The sands are number'd that make up my life ;
Here must I stay, and here my life must end.

Margaret, with Clifford, Northumberland and the young prince enters; and Clifford and Northumberland revile York now they have him in their power, but York exclaims that from

> My ashes, as the phœnix, may bring forth
> A bird that will revenge upon you all;

Clifford is on the point of thrusting his sword through York:

> I will not bandy with thee word for word,
> But buckle with thee blows, twice two for one,

but is restrained by Margaret as she wishes to mock him before he is put to death:

> Hold, valiant Clifford! for a thousand causes
> I would prolong awhile the traitor's life.

Ordering York to be enthroned on a molehill:

> Brave warriors, Clifford and Northumberland,
> Come, make him stand upon this molehill here,
> That raught at mountains with outstretched arms,

she taunts him:

> Where are your mess of sons to back you now?
> The wanton Edward, and the lusty George?
> And where 's that valiant crook-back prodigy,
> Dicky your boy, that with his grumbling voice
> Was wont to cheer his dad in mutinies?

As Clifford and Northumberland hold the struggling York, Margaret offers him a napkin which has been dipped in Rutland's blood for to "dry his cheeks":

> Or, with the rest, where is your darling Rutland?
> Look! York: I stain'd this napkin with the blood
> That valiant Clifford with his rapier's point
> Made issue from the bosom of the boy;
> And if thine eyes can water for his death,
> I give thee this to dry thy cheeks withal.

As York bears up under this indignity with so much patience, Margaret exclaims that he cannot speak unless he wears a crown, and a paper crown is brought and set upon York's head:

> A crown for York! and, lords, bow low to him:
> Hold you his hands whilst I do set it on.

Clifford "for his father's sake" again raises his sword to smite York, but Margaret, who wishes to hear York's supplication, once more stays his hand: "Nay, stay; let 's hear the orisons he makes," and York fiercely denounces Margaret, describing her as the

> She-wolf of France, but worse than wolves of France,
> Whose tongue more poisons than the adder's tooth!
> How ill-beseeming is it in thy sex
> To triumph like an Amazonian trull,
> Upon their woes whom fortune captivates!
> But that thy face is, vizard-like, unchanging,
> Made impudent with use of evil deeds,
> I would assay, proud queen, to make thee blush:

Reminding her that her "father bears the type of King of Naples, Of both the Sicils and Jerusalem, Yet not so wealthy as an English yeoman"; that she is an unnatural woman, being everything "opposite to every good," to bid a father wipe his eyes with a napkin dipped in his son's blood, every drop of which cries for vengeance on "fell Clifford and thee, false Frenchwoman." Taking the napkin York wipes his

face with it, and then telling Margaret to keep it and boast of it, predicts that the world will cry shame on her when her ruthlessness is known :

> O, ten times more than the tigers of Hyrcania.
> See, ruthless queen, a hapless father's tears :
> This cloth thou dipp'dst in blood of my sweet boy,
> And I with tears do wash the blood away.
> Keep thou the napkin, and go boast of this ;
> And if thou tell'st the heavy story right,
> Upon my soul, the hearers will shed tears ;
> Yea, even my foes will shed fast-falling tears,
> And say " Alas ! it was a piteous deed."

This passionate and indignant protest even moves Northumberland to pity, who remarks :

> Had he been slaughter-men to all my kin,
> I should not for my life but weep with him,
> To see how inly sorrow gripes his soul,

but Margaret, who has no pity, replies :

> What, weeping-ripe, my Lord Northumberland ?
> Think but upon the wrong he did us all,
> And that will quickly dry thy melting tears.

" Here 's for my oath ; here 's for my father's death," shouts Clifford, and rushing forward runs his sword through York's body. With the remark : " And here 's to right our gentle-hearted king," Margaret follows his example, and York falling mortally wounded, exclaims :

> Open thy gate of mercy, gracious God !
> My soul flies through these wounds to seek out Thee.

Margaret then orders his head to be cut off and exhibited on the gates of York :

> Off with his head, and set it on York gates :
> So York may overlook the town of York.

The Second Act opens on a Plain near Mortimer's Cross, in Herefordshire. The forces of Edward and Richard enter. Edward wonders whether his father escaped from " Clifford's and Northumberland's pursuit." At the same time

> Had he been ta'en we should have heard the news ;
> Had he been slain we should have heard the news ;
> Or had he 'scaped, methinks we should have heard
> The happy tidings of his good escape.

and then turning to Richard asks why he is so sad ? Richard replies that he cannot rest until he knows what had become of his father for when he saw him last he was in the thick of the fight surrounded by foes. At this moment there appears in the sky a strange phenomenon. " Dazzle mine eyes, or do I see three suns ? " exclaims Edward. Richard points out that there are three suns and each one is a perfect sun :

> Three glorious suns, each one a perfect sun ;
> Not separated with the racking clouds,
> But sever'd in a pale clear-shining sky.

which after shining separate for a time form one sun :

> See, see ! they join, embrace, and seem to kiss,
> As if they vow'd some league inviolable :
> Now are they but one lamp, one light, one sun.

Edward considers that this strange phenomenon—the like of which had never been seen before—is a call to the three sons of York to battle, and forthwith decides to adopt "three fair-shining suns" for the cognizance upon his target;

> 'Tis wondrous strange, the like yet never heard of.
> I think it cites us, brother, to the field,
> That we, the sons of brave Plantagenet,
> Each one already blazing by our meeds,
> Should notwithstanding join our lights together,
> And over-shine the earth, as this the world.
> Whate'er it bodes, henceforward will I bear
> Upon my target three fair-shining suns.

A messenger, whose looks foretell evil tidings, enters, with the news that York has been slain at the battle of Wakefield. "O, speak no more, for I have heard too much," is Edward's remark, on hearing the news, but Richard on the contrary demands to know the full story of his father's death: "Say how he died, for I will hear it all." The messenger therefore tells them how York was surrounded by his foes; how Margaret mocked him, and when York wept with grief, the ruthless queen gave him the napkin dipped in Rutland's blood to wipe the tears away, and after many taunts ordered his head to be cut off and set over the gates of York. Edward declares that "boisterous Clifford" has slain the "flower of Europe for his chivalry," and so mournful is his father's death to him that he will never "see more joy!" Richard however exclaims he "cannot weep, for all my body's moisture Scarce serves to quench my furnace-burning heart"; neither can his tongue tell of his heart's grief, but as Tears are for babes; "blows and revenge for me!" he will, as he bears his father's name, either revenge his death or "die renowned by attempting it," and Edward reminds his brother that his father left him not only his name, but also his dukedom and the throne.

Warwick with forces now joins Edward and Richard, and on enquiring "what news abroad?" is told of York's death. Warwick replies that he learned of the result of the fight at Wakefield ten days ago, and presuming that Margaret's next move would be London to rescue her husband, had gathered together an army and had met the queen's forces at Saint Alban's, where a second battle had taken place, with the result that the Yorkist's had been defeated and that Henry had escaped. Collecting together his scattered forces Warwick had proceeded hither to join with Edward for he had heard that Edward was preparing to fight. After a hurried consultation, Warwick suggests that as Henry took an oath that York should succeed him as king, they march on London and take possession of the city:

> He swore consent to your succession,
> His oath enrolled in the parliament;
> And now to London all the crew are gone,
> To frustrate both his oath and what beside
> May make against the house of Lancaster.

Richard and Edward fall in with this bold move, and hailing Edward as Duke of York, Warwick promises to proclaim him as King of England as they proceed through all the towns and villages on their way to the capital:

> No longer Earl of March, but Duke of York:
> The next degree is England's royal throne;
> For King of England shalt thou be proclaim'd
> In every borough as we pass along;

> And he that throws not up his cap for joy
> Shall for the fault make forfeit of his head.
> King Edward, valiant Richard, Montague,
> Stay we no longer, dreaming of renown,
> But sound the trumpets, and about our task.

Their design is however frustrated, for a messenger enters with the tidings that the queen is advancing with an army, and the Yorkists at once make preparations to give battle.

We are before York in the next scene. There is a flourish of trumpets, and Henry, Margaret, with the Prince of Wales and forces enter. After welcoming her husband, Margaret directs his attention to the head of his " arch-enemy " over the gateway of the city :

> Yonder's the head of that arch-enemy
> That sought to be encompass'd with your crown :
> Doth not the object cheer your heart, my lord ?

and Henry replies that the sight of it " irks my very soul " and appeals to Heaven to " withhold revenge." To this Clifford remarks that Henry is too lenient and tells him that " pity must be laid aside," as " Ambitious York did level at thy crown," and urges him to " steel thy melting heart," and leave the inheritance to his son. Henry admits that Clifford plays the orator very well, " Inferring arguments of mighty force," but reminds Clifford that " things ill got had ever bad success." Margaret then appeals to Henry to " cheer up your spirits," for " this soft courage makes your followers faint," and reminds him that he had promised to knight his son :

> You promis'd knighthood to our forward son :
> Unsheathe your sword, and dub him presently.
> Edward, kneel down.

As the Prince rises, Henry bids him to always " draw thy sword in right," to which the young lad answers that he will draw it as heir to the crown and use it in that quarrel even to the death, words which Clifford considers are " spoken like a toward prince."

A messenger enters with the news that Warwick is approaching with an army of thirty thousand men, and Clifford suggests that Henry leave the field, as the queen " hath best success when you are absent," in which he is supported by Margaret, but the king decides to stay as " their fortune is my fortune too." Northumberland then appeals to Henry to fight with " resolution " and the young prince urges his royal father to encourage those who fight in his defence ; " Unsheathe your sword, good father : cry, ' Saint George ! ' "

York, with Warwick and forces, now appears on the scene, and York calls upon Henry to resign his crown or fight :

> Now, perjur'd Henry, wilt thou kneel for grace,
> And set thy diadem upon my head ;
> Or bide the mortal fortune of the field ?

Margaret calls York a " proud insulting boy," to speak so bold to " thy sovereign and thy lawful king," and York retorts that he is by Act of Parliament the lawful king, and that Henry " should bow his knee."

After a passage of arms has taken place between Clifford and Richard, in which Richard calls Clifford "a butcher" for having killed young Rutland, Warwick demands Henry to resign the crown. Margaret calls him " long-tongued Warwick," and asks how dare he speak seeing he ran away from her at the battle of Saint Albans :

> Why, how now, long-tongued Warwick! dare you speak?
> When you and I met at Saint Alban's last,
> Your legs did better service than your hands.

After this altercation has proceeded for some time in which Richard calls Clifford "a coward" for having slain young Rutland:

> Ay, like a dastard and a treacherous coward,
> As thou didst kill our tender brother Rutland;
> But ere sun set I 'll make thee curse the deed,

Henry, as king, claims the privilege to speak, but Clifford requests him to be silent, as the "wound that bred this meeting here Cannot be cured by words," whereupon Richard bids Clifford to draw his sword and fight it out, although he is of opinion that "Clifford's manhood lies upon his tongue." Once more Edward bids Henry to yield up the crown, "Say, Henry, shall I have my right or no?" for "A thousand men have broke their fasts to-day, That ne'er shall dine unless thou yield the crown," to which Warwick adds that "their blood is upon thy head" if he denies York justice. To this the Prince of Wales remarks:

> If that be right which Warwick says is right,
> There is no wrong, but every thing is right.

"Whoever got thee, there thy mother stands; For well I wot thou hast thy mother's tongue," retorts Richard, and Margaret reviles Richard, calling him a "foul misshapen stigmatic" who ought to be avoided:

> But thou art neither like thy sire nor dam,
> But like a foul misshapen stigmatic,
> Mark'd by the destinies to be avoided,
> As venom toads, or lizards' dreadful stings.

Describing her as a "shameless callat," Edward retorts that "Helen of Greece was fairer far than thou, Although thy husband may be Menelaus; And ne'er was Agamemnon's brother wrong'd By that false woman as this king by thee," and reminding her that Henry's father "revell'd in the heart of France, And tam'd the king, and made the Dauphin stoop"; refuses to wrangle with her any longer and defying her bids the trumpets sound for battle:

> Sound trumpets! let our bloody colours wave!
> And either victory, or else a grave.

calling her a "wrangling woman," whose "words will cost ten thousand lives this day."

A Field of Battle between Towton and Saxton in Yorkshire, where the fiercest battle in this civil strife was fought, supplies the next scene. There are alarums and excursions, and Warwick enters. Being exhausted with fighting he lies down on the grass "a little while to breathe":

> Forspent with toil, as runners with a race,
> I lay me down a little while to breathe;
> For strokes received, and many blows repaid,
> Have robb'd my strong-knit sinews of their strength,
> And spite of spite needs must I rest awhile.

At this moment Edward appears in haste, beseeching heaven for victory, or "strike, ungentle death!" Immediately after George enters with the news that their "ranks are broke" and asks Edward for counsel, and Edward replies that

Bootless is flight, they follow us with wings ;
And weak we are, and cannot shun pursuit.

They are joined by Richard, and reproaching Warwick for having " withdrawn thyself from the fight " tells him that Clifford has slain his brother, who in the pangs of death had cried :

Warwick, revenge ! brother, revenge my death !

and Warwick swears that this time there shall be no retreat. " I 'll kill my horse because I will not fly, . . . I 'll never pause again, never stand still, Till either death hath closed these eyes of mine, Or fortune given me measure of revenge." Edward and his brothers vow to stand firm with Warwick, and taking farewell of each other they depart either to victory or to death.

Scene four shows us another part of the battlefield. It opens with Richard challenging Clifford to fight :

Now, Clifford, I have singled thee alone.
Suppose this arm is for the Duke of York,
And this for Rutland ; both bound to revenge,
Wert thou environ'd with a brazen wall.

Clifford, who boasts of having slain Richard's father and his brother Rutland, threatens to treat Richard likewise :

Now, Richard, I am with thee here alone.
This is the hand that stabb'd thy father York,
And this the hand that slew thy brother Rutland ;
And here 's the heart that triumphs in their death
And cheers these hands that slew thy sire and brother,
To execute the like upon thyself ;
And so, have at thee !

They encounter each other, and Warwick appearing on the scene, Clifford seeks safety in flight, and turning to Warwick, Richard tells him to " single out some other chase ; For I myself will hunt this wolf to death," and forthwith dashes away in hot pursuit of Clifford, on whom he has vowed revenge.

We are in another part of the field of battle in scene five. There is an alarum, and Henry, who has been chided by Margaret and Clifford to leave the field, as they " prosper best of all when I am thence," enters alone. As he rests himself on a molehill watching the ebb and flow of the battle he soliloquises on the carnage which unfolds before his eyes. Contrasting his own position which has brought him nothing but grief and sorrow to the happy humble shepherd whose peaceful calling he so feelingly describes, he longs for death if it were the will of God, in whose keeping rests the destiny of the conflict :

This battle fares like to the morning's war,
When dying clouds contend with growing light,
What time the shepherd, blowing of his nails,
Can neither call it perfect day nor night.
. . . . . .
Here on this molehill will I sit me down.
To whom God will, there be the victory !
For Margaret my queen, and Clifford too,
Have chid me from the battle ; swearing both
They prosper best of all when I am thence.
Would I were dead ! if God's good will were so ;
For what is in this world but grief and woe ?

O God ! methinks it were a happy life,
To be no better than a homely swain ;
To sit upon a hill, as I do now,
To carve out dials quaintly, point by point,
Thereby to see the minutes how they run,
How many make the hour full complete ;
How many hours bring about the day ;
How many days will finish up the year ;
How many years a mortal man may live.
When this is known, then to divide the times ;
So many hours must I tend my flock ;
So many hours must I take my rest ;
So many hours must I contemplate ;
So many hours must I sport myself ;
So many days my ewes have been with young ;
So many weeks ere the poor fools will ean ;
So many years ere I shall shear the fleece ;
So minutes, hours, days, months, and years,
Pass'd over to the end they were created,
Would bring white hairs unto a quiet grave.
Ah ! what a life were this ; how sweet ! how lovely !
Gives not the hawthorn-bush a sweeter shade
To shepherds looking on their silly sheep,
Than doth a rich embroider'd canopy
To kings that fear their subjects' treachery ?
O yes ! it doth ; a thousand-fold it doth.

As Henry meditates, a Lancastrian soldier enters, bearing a dead body which he intends to rob, only to discover to his horror that it is his own father who has fought on the Yorkist side :

Ill blows the wind that profits nobody.
This man, whom hand to hand I slew in fight,
May be possessed with some store of crowns ;
And I, that haply take them from him now,
May yet ere night yield both my life and them
To some man else, as this dead man doth me...
Who 's this ? O God ! it is my father's face,
Whom in this conflict I unwares have kill'd.

Asking pardon of God, for " I knew not what I did " and pardon of his father " for I knew not thee ! " the soldier declares that his " tears shall wipe away these bloody marks."

Moved to pity by this spectacle, Henry weeps :

O piteous spectacle ! O bloody times !
Whiles lions war and battle for their dens,
Poor harmless lambs abide their enmity.
Weep, wretched man, I 'll aid thee tear for tear ;
And let our hearts and eyes, like civil war,
Be blind with tears, and break o'ercharged with grief.

Immediately a Yorkist soldier appears, bearing in his arms a dead body :

Thou that so stoutly hast resisted me,
Give me thy gold, if thou hast any gold,
For I have bought it with a hundred blows,

exclaims the soldier, but as his eye falls upon the face of the dead man he recognises his only son who has fought on the Lancastrian side :

But let me see : is this our foeman's face ?
Ah, no, no, no ; it is mine only son !
Ah, boy, if any life be left in thee,
Throw up thine eye, see, see what showers arise,
Blown with the windy tempest of my heart,
Upon thy wounds, that kill mine eye and heart !

Moved with compassion at the grief of the father, Henry exclaims that he would welcome death if it would only put an end to this strife with all its attendant horrors :

Woe above woe ! grief more than common grief !
O, that my death would stay these ruthful deeds !
O, pity, pity ; gentle heaven, pity !
The red rose and the white are on his face,
The fatal colours of our striving houses ;
The one his purple blood right well resembles ;
The other his pale cheeks, methinks, presenteth :
Wither one rose, and let the other flourish !
If you contend, a thousand lives must wither.

Lamenting over the mournful scene just enacted, the son exclaims that his mother will never forgive him when she knows he has slain his father :

How will my mother for a father's death
Take on with me and ne'er be satisfied !

The father declares that his wife will " shed seas of tears " when she learns the news of her son's death :

How will my wife for slaughter of my son
Shed seas of tears and ne'er be satisfied !

while Henry wonders what the verdict of the country will be when they read of the carnage during his reign :

How will the country for these woeful chances
Misthink the king and not be satisfied !

Taking the body of his father in his arms, the son bears it away :

I 'll bear thee hence, where I may weep my fill ;

Lifting up the body of his son to bear it away, the father mournfully exclaims, that :

My heart, sweet boy, shall be thy sepulchre,
For from my heart thine image ne'er shall go :
My sighing breast shall be thy funeral bell ;
. . . . . .
I'll bear thee hence ; and let them fight that will,
For I have murder'd where I should not kill,

while Henry in the midst of grief, exclaims :

Sad-hearted men, much overgone with care,
Here sits a king more woeful than you are.

There is an alarum, and Margaret with the Prince of Wales and Exeter enter in haste. Seeing Henry, the Prince and Margaret urge him to fly for " Warwick rages like a chafed bull " and Edward and Richard " like a brace of greyhounds " are in pursuit, breathless for their lives :

Prince. Fly, father, fly ! for all your friends are fled,
And Warwick rages like a chafed bull.
Away ! for death doth hold us in pursuit.

Q. Mar. Mount you, my lord ; towards Berwick post amain.
Edward and Richard, like a brace of greyhounds
Having the fearful flying hare in sight,
With fiery eyes sparkling for very wrath,
And bloody steel grasp'd in their ireful hands,
Are at our backs ; and therefore hence amain.

Seeing Henry hesitate, Exeter expostulates with him, telling him " make speed, Or else come after," and Henry entreats " good sweet Exeter " to take him with him.

Not that I fear to stay, but love to go
Whither the queen intends.

The concluding scene of this Act shows us another part of the battlefield. Having been wounded by an arrow in the neck, and realising that his end is near, Clifford exclaims that he fears Henry's overthrow more than his own death, for if Henry had only ruled as his father and grandfather had done, York would not have triumphed :

Here burns my candle out ; ay, here it dies,
Which, whiles it lasted, gave King Henry light.
O Lancaster, I fear thy overthrow
More than my body's parting with my soul.
. . . . . .
O Phœbus, hadst thou never given consent
That Phaëthon should check thy fiery steeds,
Thy burning car never had scorch'd the earth ;
And, Henry, hadst thou sway'd as kings should do,
Or as thy father and his father did,
Giving no ground unto the house of York,
They never then had sprung like summer flies ;

Owing to loss of blood Clifford faints just as Edward with his forces appear. Giving orders for troops to pursue the " bloody-minded " queen, Edward wonders whether Clifford has escaped to which Warwick replies that it is impossible, as he was severely wounded by Richard in the conflict. As they converse Clifford groans aloud and passes away, and Edward remarks : " Whose soul is that which takes her heavy leave ? " and giving orders to " See who it is : and, now the battle 's ended, If friend or foe let him be gently us'd," they recognise the dead body as that of Clifford. Richard demands that the " doom of mercy be revoked, for 'tis Clifford," and Warwick therefore orders his head to be cut off and placed over the gates of York :

Ay, but he 's dead : off with the traitor's head,
And rear it in the place your father's stands.

Warwick then proposes that they proceed to London to crown Edward " England's royal king," after which he will cross over to France to ask for the hand of Lady Bona on behalf of Edward. Edward creates Richard Duke of Gloucester and George, Duke of Clarence. Richard however prefers the dukedom of Clarence, as " Gloucester's dukedom is too ominous," but Warwick describes it as a " foolish observation " and Richard accepts :

Richard, I will create thee Duke of Gloucester ;
And George, of Clarence ; Warwick, as ourself,
Shall do and undo as him pleaseth best.
Rich. Let me be Duke of Clarence, George of Gloucester,
For Gloucester's dukedom is too ominous.
War. Tut, that 's a foolish observation :
Richard, be Duke of Gloucester. Now to London,
To see these honours in possession.

The Third Act opens in a Forest in the North of England. Two keepers with cross-bows enter and conceal themselves in the thicket to await the approach of deer. Henry, disguised, with a prayer-book in his hand, muttering to himself that he has secretly crossed the border from Scotland to greet again his native land, strolls along the glade :

> From Scotland am I stol'n, even of pure love
> To greet mine own land with my wishful sight.
> No, Harry, Harry, 'tis no land of thine ;
> Thy place is fill'd, thy sceptre wrung from thee,
> Thy balm wash'd off wherewith thou wast anointed :
> No bending knee will call thee Cæsar now,
> No humble suitors press to speak for right,
> No, not a man comes for redress of thee ;
> For how can I help them, and not myself ?

He is recognised by the first keeper :

> Ay, here 's a deer whose skin's a keeper's fee :
> This is the quondam king ; let 's seize upon him.

They however forbear for a little while, as they wish to hear more, and Henry *sotto voce* mutters that Margaret and his son have gone to France to seek the aid of the French king, and Warwick too has preceded hither to ask for the hand of Lady Bona for Edward, and knowing what a " subtle orator " Warwick is, and Lewis a " prince soon won with moving words " he is afraid that Margaret's appeal will be in vain :

> My queen and son are gone to France for aid ;
> And, as I hear, the great commanding Warwick
> Is thither gone, to crave the French king's sister
> To wife for Edward. If this news be true,
> Poor queen and son, your labour is but lost ;
> For Warwick is a subtle orator,
> And Lewis a prince soon won with moving words.

Emerging from the thicket, the second keeper questions Henry :

> Say, what art thou that talk'st of kings and queens ?

and Henry replies :

> More than I seem, and less than I was born to :
> A man at least, for less I should not be ;
> And men may talk of kings, and why not I ?

" Ay, but thou talk'st as if thou wert a king," is the keeper's query, to which Henry rejoins " Why, so I am, in mind ; and that 's enough." Being asked where his crown is if he is a king, Henry in slow sad words answers that his crown, which he calls content, is in his heart :

> My crown is in my heart, not on my head ;
> Not deck'd with diamonds and Indian stones,
> Nor to be seen : my crown is call'd content ;
> A crown it is that seldom kings enjoy.

Realising that he is none other than the fugitive Henry, in the name of King Edward to whom they have sworn allegiance, they threaten to arrest him :

> Well, if you be a king crown'd with content,
> Your crown content and you must be contented
> To go along with us ; for, as we think,
> You are the king King Edward hath deposed ;
> And we his subjects, sworn in all allegiance,
> Will apprehend you as his enemy.

Reminding them that they were sworn subjects to him, and now they brake their oaths, the first keeper tells Henry that while he was king they were his subjects, but having been deposed by Edward they had now sworn allegiance to the new monarch. " So would you be again to Henry, If he were seated as King Edward is," is Henry's retort.

They however, " in God's name and the king's " seize upon him, and charge him to accompany them " unto the officers " and Henry in his usual submissive manner obeys, offering to submit to whatever may be the will of God :

> In God's name, lead ; your king's name be obey'd :
> And what God will, that let your king perform ;
> And what he will, I humbly yield unto.

In the second scene we are in the Palace in London. Lady Grey, whose husband had been killed at the battle of Saint Albans, enters, and Edward, addressing his brothers, tells them that she has come to ask for the restitution of her late husband's estates :

> Brother of Gloucester, at Saint Alban's field
> This lady's husband, Sir Richard Grey, was slain,
> His lands then seiz'd on by the conqueror :
> Her suit is now to repossess those lands ;
> Which we in justice cannot well deny,
> Because in quarrel of the house of York
> The worthy gentleman did lose his life.

Gloucester considers that Edward will do well to grant her request :

> Your highness shall do well to grant her suit ;
> It were dishonour to deny it her.

Edward, however, is not inclined to grant her petition forthwith, and Gloucester and Clarence whisper to each other, the latter remarking : " He knows the game : how true he keeps the wind ! " Promising to consider her request Edward tells the lady to come again to know his decision :

> Widow, we will consider of your suit :
> And come some other time to know our mind.

but Lady Grey asks for her request to be considered without delay :

> Right gracious lord, I cannot brook delay :
> May it please your highness to resolve me now,
> And what your pleasure is shall satisfy me.

Gloucester and Clarence then draw aside where they hold a whispered conversation between each other, both agreeing that Edward's intention is to grant the lady's suit. While they are conversing Edward asks Lady Grey how many children she has, and being told " Three, my most gracious lord," Edward remarks it " 'Twere pity they should lose their father's lands." " Be pitiful, dread lord, and grant it them," rejoins Lady Grey, and turning to his brothers, Edward requests that they withdraw while he considers her request. Left alone an animated conversation takes place between Edward and Lady Grey, and as the former ceases the conversation Lady Grey remarks : " Why stops my lord ? shall I not hear my task ? " " An easy task, 'tis but to love a king," is Edward's answer. " That's soon perform'd, because I am a subject," ejaculates Lady Grey, and Edward therefore tells her that her husband's estates are restored to her. Thanking Edward " with many thousand thanks," she drops a curtsy, and Gloucester [aside to Clarence] remarks : " The match is made ; she seals it with a curtsey." She is about to leave but Edward

requests her to stay as she has misunderstood his meaning, and after a further conversation has taken place, in which Lady Grey does not fall in with his suggestions, she asks permission to depart, declaring " My suit is at an end " and Gloucester [aside to Clarence] whispers " The widow likes him not, she knits her brows." Edward, who admires the lady, then suggests that she shall become queen :

> Her looks do argue her replete with modesty ;
> Her words do show her wit incomparable ;
> All her perfections challenge sovereignty :
> One way or other, she is for a king ;
> And she shall be my love, or else my queen.—
> Say that King Edward take thee for his queen ?

Lady Grey thinks he is jesting :

> 'Tis better said than done, my gracious lord :
> I am a subject fit to jest withal,
> But far unfit to be a sovereign.

but Edward tells her not to " cavil " for he means to make her queen of England. Seeing that they have arrived at an agreement, Gloucester and Clarence now approach, and Edward informs them of his decision, a decision which Gloucester considers will be a " ten days' wonder at the least," but Clarence reminds him "That 's a day longer than a wonder lasts," to which Edward remarks : " jest on, brothers."

At this point a nobleman enters and informs Edward that Henry has been taken prisoner :

> My gracious lord, Henry your foe is taken,
> And brought your prisoner to your palace gate.

Edward orders Henry to be conveyed to the Tower, and entrusting Lady Grey to the care of his brothers, bidding them to " use her honourably," all leave with the exception of Gloucester.

Left alone, Gloucester in a long soliloquy [III. ii. 124–195] unfolds his impious motives to seize the crown, and in order to achieve the object he has in view, he will " drown more sailors than the mermaid," " slay more gazers than the basilisk," like Nester he will play the orator ; " deceive more slyly than Ulysses " ; like Sinon, take another Troy, change shapes with Proteus if it be to his advantage ; and even send the " murderous Machiavel to school " :

> Can I do this, and cannot get a crown ?
> Tut ! were it further off, I 'll pluck it down.

We are now transferred to France, the next scene being the French King's Palace. Margaret, who had escaped to France after the battle of Towton, to seek aid from Lewis XI, enters, and Lewis invites her to be seated :

> Fair Queen of England, worthy Margaret,
> Sit down with us : it ill befits thy state
> And birth that thou should'st stand while Lewis doth sit.

but Margaret replies that she " must strike her sail " for although once England's queen, misfortune has " trod my title down " and she must now take a more " humble seat " :

> No, mighty King of France ; now Margaret
> Must strike her sail, and learn awhile to serve
> Where kings command. I was, I must confess,
> Great Albion's queen in former golden days ;

> But now mischance hath trod my title down,
> And with dishonour laid me on the ground,
> Where I must take like seat unto my fortune,
> And to my humble seat conform myself.

Being asked the reason of this "deep despair" Margaret declares that the cause "fills mine eyes with tears And stops my tongue, while heart is drown'd in cares." but Lewis enjoins her not to "yield her neck to fortune's yoke," and inviting her again to seat herself beside him, promises, if possible, to grant her request:

> Whate'er it be, be thou still like thyself,
> And sit thee by our side: [*seats her by him*] yield not thy neck
> To fortune's yoke, but let thy dauntless mind
> Still ride in triumph over all mischance.
> Be plain, Queen Margaret, and tell thy grief;
> It shall be eas'd, if France can yield relief.

Encouraged by these words, Margaret takes her seat on the dais:

> Those gracious words revive my drooping thoughts,
> And give my tongue-tied sorrows leave to speak.

and then relates to Lewis, that her husband—who is now an exile in Scotland—has been driven from the throne by Edward, Duke of York, who "usurps the regal title" and she has now crossed over to France to ask succour of the French King:

> Now, therefore, be it known to noble Lewis,
> That Henry, sole possessor of my love,
> Is of a king become a banish'd man,
> And forced to live in Scotland a forlorn;
> While proud ambitious Edward Duke of York
> Usurps the regal title and the seat
> Of England's true-anointed lawful king.

She is winning Lewis over to her side, but her chances are spoiled by the sudden appearance of Warwick, whom Margaret describes as the "breeder of my sorrow." Welcomed by Lewis "Welcome, brave Warwick! What brings thee to France?" Warwick explains that he has been sent by Edward to ask for the hand of the Lady Bona in marriage, and Margaret aside mutters "If that go forward, Henry's hope is done." Turning to Lady Bona, Warwick tells her he is "commanded with your leave and favour, Humbly to kiss your hand" and relates to her how deeply enamoured Edward is with "thy beauty's image and thy virtue." Hearing this Margaret appeals to the King and Lady Bona to hear her speak before they answer Warwick, as his "demand Springs not from Edward's well-meant honest love, But from deceit bred by necessity"; as tyrants cannot safely govern at home, unless they purchase foreign alliances. "Injurious Margaret!" exclaims Warwick. "And why not queen?" demands the Prince of Wales, and Warwick retorts by telling the prince that as his father is a usurper he is no more a prince than his mother is a queen. To this the Earl of Oxford—who is in attendance on Margaret—points out that if that is so, Warwick renounces the glory won by John of Gaunt who conquered the greater part of Spain, and the victories won on French soil by Henry the Fifth, from whom Henry the Sixth has lineally descended, and Warwick reminds Oxford that all these conquests and possessions have been lost by Henry. Being asked by Oxford why he speaks against his rightful sovereign, whom he has obeyed for thirty and six years, and whom he now betrays without a blush, Warwick invites Oxford to forsake Henry and acknowledge Edward as king, but Oxford haughtily replies that so long as "life upholds this arm," he will fight for the house of Lancaster:

No, Warwick, no ; while life upholds this arm,
This arm upholds the house of Lancaster.

to which Warwick replies " And I the house of York." Lewis then requests Margaret, Prince Edward and Oxford, to stand aside while he has further conference with Warwick, and Margaret sadly mutters that the " Heavens grant that Warwick's words bewitch him not." Addressing Warwick, the French King inquires whether Edward is the lawful heir to the throne of England, and whether he is acceptable to the people, for he cannot link with him unless he has been chosen king by lawful means, and Warwick pawns his credit and his honour that it is so. Lewis next asks if Edward is animated by sincerity and affection in asking for the hand of the Lady Bona, and Warwick replying in the affirmative, Lewis, turning to Lady Bona, asks her opinion on the matter : " Now, sister, let us hear your firm resolve," to which with characteristic modesty, replies she is willing to leave the decision to her brother, and turning to Warwick confesses that she has often heard Edward's " desert recounted " which has caused " her ear " to " tempt judgment to desire." Lewis then gives his consent to the marriage, and orders " Articles be drawn " to which Margaret shall be a witness :

Then, Warwick, thus : our sister shall be Edward's ;
And now forthwith shall articles be drawn
Touching the jointure that your king must make,
Which with her dowry shall be counterpoised.
Draw near, Queen Margaret, and be a witness
That Bona shall be wife to the English king.

to which the Prince retorts : " To Edward, but not to the English king." Margaret hotly denounces Warwick as " Deceitful Warwick " for before he appeared on the scene " Lewis was Henry's friend," and Lewis replies that he is still friend to Henry and Margaret. Telling the French king that " Henry now lives in Scotland at his ease " Warwick, turning to Margaret, describes her as " our quondam queen," and tells her that it is better for her to go home to her father than trouble France. Infuriated at Warwick's words, Margaret tells him to hold his tongue, and hotly reproaches him as being a " Proud setter up and puller down of kings ! " refuses to depart until with " talk and tears, Both full of truth," she has convinced Lewis that Edward's love is false, for both Edward and Warwick are " birds of self-same feather " :

Peace, impudent and shameless Warwick, peace,
Proud setter up and puller down of kings !
I will not hence, till, with my talk and tears,
Both full of truth, I make King Lewis behold
Thy sly conveyance and thy lord's false love ;
For both of you are birds of salf-same feather.

At this point, a horn is sounded within, and Lewis remarks : " Warwick, this is some post to us or thee." Entering, the Post hands letters to Warwick, to the king, and to Margaret :

My lord ambassador, these letters are for you,
Sent from your brother, Marquess Montague :
These from our king unto your majesty ;
And, madam, these for you ; from whom I know not.

As they read their letters—which announce the marriage of Edward to Lady Grey—they are closely observed by Oxford and Prince Edward, and as Margaret smiles and Warwick frowns, and Lewis stamps his foot, Oxford remarks :

I like it well that our fair queen and mistress
Smiles at her news, while Warwick frowns at his,

to which the Prince adds :

> Nay, mark how Lewis stamps as he were nettled :
> I hope all 's for the best.

" Warwick, what are thy news ? and yours, fair queen ? " enquires Lewis, and Margaret replies " Mine, such as fill my heart with unhoped joys," and " Mine," adds Warwick, " full of sorrow and heart's discontent." " What ! has your king married the Lady Grey ? " asks Lewis, and now to " soothe your forgery and his, Sends me a paper to persuade me patience ? Is this the alliance that he seeks with France ? Dare he presume to scorn us in this manner ? " and Margaret, who is overjoyed at the news ejaculates " I told your majesty as much before : This proveth Edward's love and Warwick's honesty." Warwick, who is indignant at Edward's prefidy forthwith proclaims that he will renounce allegiance to York, and support Henry. Turning to Margaret, Warwick begs her to " let former grudges pass," and he will be her " true servitor " promising to do his best to restore Henry to the throne, and Margaret accepts his offer :

> Warwick, these words have turn'd my hate to love ;
> And I forgive and quite forget old faults,
> And joy that thou becom'st King Henry's friend.

Warwick then requests Lewis to furnish him with " some few bands of chosen soldiers " which he undertakes to land in England, and urged on by Lady Bona who is out for revenge, Lewis announces that he has firmly resolved to accede to Warwick's request. Lewis then commands the messenger to return to England and inform Edward that " Lewis of France is sending over masquers To revel it with him and his new bride " :

> Then, England's messenger, return in post,
> And tell false Edward, thy supposed king,
> That Lewis of France is sending over masquers
> To revel it with him and his new bride.
> Thou seest what 's past ; go fear thy king withal.

" Tell him," exclaims Lady Bona, " in hope he 'll prove a widower shortly, I 'll wear the willow garland for his sake." " Tell him," announces Margaret, " my mourning weeds are laid aside, And I am ready to put armour on." " Tell him from me," adds Warwick, " that he hath done me wrong, And therefore I 'll uncrown him ere 't be long," and rewarding the messenger bids him to " be gone."

Preparations are at once made for Warwick and Oxford to cross over to England with five thousand men, to be followed by a fresh supply under Margaret and Prince Edward. Warwick then suggests, that if Margaret and the Prince are agreeable, the young Prince marry his eldest daughter, a suggestion in which Margaret concurs. Telling her son that the lady is " fair and virtuous " she bids him to " give thy hand to Warwick " in token of " good faith," and Edward exclaims :

> Yes, I accept her, for she well deserves it ;
> And here, to pledge my vow, I give my hand.

Lewis then give orders for soldiers to be levied and conveyed to England by " Lord Bourbon, our high admiral," hoping shortly to hear that Edward has been dethroned for proposing a " mocking marriage with a dame of France."

All leave, with the exception of Warwick, who soliloquises over the sudden change of events, for although he came to France as " Edward's ambassador " he " returns his sworn and mortal foe " ; " Matter of marriage was the charge he gave me, But dreadful war shall answer his demand," not " that I pity Henry's misery, but to seek revenge on Edward's mockery."

We are again in the Palace in London at the opening of the Fourth Act. Gloucester, Clarence, Somerset and Montague enter. Addressing his brother, Gloucester asks his opinion of Edward's marriage with Lady Grey, and Clarence replies that it would have only been an act of courtesy to have awaited the return of Warwick from France, adding, that he intended to speak plainly his mind on the matter. There is a flourish and Edward, the queen and courtiers appear. Being asked by Edward "how like you our choice," Clarence, who is very pensive, replies:

> As well as Lewis of France, or the Earl of Warwick,
> Which are so weak of courage and in judgment
> That they 'll take no offence at our abuse.

But suppose they do take offence, retorts Edward.

> They are but Lewis and Warwick: I am Edward,
> Your king and Warwick's, and must have my will.

Turning to Gloucester, Edward asks whether he is opposed to the match:

> Yea, brother Richard, are you offended too?

and Gloucester scornfully replies "Not I":

> God forbid that I should wish them severed
> Whom God hath join'd together; ay, and 'twere pity
> To sunder them that yoke so well together.

Telling them to set aside their scorns and their mislikes, Edward requests his brothers, as well as Somerset and Montague, to speak freely what they think about the matter:

> Setting your scorns and your mislike aside,
> Tell me some reason why the Lady Grey
> Should not become my wife and England's queen.
> And you too, Somerset and Montague,
> Speak freely what you think.

To this Clarence affirms that Lewis has become Edward's enemy for "mocking him about the marriage of the Lady Bona"; Gloucester reminds him that he has dishonoured Warwick whom he sent to France to ask for the hand of the French princess; Montague is of opinion that an alliance with France would have strengthened them against "foreign storms"; while Hastings,—who does not favour the idea of an alliance with France—considers it is better to "using France than trusting France" adding that they should put their trust in God, for their safety depends upon the seas, which He hath given as a protection to the country, to which Clarence retorts that for this speech Hastings deserves "To have the heir of the Lord Hungerford."

Edward has however made himself unpopular by the honours he has showered on his new wife's family. Gloucester tells him he has not done right in giving the "heir and daughter of Lord Scales" to his wife's brother, as she would have been more suitable for himself or Clarence, but as he is so absorbed in his new wife he has forgotten his brothers. Clarence considers that Gloucester is quite right, otherwise Edward would not have given Lord Bonville's heir to his wife's son, and leave both him and Gloucester to look elsewhere. Edward observes that Clarence is dissatisfied because he has not provided him with a wife, and promises to rectify the omission:

> Alas! poor Clarence, is it for a wife
> That thou art malcontent? I will provide thee.

but Clarence expresses a wish to choose for himself in like manner as his brother has done:

> In choosing for yourself you show'd your judgment,
> Which being shallow, you shall give me leave
> To play the broker in mine own behalf;

and with this end in view he intends to desert him.

Addressing the nobles the queen reminds them that she is not "ignoble of descent" and although her new title honours her and her family, their "dislikes . . . Doth cloud my joys with danger and with sorrow," but Edward requests her to give no heed to their displeasure, for unless they show respect to her, and obey, as they must obey, their sovereign, "they shall feel the vengeance of my wrath" to which Gloucester [aside] mutters "I hear, yet say not much, but think the more."

At this point a Post enters. Asked by Edward "what letters or what news from France," the post replies "no letters; and few words" which he dare not relate "without your special pardon." Pardon having been granted the post delivers by word of mouth the messages of Lewis, Lady Bona, Margaret and Warwick. Edward considers Lewis very brave to send him such a message; Lady Bona he blames not since she has been wronged; and Margaret he belikes to an Amazon; but when he is told that Warwick threatens to "uncrown him" Edward breaks out in fury:

> Ha! durst the traitor breathe out so proud words?
> Well, I will arm me, being thus forewarn'd:
> They shall have wars, and pay for their presumption.

"Is Warwick friends with Margaret?" asks Edward, and the post answer is that "they are so link'd in friendship" that Prince Edward is to marry Warwick's eldest daughter. Hearing this Clarence declares he will marry Warwick's youngest daughter, and bidding Edward "farewell," tells him to "sit you fast" for although he himself does not possess a kingdom he will not be inferior to Edward in point of marriage and inviting those who "love him" to follow, leaves the room closely followed by Somerset. Clarence having gone, Gloucester [aside] mutters that as his "thoughts aim at a further matter" he will stay "not for the love of Edward, but the crown."

Edward then orders Pembroke and Stafford to collect together an army to oppose Warwick, and turning to Lords Hastings and Montague—who are by blood related to Warwick—Edward, who prefers "foes than hollow friends" asks whether they intend to remain loyal to him or join with Warwick, and as these two noblemen—as well as Gloucester—gives assurances of their loyalty and fidelity, Edward exclaims:

> then am I sure of victory.
> Now therefore let us hence; and lose no hour
> Till we meet Warwick with his foreign power.

The next scene shows us a Plain in Warwickshire. Warwick and Oxford with French soldiers enter. Warwick is telling Oxford that numbers of the common people have already flocked to join them, just as Clarence and Somerset appear, and Warwick remarks: "But see where Somerset and Clarence comes! and demands them to "Speak suddenly, my lords, are we all friends?" Being assured by Clarence that they have come to join him, Warwick bids them welcome, and after promising to give his daughter in marriage to Clarence, Warwick suggests, that as Edward is only attended by a simple guard, they surprise him in his camp and take him prisoner. Warwick asks those who approve of this action being taken to "Applaud the name of Henry with your leader," and as all present cry "Henry" Warwick remarks:

> Why, then, let 's on our way in silent sort.
> For Warwick and his friends, God and Saint George!

Edward's camp near Warwick supplies the next scene. Three watchmen, who guard the king's tent, enter and hold a conversation. One of them asks why Edward does not go to bed, to which the other one answers that he has " made a solemn vow Never to lie or take his natural rest Till Warwick or himself be quite suppress'd." The third watchman is commenting on the " dangerous honour " of guarding the king, for if only Warwick knew how they were situated he would attack them, just as Warwick, Clarence, Oxford and Somerset with forces appear on the scene :

> This is his tent ; and see where stand his guard.
> Courage, my masters ! honour now or never !
> But follow me, and Edward shall be ours.

remarks Warwick. They are challenged by the watch. " Who goes there ? " demands the first watchman. " Stay, or thou diest," adds the second watchman, and Warwick and his followers cry out " Warwick ! Warwick ! " and set upon the guard who fly, crying " Arm ! Arm ! "

A trumpet sounds, and Warwick and Somerset re-enter, bringing Edward out in his gown sitting in a chair. Gloucester and Hastings seek refuge in flight. Being asked by Somerset " What are they that fly there ? " Warwick replies " Richard and Hastings : let them go ; here is the duke." " The duke ! " exclaims Edward, " Why, Warwick, when we parted Thou call'dst me king ! " to which Warwick replies : " Ay, but the case is alter'd : When you disgraced me in my embassade, Then I degraded you from being king, And come now to create you Duke of York," for as you do not know how to treat your ambassadors you are not fit to govern the kingdom. Seeing Clarence with Warwick, Edward reproaches him for his disloyalty, and Warwick, taking the crown off the head of Edward declares that " Henry now shall wear it And be true king indeed." Warwick then charges Somerset to convey Edward to the safe keeping of his brother—the Archbishop of York—promising to follow, after he had fought with Pembroke. Edward is then lead away forcibly by guards, and Oxford suggests that they proceed forthwith to London, to which Warwick agrees

> To free King Henry from imprisonment,
> And see him seated in the regal throne.

We are at the Palace in London in the next scene. Lord Rivers—brother to the queen—enters and inquires why her majesty is so sad, and the queen tells him that Edward, " Either betray'd by falsehood of his guard, Or by his foe surprised at unawares" has been taken prisoner and committed to the custody of the Archbishop of York. Exclaiming that the news is very distressing, he counsels Elizabeth to bear her misfortune with patience, for Warwick who has won the day may yet be defeated. He then enquires as to the whereabouts of Warwick, and the queen replies that he " comes towards London " to liberate Henry from the tower and again place him on the throne, and fearing violence at his hands she will " forthwith unto the sanctuary "

> There shall I rest secure from force and fraud.
> Come, therefore ; let us fly while we may fly :
> If Warwick take us we are sure to die.

The next scene is enacted in a park near Middleham Castle in Yorkshire. It opens with Gloucester remarking to Lords Hastings and Stanley that the reason he has brought them hither is to assist him in rescuing Edward who is a prisoner in the hands of the archbishop. Edward, who is well treated at the hands of his custodian, is allowed to go out hunting, and Gloucester has by secret means, made arrangements to free him from his captivity. Just then Edward, accompanied by a Huntsman,

appears. He is immediately surrounded by Gloucester, Hastings and the rest, who charge him to make haste for a horse stands ready near by to convey him to Lynn and thence by ship to Flanders. " Huntsman, what say'st thou? wilt thou go along? " asks Edward, and the Huntsman replies " Better do so than tarry and be hang'd " and they forthwith gallop away, Edward remarking as they do so

> Bishop, farewell: shield thee from Warwick's frown,
> And pray that I may repossess the crown.

The Tower of London supplies the next scene. It opens with Henry enquiring of the Lieutenant—that as God has " turn'd my captive state to liberty—what are the fees due to him. Turning to Warwick, whom he declares to have been the instrument of God in procuring his liberty, Henry bids him to assume the reins of Government:

> But, Warwick, after God, thou sett'st me free,
> And chiefly therefore I thank God and thee;
> He was the author, thou the instrument.
> . . . . . .
> Warwick, although my head still wear the crown,
> I here resign my government to thee,
> For thou art fortunate in all thy deeds.

To this Warwick replies that Clarence is more suitable, and has better claim to the protectorship than himself. On the other hand Clarence considers Warwick more " worthy of the sway " and forthwith Henry commands them both to join their hands and proclaims them joint protectors, announcing that he intends in the future to

> lead a private life,
> And in devotion spend my latter days,
> To sin's rebuke and my Creator's praise.

After Edward has been proclaimed a traitor and all his lands and goods confiscated, Clarence asks that the succession to the crown be settled, and Henry answers that before that is settled the queen and his son be sent for from France with all speed, for until they come hence " My joy of liberty is half eclips'd." Henry then enquires of Somerset whom the youth is in which he is so much interested and Somerset replies it is " Henry Earl of Richmond." Declaring he is " England's hope " Henry lays his hand on his head for if the truth is suggested by divination

> This pretty lad will prove our country's bliss.
> His looks are full of peaceful majesty,
> His head by nature fram'd to wear a crown,
> His hand to wield a sceptre, and himself
> Likely in time to bless a regal throne.

At this point a Post enters, with the news that Edward has escaped from the custody of the Archbishop of York—and has fled to Burgundy, and Warwick declares that preparations must be made at once to meet any and every emergency which may arise.

All gone with the exception of Somerset, Richmond, and Oxford, Somerset remarks that the escape of Edward predicts the renewal of the civil strife ere long, at the same time " Henry's late presaging prophecy with hope of this young Richmond did glad his heart," and therefore he has decided to send Richmond to Brittany

> Till storms be past of civil enmity,

to which Oxford agrees, for if

> Edward repossess the crown,
> 'Tis like that Richmond with the rest shall down.

We are before York in the next scene. Edward, with Gloucester and Hastings, having collected together an army in Burgundy, land at Ravensburgh and march to York. Finding the gates shut against him, Edward declares that he will enter the city by " fair or foul means," and bids Hastings summon the city to surrender. A parley is sounded and the Mayor and his brethren appear on the walls, and inform Edward that having been apprised of his coming the gates have been closed for safety as the city now owes allegiance to Henry. To this Edward replies that he seeks admission as " Duke of York "

> Why, and I challenge nothing but my dukedom,
> As being well content with that alone.

to which Gloucester [aside] mutters :

> But when the fox hath once got in his nose,
> He 'll soon find means to make the body follow.

Hastings then asks the Mayor " why stand you in a doubt ? " and requests him to open the gates as they are King Henry's friends. Having disarmed all suspicion, the Mayor gives orders for Edward to be admitted, and as he descends from the walls, Gloucester remarks :

> A wise stout captain, and soon persuaded !

to which Hastings adds :

> The good old man would fain that all were well,
> So, 'twere not long of him ; but being enter'd,
> I doubt not, I, but we shall soon persuade
> Both him and all his brothers unto reason.

The gates having been opened Edward orders that they must not again be shut except at night or in time of war, and demanding from the Mayor the keys of the city announces that he will

> defend the town and thee,
> And all those friends that deign to follow me.

At this point, Montgomery with forces appear. Being asked why he comes in arms, Montgomery replies to help Edward to regain the crown. Edward thanks " good Montgomery " and informs him that at the moment he only claims the dukedom, and Montgomery bids him farewell, as he came to serve a king and not a duke. Montgomery gives orders for the " Drummer to strike up, and let us march away," Edward bids him stay awhile and they will debate the matter, but Montgomery replies " What, talk you of debating ! " and reiterates his intention of leaving Edward to his fortune unless he proclaims himself king. Declaring that the crown is his by right, Edward is won over, and a proclamation, proclaiming him king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, etc., is made, while Montgomery throws down his gauntlet, challenging anyone who disputes it to single fight, to which all present shout " Long live Edward the Fourth ! " Edward thanks " brave Montgomery," promising that if fortune attends him, he will repay him for his kindness. He then announces his intention of spending the night in York, and on the morrow will march to meet " Warwick and his mates " and " froward Clarence," for as Henry is no soldier he has no doubt of victory, and turning to his followers proclaims :

> Come on, brave soldiers : doubt not of the day :
> And, that once gotten, doubt not of large pay.

We are again transferred to the Palace in London. The Scene opens with Warwick announcing that Edward has landed in England and is marching on London with a large army :

> What counsel, lords ? Edward from Belgia,
> With hasty Germans and blunt Hollanders,
> Hath pass'd in safety through the narrow seas,
> And with his troops doth march amain to London ;
> And many giddy people flock to him.

To this Henry replies that men had better be levied to give him battle, while Clarence is of opinion that " A little fire is quickly trodden out, Which, being suffer'd, rivers cannot quench." Warwick announces that he has many true-hearted friends in Warwickshire whom he will muster, and bids Clarence to " stir up in Suffolk, Norfolk and in Kent, The knights and gentlemen to come with thee " ; Montague to collect forces in Buckingham, Northampton, and in Leicestershire ; Oxford to gather together his friends in Oxfordshire, while Henry shall rest in London until they return.

Warwick then bids farewell to the nobles and to the king : " Fair lords, take leave, and stand not to reply. Farewell, my sovereign," to which Henry replies : " Farewell, my Hector, and my Troy's true hope." Clarence kisses the king's hand " In sign of truth," Montague bids him to be comforted, while Oxford " Seals his truth and bids adieu," and Henry remarks :

> Sweet Oxford, and my loving Montague,
> And all at once, once more a happy farewell.

All gone, with the exception of the king and Exeter, Henry tells Exeter that he is of opinion that Edward's forces will not be able to encounter the army sent against him, but Exeter replies that Edward may be fortunate to seduce the royal troops from their allegiance, an opinion which Henry does not share.

While they are conversing, there is a shout within : " A Lancaster ! A Lancaster ! " " Hark, hark, my lord ! what shouts are these ? " exclaims Exeter, and forthwith Edward, Gloucester and soldiers burst into the palace. Giving his soldiers orders to seize Henry, Edward orders him to be sent to the Tower, and himself again proclaimed king :

> Seize on the shame-faced Henry ! bear him hence,
> And once again proclaim us King of England.
> . . . . . .
> Hence with him to the Tower ! let him not speak.

He then bids the main body of his army to march to Coventry to give battle to " peremptory Warwick " for

> The sun shines hot ; and, if we use delay,
> Cold biting winter mars our hop'd for hay,

to which Gloucester adds :

> Away betimes, before his forces join,
> And take the great-grown traitor unawares :
> Brave warriors, march amain towards Coventry.

The Fifth Act opens in Coventry. Warwick, the Mayor of Coventry and two messengers appear on the walls. In reply to Warwick's enquiries as to the whereabouts of Oxford and Montague, the messengers inform him that the former is at

Dunsmore and the latter at Daintry, both marching forward with puissant forces. Sir John Somerville appears and tells Warwick that he left Clarence—whom he expects in about two hours' time—at Southam. A drum is heard and Warwick remarks that Clarence must be at hand, but Somerville points out that the sound proceeds from the direction of Warwick as Southam lies in the opposite direction. "Who should that be? belike, unlook'd-for friends," remarks Warwick just as Edward, Gloucester and forces appear. Edward orders a parley to be sounded and Warwick appearing on the walls is summoned to surrender, and acknowledge Edward as king:

> Now, Warwick, wilt thou ope the city gates,
> Speak gentle words, and humbly bend thy knee,
> Call Edward king, and at his hands beg mercy?
> And he shall pardon thee these outrages.

Warwick refuses to surrender, and reminds Edward that he gave him the kingdom, and as he has now dethroned him he has sworn allegiance to Henry. "But Warwick's king is Edward's prisoner," rejoins Edward, and again calls upon Warwick to acknowledge him as king:

> Come, Warwick, take the time; kneel down, kneel down.
> Nay, when? strike now, or else the iron cools.

but Warwick replies that he would rather chop off his hand than submit:

> I had rather chop this hand off at a blow,
> And with the other fling it at thy face,
> Than bear so low a sail, to strike to thee.

and Edward, furious at Warwick's reply, declares he will have his head:

> Sail how thou canst, have wind and tide thy friend,
> This hand, fast wound about thy coal-black hair,
> Shall, whiles thy head is warm and new cut off,
> Write in the dust this sentence with thy blood;
> "Wind-changing Warwick now can change no more."

Oxford with forces now arrives and announcing "Oxford, Oxford, for Lancaster!" is admitted into the city. The gates being opened, Gloucester suggests that they enter too, but Edward considers it more prudent to wait until their foes issue forth and give battle. Montague with forces now appears, and calling out "Montague, Montague, for Lancaster!" he and his troops enter through the gates. As Montague passes through the gates, Gloucester tells him that both "he and his brother—Warwick—shall buy this treason with their dearest blood." Somerset, with forces, now arrives and declaring "Somerset, Somerset, for Lancaster!, Warwick orders him to be admitted into the city. As he passes through Gloucester retorts:

> Two of thy name, both Dukes of Somerset,
> Have sold their lives unto the house of York;
> And thou shalt be the third, if this sword hold.

Immediately Clarence with forces appears on the scene, and Warwick invites him to enter the city and join forces:

> And lo, where George of Clarence sweeps along,
> Of force enough to bid his brother battle;
> With whom an upright zeal to right prevails
> More than the nature of a brother's love!
> Come, Clarence, come; thou wilt, if Warwick call.

Plucking the red rose out of his hat, Clarence tells Warwick that he will not "ruinate my father's house, Who gave his blood to lime the stones together, And set up

Lancaster." Declaring his sorrow for " my trespass made " he, in order to " deserve well at my brother's hands," proclaims himself Warwick's mortal foe, and turning to Edward asks for pardon :

> Pardon me, Edward, I will make amends :
> And Richard, do not frown upon my faults,
> For I will henceforth be no more unconstant.

He is welcomed back by Edward :

> Now, welcome more, and ten times more beloved,
> Than if thou never hadst deserved our hate.

to which Gloucester adds :

> Welcome, good Clarence ; this is brother-like.

Edward then enquires of Warwick whether he will leave the town and fight, and Warwick replies that he intends presently to march to Barnet, where, if Edward dare, he will give him battle, and accepting Warwick's offer, Edward forthwith marches away with his forces, followed by Warwick :

> *K.Edw.* What, Warwick, wilt thou leave the town, and fight ?
> Or shall we beat the stones about thine ears ?
> *War.* Alas, I am not coop'd here for defence !
> I will away towards Barnet presently,
> And bid thee battle, Edward, if thou darest.
> *K. Edw.* Yes, Warwick, Edward dares, and leads the way.
> Lords to the field : Saint George and victory !

Scene two shows us a Field of Battle near Barnet. There are alarums and excursions, during which Edward appears with Warwick, who is mortally wounded. Bidding him to " lie thou there : die thou, and die our fear," Edward hurries away in search of Montague so " That Warwick's bones may keep thine company." Having gone Warwick, who realises that his death is near, asks to be told who is victor, " York or Warwick." As he lies unable to move, he soliloquises on the exalted position he has held in the realm :

> For who liv'd king but I could dig his grave ?
> And who durst smile when Warwick bent his brow ?

with his present utter helplessness :

> Lo ! now my glory smear'd in dust and blood ;
> My parks, my walks, my manors that I had,
> Even now forsake me ; and of all my lands
> Is nothing left me but my body's length.
> Why, what is pomp, rule, reign, but earth and dust ?
> And, live we how we can, yet die we must.

Oxford and Somerset now enter, and the latter tells Warwick that if he were as they are they would recover that which they have lost, for the news has just been received that Margaret has landed in England from France with a puissant power. But Warwick, who is at the point of death, calls for his brother Montague :

> Ah ! Montague,
> If thou be there, sweet brother, take my hand,
> And with thy lips keep in my soul a while.
> Thou lov'st me not ; for, brother, if thou didst,
> Thy tears would wash this cold congealed blood
> That glues my lips and will not let me speak.
> Come quickly, Montague, or I am dead.

but Somerset could only make answer that Montague had already "breath'd his last" but before passing away had asked him to "Commend me to my valiant brother,"

> Ah, Warwick! Montague hath breath'd his last;
> And to the latest gasp cried out for Warwick,
> And said, "Commend me to my valiant brother."
> And more he would have said; and more he spoke,
> Which sounded like a cannon in a vault,
> That mought not be distinguish'd; but at last
> I well might hear, deliver'd with a groan,
> "O, farewell, Warwick!"

Hearing this Warwick mutters "Sweet rest his soul" and then bidding farewell to Lords Oxford and Somerset promising to meet them in heaven, he counsels them to seek safety in flight:

> Fly, lords, and save yourselves;
> For Warwick bids you all farewell, to meet in heaven.

"Away, away, to meet the queen's great power!" exclaims Oxford, and bearing away the body of Warwick they hastily depart to join forces with Margaret who is on her way to Tewkesbury.

We are in another part of the battlefield in Scene three. A trumpet sounds, and Edward in triumph enters. Addressing his brothers he tells them that although they are "graced with wreaths of victory," there is "in the midst of this bright-shining day, a black, suspicious, threatening cloud" for Margaret with a large army has landed on the south coast. Clarence opines that they will soon defeat her, while Gloucester reminds them that Margaret's army, which numbers thirty thousand strong, has been reinforced by the forces under Somerset and Oxford, in consequence of which her army will be as strong as their own. News having been received that Margaret is marching towards Tewkesbury, Edward give orders for his army to proceed forthwith

> And, as we march, our strength will be augmented
> In every county as we go along.
> Strike up the drum! cry "Courage!" and away.

The Plains near Tewkesbury supply the next scene. It opens with Margaret, who has heard of the defeat and death of Warwick at the battle of Barnet. reminding the nobles that

> wise men ne'er sit and wail their loss,
> But cheerly seek how to redress their harms.

In a spirited speech in which she reviews the position she inspires confidence and hope in her followers. Pointing out that although "Warwick was our anchor" and "Montague our topmast" they have still in "Oxford another anchor" and in "Somerset another goodly mast" and exhorts them to courage for "what cannot be avoided 'Twere childish weakness to lament or fear." Being carried away by her intrepid speech they all promise to do their utmost to achieve victory. A moment later a messenger enters with the news that Edward with forces is at hand ready to give battle. Amid a flourish of trumpets Edward appears and addressing his army tells them that the "thorny wood" which "yonder stands Must by the roots be hewn up yet ere night." With tears in her eyes Margaret exclaims that she can scarcely speak, for

Henry, your sovereign,
Is prisoner to the foe ; his state usurp'd,
His realm a slaughter-house, his subjects slain,
His statutes cancell'd, and his treasure spent ;
And yonder is the wolf that makes this spoil,

and exhorting them in God's name to " Be valiant " gives the signal for the battle to commence.

Scene five shows us another part of the battlefield. The battle is over and the Yorkists have proved victorious. Edward, Clarence, Gloucester and soldiers enter, bearing with them Margaret, Oxford and Somerset who have been taken prisoners. Edward orders Oxford to be imprisoned in Hames Castle and Somerset to be beheaded. As they are led away, Margaret exclaims :

So part we sadly in this troublous world,
To meet with joy in sweet Jerusalem.

Edward then issues a proclamation offering a high reward for the capture of Prince Edward. At this point the prince is brought hither by soldiers and Edward demands to know why he has taken up arms against him :

Bring forth the gallant : let me hear him speak.
What ! can so young a thorn begin to prick ?
Edward, what satisfaction canst thou make
For bearing arms, for stirring up my subjects,
And all the trouble thou hast turn'd me to ?

to which the gallant youth replies :

Speak like a subject, proud ambitious York.
Suppose that I am now my father's mouth :
Resign thy chair, and where I stand kneel thou,
Whilst I propose the self-same words to thee,
Which, traitor, thou would'st have me answer to.

" Ah, that thy father had been so resolv'd ! " ejaculates Margaret, and Gloucester retorts that if that had been so she would have worn the petticoats and not stolen her husband's breeches. But the young prince who is very scornful exclaims :

Let Æsop fable in a winter's night ;
His currish riddles sort not with this place,

and Gloucester tells him that he will " plague ye for that word " while Margaret reminds Gloucester that he was " born to be a plague of men." " Take away this captive scold," demands Gloucester, and the young prince sarcastically rejoins " Nay, take away this scolding crook-back rather " and Edward bids him to be quiet or "I will charm your tongue," while Clarence calls him " Untutor'd lad, thou art too malapert." But the youth tells them he knows his duty, and bitterly denounces the Yorkists as traitors :

I know my duty ; you are all undutiful.
Lascivious Edward, and thou perjured George,
And thou misshapen Dick, I tell ye all
I am your better, traitors as ye are ;
And thou usurp'st my father's right and mine.

Incensed at the youth's defiance, Edward draws his dagger and plunging it in the boy's breast remarking as he does so : " Take that, the likeness of this railer here." " Sprawl'st thou ? " sneers Gloucester, " take that, to end thy agony," " And that," adds Clarence, " for twitting me with perjury." Margaret implores them to kill her

too. Gloucester was ready, but Edward bids him hold his hand " for we have done too much." Sickened at the sight, Margaret faints, and as Edward gives orders " to use means for her recovery," Gloucester, turning to Clarence, bids him to excuse him to the king his brother, for he must " hence to London on a serious matter," and whispering to Clarence " The Tower ! the Tower ! " hurriedly takes his departure. Recovering her senses, Margaret, bending over the body of her son, implores him to speak, and denouncing Edward, Clarence and Gloucester as "Butchers and villains ! bloody cannibals !" calls down the vengeance of heaven upon them for having spent their fury on a child. Edward orders her to be forcibly removed, and Margaret in agony appeals first to Edward and afterwards to Clarence to kill her. Her appeal being fruitless she inquires for Gloucester knowing that he would not hesitate to commit the deed :

> Where is that devil's butcher,
> Hard-favour'd Richard ? Richard, where art thou ?
> Thou art not here : murder is thy alms-deed ;
> Petitioners for blood thou ne'er put'st back,

but Edward orders the soldiers to take her away.

Turning to Clarence, Edward enquires "Where 's Richard gone ? " and on being told that he has gone to London " To make a bloody supper in the Tower," Edward cynically comments "He 's sudden if a thing comes in his head," and giving orders for the soldiers to be discharged " with pay and thanks " forthwith proceeds to London to

> see our gentle queen how well she fares :
> By this, I hope, she hath a son for me.

The Tower of London supplies the next scene, where we find Henry sitting reading a book, with the Lieutenant in attendance. With a sneering smile Gloucester enters and on his face the hapless Henry read his doom. The Lieutenant having been dismissed by Gloucester, Henry remarks :

> So flies the reckless shepherd from the wolf ;
> So first the harmless sheep doth yield his fleece,
> And next his throat unto the butcher's knife.
> What scene of death hath Roscius now to act ?

" Suspicion always haunts the guilty mind ; The thief doth fear each bush an officer," retorts Gloucester and Henry replies that the bird which has once been entangled is suspicious of every bush, and entreats Gloucester to kill him with his sword and not with words, for his breast is more fit for the dagger's point than his ears are for tragic history. " Is 't for my life ? " that brings thee hither, enquires Henry, and Gloucester answers " Think'st thou I am an executioner ? " " A persecutor, I am sure, thou art," retorts Henry, and " If murdering innocents be executing, Why, then thou art an executioner." " Thy son I kill'd for his presumption," sneers Gloucester, and Henry enjoins that if he had been killed when first he did presume he would never have lived to kill his son, and goes on to prophecy that old men and widows, and orphans with tears in their eyes will curse the day when he was born :

> And thus I prophesy : that many a thousand,
> Which now mistrust no parcel of my fear
> And many an old man's sigh, and many a widow's,
> And many an orphan's water-standing eye,
> Men for their sons', wives for their husbands',
> And orphans for their parents' timeless death,
> Shall rue the hour that ever thou wast born.
> The owl shriek'd at thy birth, an evil sign ;
> The night-crow cried, aboding luckless time,

Dogs howl'd, and hideous tempest shook down trees ;
The raven rook'd her on the chimney's top
And chattering pies in dismal discords sung.
. . . . . .
Teeth hadst thou in thy head when thou wast born,
To signify thou camest to bite the world :
And, if the rest be true which I have heard,
Thou camest—

"I 'll hear no more," snarls Gloucester as he drew back a space, and drawing his sword plunges it in the heart of Henry, sneering out " die, prophet, in thy speech " : " Ay, and for much more slaughter after this," gasps Henry, and falling to the ground in a dying condition implores the forgiveness of God for his sins, and pardon for his murderer. Bending over the lifeless body of Henry, Gloucester remarks :

What ! will the aspiring blood of Lancaster
Sink in the ground ? I thought it would have mounted.

and as he watches the blood drip from his dagger, expresses the wish that " such purple tears be always shed From those that wish the downfall of our house ! " Mad with lust of blood, and determined that no " spark of life " shall remain, Gloucester again thrusts his sword into Henry's body, growling as he does so " Down, down to hell ; and say I sent thee thither."

Soliloquising over the scene Gloucester admits he is devoid of " pity, love and fear " for as he came into the world with a crooked body, he implores hell to make crooked his mind to fashion it. Muttering to himself " I have no brother, I am like no brother : . . . I am myself alone " ; he threatens to be " Edward's death " and counsels Clarence to beware, for now that Henry and his son are out of his way there remains only Clarence and Edward to stand between him and the throne.

The final scene of the Play is enacted at the Palace in London. Amid a flourish of trumpets, Edward, the queen, with Clarence, Gloucester and Hastings, enter, followed by a nurse with the young prince. Taking his seat upon the throne Edward announces that once more he occupies " England's royal throne," which he has "Re-purchas'd with the blood of enemies," and recounts with pride that they have :

mow'd down in tops of all their pride !
Three Dukes of Somerset, threefold renown'd
For hardy and undoubted champions ;
Two Cliffords, as the father and the son ;
And two Northumberlands : two braver men
Ne'er spurr'd their coursers at the trumpet's sound ;
With them, the two brave bears, Warwick and Montague,
That in their chains fetter'd the kingly lion,
And made the forest tremble when they roar'd.

and now they have made their footstool secure they will reap the labours of their gain ; and Gloucester [aside] mutters :

I 'll blast his harvest, if your head were laid ;
For yet I am not look'd on in the world.
This shoulder was ordain'd so thick to heave ;
And heave it shall some weight, or break my back.
Work thou the way, and thou shalt execute.

Having kissed his infant son, Edward bids both his brothers to love his wife and kiss their nephew :

Clarence and Gloucester, love my lovely queen
And kiss your princely nephew, brothers both.

" The duty that I owe unto your majesty I seal upon the lips of this sweet babe," exclaims Clarence, and the queen replies " Thanks, noble Clarence ; worthy brother, thanks." " And, that I love the tree from whence thou sprang'st, Witness the loving kiss I give the fruit," exclaims Gloucester as he presses his lips to the child's forehead, and then turning aside with a cruel smile upon his face, mutters with deadly meaning :

> To say the truth, so Judas kiss'd his master,
> And cried " all hail ! " when as he meant all harm.

We shall meet this child again in *Richard III*, for it is none other than the little Edward the Fifth who—along with his brother—was, by orders of his uncle Richard, Duke of Gloucester, afterwards Richard the Third—murdered in the Tower, one of those many crimes which blot the pages of English History.

Clarence then enquires what Edward " will have done with Margaret," as her father " Hath pawn'd the Sicils and Jerusalem " to the King of France, and has sent the money for her ransom, and Edward orders her to be sent back to France : " Away with her, and waft her hence to France," and the play concludes with Edward announcing that in future he intends to turn his thoughts to

> stately triumphs, mirthful comic shows,
> Such as befits the pleasure of the court

and bidding the drums and trumpets sound, bids farewell to " sour annoy "

> For here I hope, begins our lasting joy.

Scene : During part of the Third Act, in France ; during the rest of the Play, in England.

CHARACTERS, PLACE-NAMES, ETC.

Æsop. V. v. 25.

Let Æsop fable in a winter's night;
His currish riddles sort not with this place.
[V. v. 25–26.]

An allusion to the Greek Fabulist who is said to have been humpbacked. Prince Edward here compares Richard—who was deformed—to Æsop.

Agamemnon. II. ii. 148.

And ne'er was Agamemnon's brother wrong'd
By that false woman as this king by thee.
[II. ii. 148–149.]

Brother to Menelaus and commander-in-chief of the Greeks at the siege of Troy. He is one of the chief characters in *Troilus and Cressida* (q.v.)

Alarum. I. i. p.1; I. iii. p.1; I. iv. p.1; II. iii. p.1; II. v. p.1, p.54, p.125; II. vi. p.1, p.31; V. ii. p.1.

A summons to arms, as on the approach of an enemy.

Albion. III. iii. 49.

= England.

Albion's queen. III. iii. 7.

I was, I must confess,
Great Albion's queen in former golden days;
[III. iii. 6–7.]

= England's queen.

Aldermen. IV. vii. p.17, p.35.

Accompanying the Mayor of York.

Amazon. IV. i. 106.

Belike she minds to play the Amazon. [IV. i. 106.]

A masculine woman, applied here to Margaret by Edward.

Amazonian trull. I. iv. 114.

How ill-beseeming is it in thy sex
To triumph like an Amazonian trull,
Upon their woes whom fortune captivates!
[I. iv. 113–115.]

Amazon = In Greek mythology a race of female warriors noted for their bravery. *trull* = a strumpet; a trollop.

Another part of the field [Barnet].

The Scene of Act V., Scene iii. The Yorkists having gained the victory, Edward in triumph enters and announces that Margaret has landed on the south coast with a large army, and orders his army to march forward towards Tewkesbury, where another battle awaits him. For descriptions of the Battle of Barnet see *exempli gratia* Grafton's *Chronicle;* Hall's *Chronicle;* Barrett's *Battles and Battlefields in England;* Brooke's *Visits to Fields of Battle in England, of the fifteenth century; Chronicles of the White Rose.* To commemorate this battle an Obelisk was erected in 1740 by Sir Jeremy Sambrook at the point where the road northward divides St. Albans and Hatfield, about a mile north from Barnet Church. This monument has since been removed, and now stands on what is considered to have been the actual spot where the conflict took place. The Obelisk, which is often called Hadley High Stone contains the following inscription:

Here was
fought the
famous battle
between Edward
the 4th and the
Earl of Warwick
April the 14th
anno
1471
in which the earl
was defeated
and slain.

See also Field of battle near Barnet.

Another part of the field [Tewksbury].

The Scene of Act V., Scene v. This scene opens after the battle, in which the Yorkists have been the victors. Margaret, Oxford, and Somerset are brought in guarded by soldiers. [Oxford was not at Tewkesbury. After the battle of Barnet he escaped into Cornwall.

" Also the king found meanes to coom by John Erle of Oxford, who not long after the discomfyture receayved at Barnet fled into Cornewall, and both tooke and kept Saint Mychaels Mount, and sent him to a castle beyond Sea caulyd Hammes, where he was kept prysoner more than xii yeres after." *Polydore Vergil.*] A moment later Prince Edward is brought hither a prisoner, and is questioned by King Edward why he takes up arms against him. Edward answers with boldness and denounces the Yorkists as usurpers and traitors. Drawing his dagger, the king plunges it in the youth's breast, followed by Gloucester and Clarence. Margaret implores them to kill her too, to which Gloucester makes an attempt, but is restrained by Edward. [" It is quite clear," says Courtenay " that there nothing like *evidence* either of Prince Edward's smart reply to the king, or of his *assassination* by *any body*; and that there is not even the report of one who lived near to the time, of the participation of either of the king's brothers in the assassination, if it occurred. There is little in reason for believing any part of the story, though there is not—as there seldom can be—any proof of the negative. I have already noticed the anachronisms of Shakespeare, dependant upon the *ages* of his heroes. His Richard calls the prince scornfully, *brat*; the prince was just one year younger than Gloucester; the one was then about nineteen, and the other eighteen years of age. The presence of Margaret, at her son's examination and death, is a dramatic incident; as is Gloucester's attempt to murder her. She was taken, kept prisoner for five years, and then ransomed by Louis IX."] Cf. *Extract* 18 from Holinshed. Gloucester hurriedly takes his departure for London, and Margaret calls down the vengeance of heaven upon them for the murder of her son. Edward orders her removal, after which he discharges his army, and forthwith leaves for London.

The battle of Tewkesbury was fought on the 3rd of May, 1471. For descriptions of the battle see *exempli gratia* Grafton's *Chronicles;* Hall's *Chronicle;* Brooke's *Visits to Fields of Battle, of England, in the fifteenth century;* Barrett's *Battles and Battlefields in England; Descriptive particulars of the Battle of Tewkesbury and of all known local scenes and memorials of the battle, with comprehensive notes on The Wars of the Roses. Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society*, Vols. xxvi, and xlvii.

See also Plains near Tewksbury.

Another part of the field [Towton].

The Scene of Act II., Scenes iv, v, and vi.

Act II., Scene iv. Richard challenges Clifford to fight, and as they encounter each other, Warwick appears on the scene and Clifford flees.

Act II., Scene v. Shows Henry alone, he having withdrawn from the fight on the advice of Margaret and Clifford. [Hart quotes from Polydore Vergil: " When at the last King Henry espied the forces of his foes increase . . . he with a few horsemen removing a little out of that place, expected the event of the fight, but beholde, suddenly his souldiers gave the backe, which when he sawe he fledd also."] As he sits on a mole-hill watching the ebb and flow of the battle he soliloquises on the scene which unfolds before his eyes. [Johnson remarks: " This speech is mournful and soft, exquisitely suited to the character of the king, and makes a pleasing interchange, by affording, amidst the tumult and horror of the battle, an unexpected glimpse of rural innocence and pastoral tranquillity."] The Yorkists having proved victorious, Margaret with the Prince and Clifford enters and advises the king to seek safety in flight.

Act II., Scene vi. Clifford, who has been mortally wounded, enters, and soliloquises over the scene. Owing to loss of blood he faints and passes away just as Edward and his forces appear. Orders are given for his head to be cut off and placed over the gates of York. [" Clifford, in his retreat, was beset with a party of Yorkists, when eyther for heat or payne, putting off his gorget, sodainly with an arrowe (as some say) without an hedde [he] was striken into the throte, and incontinent rendered his spirite, and the erle of Westmerlandes brother, and almost all his company were thare slayn, at a place called Dinting-dale, not farr frō Towton." *Ritson.*] Edward creates Richard Duke of Gloucester and George Duke of Clarence. Richard objects to his title as being unlucky, but Warwick describes it as foolish. [These two dukedoms were conferred after Edward had been crowned on the 29th of June, 1461, and not on the field of battle as represented in the play,

while Richard's objection to the title of the Duke of Gloucester is suggested by Holinshed.]

This battle, in which the house of York was victorious, was fought on a plain between Towton and Saxton, on the 29th of March, (Palm Sunday), 1461. The royal army consisted of about forty thousand men; and the young Duke of York's forces were 48,760. In this combat, which lasted fourteen hours, and in the actions of the two following days, 36,776 persons are said to have been killed; the greater part of whom were undoubtedly Lancastrians.

The following is Hall's narrative of this battle, which decided the fate of the house of Lancaster, and placed Edward on the throne of England. "The same day, about ix. of the clocke, whiche was the xxix. day of Marche, beyng Palm sundaye, bothe the hostes approched in a playn felde, between Towton and Saxton. When eche parte perceyved other, thei made a great shoute, and at the same instante time, their fell a small snyt or snow, which by violence of the wynd was driven into the faces of them, which were of kyng Henries parte, so that their sight was somewhat blemeshed and minished. The lord Fawnconbridge, which led the forward of kyng Edwardes battail (as before is rehersed) being a man of great poleice, and of much experience in marciall feates, caused every archer under his standard, to shot one flyght (which before he caused them to provide) and then made them to stand still. The Northrenmen, feling the shoot, but by reason of the snow, not well vewyng the distaunce betwene them and their enemies, like hardy men shot their schiefe arrowes as fast as thei might, but al their shot was lost, and their labor vayn for they came not nere the Southermen by xl taylors yerdes. When their shot was almost spent, the lord Fawconbridge marched forwarde with his archers, which not onely shot their awne whole sheves, but also gathered the arrowes of their enemies, and let a great parte of them flye agaynst their awne masters, and another part thei let stand on the ground, which sore noyed the legges of the owners, when the battayle joyned. The erle of Northumberland, and Andrew Trolope, which were chefetayns of Kyng Henries vangard, seynge their shot to prevayle, hasted forward to joine with their enemies, you may besure the other part nothing retarded, but valeauntly foughte with their enemies. This battayl was sore foughten, for hope of life was set on side on every parte and takynge of prisoners was proclaymed as a great offence, by reason whereof every man determined, either to conquere or to dye in the felde. This deadly battayle and bloudy conflicte, continued x. houres in doubtfull victorie. The one parte some time flowyng, and some time ebbyng, but in conclusion, kyng Edward so coragiously comforted his men, refreshyng the wery, and helping the wounded, that the other part was discomfited and overcome, and lyke men amased, fledde toward Tadcaster bridge to save them selfes: but in the meane way there is a little broke called Cocke not very broade, but of a great deapnes, in the whiche, what for hast of escapyng, and what for feare of folowers, a great number were drent and drowned, in so much that the common people there affirme, that men alyve passed the ryver upon dead carcasis, and that the great ryver of Wharfe, which is the great sewer of that broke, and of all the water comyng from Towton, was colored with bloude."

King Edward's account of the battle sent by the king himself to his mother Cecily Duchess of York, widow of Richard Duke of York, daughter to Ralph Nevile, Earl of Westmoreland, will be found in Sir John Fenn's Collection of the *Paston Letters*, and is as follows:

Letter CLXII.

To my master, John Paston, in haste.

Please you to know and weet of such tidings as my Lady of York hath by a letter of credence under the sign-manual of our sovereign lord King Edward; which letter came unto our said lady this same day Eastern even at xj o'clock, and was seen and read by me, William Paston.

First, our sovereign lord hath won the field; and upon the Monday next after Palm Sunday,[1] he was received into York with great solemnity and processions. And the mayor and commons of the said city made their means to have grace by Lord Montagu and Lord Berners, which, before the king's coming into the said city, desired him of grace for the said city, which granted them grace.

On the king's part is slain Lord Fitzwalter,

[1] Palm Sunday fell on the 29th of March. This account therefore from the King did not arrive in London till six days after the battle.

and Lord Scroop sore hurt; John Stafford [*and*] Horne of Kent be dead, and Humphrey Stafford [and] William Hastyngs made knights, with others; Blount is knighted, &c.

On the contrary part, is dead Lord Clifford, Lord Nevile, Lord Welles, Lord Willoughby, Anthony Lord Scales, Lord Harry, and by supposition the Earl of Northumberland, Andrew Trollop, with many others, gentle and commons, to the number of twenty thousand.

Item, King Harry, the queen, the prince, Duke of Somerset, Duke of Exeter, Lord Roos be fled into Scotland, and they be chased and followed, &c. We send no er [*earlier*] unto you because we had none certain till now; for unto this day London was as sorry city as might; and because Spordams had no certain tidings, we thought ye should take them a worth [*at their worth*] till more certain.

Item, Thorp Waterfield is yielded as Spordams can tell you.

And Jesu speed you; we pray you that this tidings my mother may know.

By your brother,

W. Paston.
Th. Playters.

London,
Saturday, Easter Eve,
4th April, 1461. I.E. IV.

On a piece of paper pinned to the above letter, is a list of the names of the noblemen and knights, and the number of soldiers slain at the above battle of Towton, as follow:—

Noblemen.

Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland.
Thomas Courtney, Earl of Devonshire.
William Beaumont, Viscount Beaumont.
John Clifford, Lord Clifford.
John Nevile, Lord Nevile.
Lord Dacre.
Lord Henry Stafford, of Buckingham.
Lionel Welles, Lord Welles.
Anthony Rivers, Lord Scales.
Richard Welles, Lord Willoughby.
Sir Ralph Bigot, knight, Lord de Malley.

Knights.

Sir Ralph Grey.
Sir Richard Jeney.
Sir Harry Belingham.
Sir Andrew Trollop, with twenty-eight thousand, numbered by the hearlds.

For other accounts of the battle, see *exempli gratia* Barrett's *Battles and Battlefields in England;* Brooke's *Visits to Fields of Battle, in England, of the fifteenth century; The Yorkshire Archæological Journal, Volume* 10*; Weekly Supplement to the Yorkshire Herald,* March 5th, and 12th, 1927.

See also Field of battle between Towton and Saxton, in Yorkshire.

Another part of the field [Wakefield].

The Scene of Act I., Scene iv. The concluding part of the battle of Wakefield. The Lancastrians have been victorious. York is captured and is subjected to indignity, a paper crown being placed upon his head, after which he is put to death by Margaret's orders and his head placed over the gates of York city. According to some of the Chroniclers, Shakespeare has on this occasion deviated from history, the paper crown not being placed on the Duke of York's head till after it has been cut off. Rutland likewise was not killed by Clifford, till after his [Rutland's] father's death. [Some write that the Duke was taken alive, and in derision caused to stand upon a *mole-hill,* on whose heade they put a garland instead of a crowne, which they had fashioned and made of segges or bulrushes, and having so crowned him with that garlande, they kneeled downe afore him, as the Jewes did to Christie in scorne. *Malone.*]

The Battle of Wakefield was fought on the 30th of December, 1460. For descriptions of the battle see *exempli gratia* Brooke's *Visits to Fields of Battle, in England, of the fifteenth century;* Barrett's *Battles and Battlefields in England;* Tyas' *An Historical narrative of the Battle of Wakefield, in* 1460.

In the additions to Camden's *Britannia* it states that a large stone cross was raised on the spot where the Duke of York fell. This cross was demolished in the civil war. In 1897, to preserve the traditional site there was erected a monument, containing a figure of the Duke. This monument stands in Cock and Bottle Lane now Manygates Lane, which formed the ancient highway from Wakefield and the North to London, and bears the following inscription:

Richard x x Plantagenet Duke of x x York x x x Fighting x for the x x cause of the White Rose fell on this spot in the Battle of x Wakefield December 30 : 1460 x	This stone is erected in 1897 x x by some who wish to preserve the traditional site

x Represents the White Rose of York. I am indebted for this inscription to Mr. J. Charlesworth of Wakefield.

See also Field of battle between Sandal Castle and Wakefield.

Antipodes. I. iv. 135.

> Thou art as opposite to every good
> As the Antipodes are unto us, [I. iv. 134–135.]

The region of the earth diametrically opposite to our own.

Archbishop of York. IV. iii. 54.

King Edward, taken prisoner by Warwick, then in arms against him, is sent to Middleham Castle :

> See that forthwith Duke Edward be convey'd
> Unto my brother, Archbishop of York.
> [IV. iii. 53–54.]

George Neville, fourth son of Richard Neville, first Earl of Salisbury, and the owner of Middleham Castle.

Cf. *Extract* 10 from Holinshed.

Atlas. V. i. 36.

In Greek mythology a Titan, king of Mauritania, condemned by Jupiter to the labour of bearing on his head the heaven he had attempted to destroy. His station was said to be the Atlas mountains in Africa, hence the poetical way of saying that the Atlas mountains, because of their loftiness, prop up the heavens. An 'Atlas,' *i.e.* a book of maps, so-called because it contains the world ; first used in this sense by Mercator, the title-page of his collection of maps having the figure of Atlas with the world on his back.

Attendants. V. vii. p.1.

Ave-Maries. II. i. 162.

> Numbering our Ave-Maries with our beads ?
> [II. i. 162.]

Cf. *Second Part of King Henry the Sixth*, I, iii 55, page 824.

Barnet. V. i. 110 ; V. iii. 20.

A town in Hertfordshire, and the Scene of Act V, Scenes ii and ii of this play. Here the Yorkists under Edward the Fourth gained a victory over the Lancastrians under Warwick on the 14th of April, 1471.

Before York. The Scene of Act II., Scene ii ; Act IV., Scene vii.

Act II, Scene ii. Henry and Margaret with the Prince of Wales and Clifford appear before York. [This took place after the battle of Wakefield and before the second battle of St. Albans.] Henry knights Prince Edward. [The Prince was at this time only nine years old, and was knighted after the second battle of St. Albans.] Edward, the new Duke of York appears with his forces, and an angry colloquy ensues. [This is altogether imaginary, but some of the allusions are founded on the *Chronicles*.] York upbraids Henry with perjury, and calls upon him to resign the crown. Courtenay remarks : "No parliament had sat, but Henry had by proclamation declared that the agreement for York's succession to the crown was void." The *Irving edition* quotes from Hall : "On the 4th of March Edward was received as king with acclamation at Baynard's Castle and at Westminster, and lodged in the bishops palace : Dayly makyng prouision, to go Northwarde against his aduerse faccion and open enemies, and on the morrow he was proclaymed kyng . . . throughout ye citie. While these thinges were in doyng in the Southpart, king Hēry beyng in the North-countrey, thinking because he had slayn the duke of Yorke, the chefe Capitayn of the contrary lynage, that he had brought all thyng to purpose and conclusion as he would, assembled a great army, trusting with litle payne and small losse, to destroy the residew of his enemies. Edward in a few days marched northward to Pontefract ; Henry and the queen lay at York. The fact that Edward had been formally recognized as king before he set out for the north is ignored in the play."

Act IV., Scene vii. Edward, who according to IV., v., had escaped from Middleham Castle and fled abroad, appears before York and demands admittance to the city. Being refused he vows that he seeks admittance as the "Duke of York" and friend to Henry. Having disarmed suspicion he is admitted, and demanding the keys of the gates, becomes responsible for the safety of the city. Courtenay remarks: "Edward rallied, being secretly supported by the Duke of Burgundy, and landed in Yorkshire, —at the very place, Ravenspur, it is said, where the first of the Lancastrian kings had disembarked; and like him Edward at first disclaimed—though he could scarcely expect to be believed—his pretensions to the crown; vowing that he sought only his paternal inheritance as Duke of York. It is even said, he raised the cry of "*Long live King Henry*, and wore in his cap the ostrich feather of the Prince of Wales. Some historians affirm, with doubtful accuracy, that the municipal authorities of York, required him to abjure his pretensions to the crown on the high altar of the cathedral." Montgomery with forces enters, and on hearing that Edward only claims the Dukedom of York, is about to march away, declaring that he came to "serve a king and not a duke," but when Edward boldly claims the crown, Montgomery throws down his gauntlet and challenges to fight anyone who disputes Edward's claim. Cf. *Extract* 14 from Holinshed.

Courtenay remarks: "I apprehend that this is the first scene in which Gloucester, who even now was only nineteen years old, ought to have been mentioned. Until this time he was a boy at the court of Burgundy.

Berwick. II. v. 128.

After the battle of Towton Henry is urged by Margaret to "post amain towards Berwick." Cf. *Extract* 6 from Holinshed.

Belgia. IV. viii. 1.

= Belgium.

Bess. V. vii. 15.

= Elizabeth, queen of King Edward the Fourth.

Bishop of York. IV. iv. 11; IV. v. 29.

And, as I further have to understand,
Is new committed to the Bishop of York,
Fell Warwick's brother, and by that our foe.

[IV. iv. 10–12.]

Bishop, farewell: shield thee from Warwick's frown,
And pray that I may repossess the crown.

[IV. v. 29–30].

= Archbishop of York (q.v.).

Bona, Sister to the French Queen. II. vi. 90; III, iii, p.1, 56, 65, 121, 128, 139, 197, 212, 217; IV. i. 31, 97; IV. iii. 57.

On the conclusion of the battle of Towton, Warwick suggests to Edward that he proceed to France and ask the "Lady Bona for thy queen." "Even as thou wilt, sweet Warwick, let it be"; replies Edward.

Welcomed by the French king, who enquires "What brings thee to France?" Warwick replies from "worthy Edward, King of Albion," to "crave a league of amity" and to confirm that amity with nuptial knot, if thou vouchsafe to grant That virtuous Lady Bona, thy fair sister, To England's king in lawful marriage.,

Lewis is favourably inclined towards the proposal, but before giving his consent asks Lady Bona her opinion in the matter, and Lady Bona, while admitting that she has often heard Edward's "desert recounted," which has caused "her ear" to "tempt judgment to desire," is willing to leave the decision to her brother.

Lewis then gives his consent, and orders "articles be drawn" forthwith, just as a messenger arrives with the news that Edward had contracted a secret marriage with Lady Grey.

Lewis is indignant at Edward's perfidy, and asks how "Dare he presume to scorn us in this manner?" and Warwick "in sight of heaven, And by the hope I have of heavenly bliss," protests that he is "clear from this misdeed of Edward's," while Lady Bona expresses the hope that he will "prove a widower shortly," for which she will "wear the willow garland for his sake."

[The Princess Bona, third daughter of Lewis, first Duke of Savoy, and the younger sister of Charlotte, queen of Lewis XI. She married Galeazzo-Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan.]

Bourbon. III. iii. p.1, 252.

And thou, Lord Bourbon, our high admiral,
Shall waft them over with our royal fleet.
[III. iii. 252–253.]

Louis, Count of Roussillon, and Lord High Admiral of France, son of Charles, Duke of Bourbon, and grandson to the Duke of Bourbon, a character in *King Henry V.*, taken prisoner at the battle of Agincourt.

He was ordered by Lewis, King of France to "waft over" Margaret and her followers "with our royal fleet."

Hall says: "When the league was concluded, the Frenche kyng lent them shippes, monie, and men, and . . . appoynted the Bastard of Burgoyn, Admirall of Fraunce with a greate nauie, to defende them . . . that thei might the surer saile into England."

Breech from Lancaster. V. v. 24.

That you might still have worn the petticoat,
And ne'er have stol'n the breech from Lancaster.
[V. v. 23–24.]

A reference to the old saying of a shrewish wife who usurps the prerogative of her husband. Cf. *Second Part of King Henry the Sixth*, I. iii. 145.

Brittany. II. vi. 97.

And then to Brittany I 'll cross the sea,
To effect this marriage, so it please my lord.
[II. vi. 97–98.]

The Quarto gives 'France.'

Brittany. IV. vi. 97, 101.

Therefore, Lord Oxford, to prevent the worst,
Forthwith we 'll send him hence to Brittany,
Till storms be past of civil enmity. [IV. vi. 96–98.]

Hart quotes from Hall: "When Iasper erle of Pembroke was credibly asserteyned that quene Margarete had lost the battayle of Tewkesburye, and that there was no more . . . reliefe to be had for the parte of poore Kyng Henry . . . thence to Tynbye a hauen toune in Wales, where he getting conuenient shyppes for to transport hym and hys ouer the sea into Fraunce with hys nephew lord Henry erle of Rychemounde, and a few of his familiers toke ship, and by fortunes leadyng, landed in Brytayne." Cf. *Extract* 13 from Holinshed.

Buckingham. IV. viii. 14.

The County of Buckinghamshire,

Burgundy. II. i. 143.

And when came George from Burgundy to England?
[II. i. 143.]

This is a misstatement. Immediately after the battle of Wakefield, George and his brother Richard were sent into Flanders for safety, and did not return until their brother Edward got possession of the crown. George was only twelve years old and Richard nine at this time.

Burgundy. IV. vi. 79, 90; IV. vii. 6.

My lord, I like not of this flight of Edward's;
For doubtless Burgundy will yield him help,
And we shall have more wars before 't be long.
[IV. vi. 89–91.]

Well have we pass'd, and now repass'd the seas,
And brought desired help from Burgundy.
[IV, vii, 5-6.]

Charles the Bold, son of the Duke of Burgundy in the *First Part of King Henry the Sixth.* Hart quotes from Hall: "when the duke saw that Kyng Eduard upon hope of his frendes, would nedes repaire into England again, he caused priuily to be deliuered to him fiftie M. Florence, of the crosse of Saincte Andrew, and further caused foure greate shyppes to be appoynted for him . . . and xiiij shippes of the Easterlynges, well appointed . . . to serue him truly. . . . The Duke of Burgoyne as men reported, cared not much on whose side the victory fell, sauing for paiment of his money . . . he was frend to bothe partes and eche parte was frendly to hym." Cf. IV. viii. 1–5:

Edward from Belgia,
With hasty Germans and blunt Hollanders,
Hath pass'd in safety through the narrow seas,
And with his troops doth march amain to London;
And many giddy people flock to him.

Cæsar. III. i. 18.

No bending knee will call thee Cæsar now, [III. i. 18.]

Cæsar. V. v. 53.

They that stabb'd Cæsar shed no blood at all,
Did not offend, nor were not worthy blame,
If this foul deed were by to equal it: [V. v. 53–55.]

An allusion to the murder of Julius Cæsar.

Calais. I. i. 238.

Warwick is chancellor and the lord of Calais;
[I. i. 238.]

Grafton says: "In which Parliament also the Duke of Yorke was made Protector of the

Realme, and the Erle of Salisbury was appoynted to be Chauncelor, & had the great Seale to him deliuered : and the Erle of Warwike was elected to the office of the Capteyne of Calice, and territories of the same."

Cliffords, Two. V. vii. 7.

> Have we mow'd down in tops of all their pride !
> Three Dukes of Somerset, threefold renown'd
> For hardy and undoubted champions ;
> Two Cliffords, as the father and the son ; [V. vii. 4–7.]

Thomas Clifford, 12th Baron. Slain at the first battle of St. Albans.

John de Clifford, 13th Baron, fought at Wakefield. Slain, near Ferrybridge.

Coventry.

The Scene of Act V., Scene i. At the opening of this Act we find Warwick with the Lancastrian forces in possession of Coventry. Edward with his forces appears and ordering Warwick to surrender, tells him that Henry is a prisoner in the tower. [This is inaccurate. Henry was in possession of the government at this time, the Coventry events having transpired before Edward's capture of Henry.] Warwick is joined by his brother Montague, Oxford and Somerset. Clarence and his forces now arrive, and a parley ensues between him and his brothers with the result that Clarence discards his red rose and leaves Warwick. The scene closes with Edward accepting Warwick's challenge to fight at Barnet. [Hart quotes from Hall : " In the meane season Kyng Edward . . . avaunced his power towards Couentrie, & in a playne by the citie he pytched his felde. And the next day . . . he valiantly bad the erle battayle : which mistrustyng that he should be deceaued by the duke of Clarence (as he was in dede) kept hym selfe close within the walles. And yet he had perfect worde ye duke of Clarence came . . . with a great army, Kynge Edward being also thereof enformed, raysed hys campe, & made toward the duke . . . as though he would fight. When eche hoste was in sight of other, Rychard duke of Glocester, brother to them both, as though he had beene made arbiter . . . rode to the duke . . . from him he came to Kyng Edward . . . in conclusion . . . both the bretheren louingly embraced & commoned together . . . thys marchandyse was labored . . . by a damsell, when the duke was in the French court, to the erles utter confusion . . . Clarence sent diuers frendes (to the earl) to excuse him of the act he had done . . . (and) . . . to take some good ende now while he might with kyng Edward. When the erle had hard paciently the dukes message, lord, howe he destested & accursed him . . . he gaue aunswere . . . that he had leuer be always lyke hym selfe, then like a false & a periured duke, and that he was fully determined neuer to leue wat tyll either he had lost hys owne lyfe, or . . . put under his foes and enemies. Warwick then hurries toward London hoping to overtake and fight King Edward on the way, the latter having proceeded there at once. On his way he learns that he is late and Henry is taken prisoner. He determines therefore to hazard all on one battle and ' pitched his field ' on an hill at Barnet, ten miles distant from both London and Saint Albans."]

Coventry. IV. viii. 32, 58, 64.

In Warwickshire, where Warwick announces he intends collecting his army ; and the Scene of Act V., Scene i., of this play.

Crete. V. vi. 18.

> Why, what a peevish fool was that of Crete, [V. vi. 18.]

An allusion to Dædalus (q.v.).

Dædalus. V. vi. 21.

> I, Dædalus ; my poor boy, Icarus ; [V. vi. 21.]

In Greek mythology an architect and mechanic. He was the inventor and constructor of the famous Cretan labyrinth, in which he, and his son Icarus, was confined for furnishing a clue to it to Ariadne. By the help of wings which he constructed he fled across the Ægean sea in order to escape the resentment of Minos.

Daintry. V. i. 6.

Daventry, a town in Northamptonshire. The second messenger reports that Montague—Warwick's brother—would at that time have arrived at Daintry with his forces. The quartos read " at Dunsmore."

Dauphin. I. i. 108 ; II. ii. 151.

The title of the heir apparent to the French throne.

Dian. IV. viii. 21.

= Diana.

Dick. V. v. 35.

And thou misshapen Dick, I tell ye all
I am your better, traitors as ye are; [V. v. 35–36.]

An allusion to Gloucester's deformity.

Dicky. I. iv. 76.

And where 's that valiant crook-back prodigy,
Dicky your boy, that with his grumbling voice
Was wont to cheer his dad in mutinies? [I. iv. 75–77.]

Richard, Duke of Gloucester, used contemptuously by Queen Margaret.

Di faciant laudis summa sit ista tuæ! I. iii. 48.

"The gods grant that this be the culmination of thy glory." This line is from Ovid's *Epistle rom Phillis to Demophoon*. The same quotation occurs in Nash's pamphlet *Have with you to Saffron Walden*.

Diomede. IV. ii. 19.

That as Ulysses and stout Diomede
With sleight and manhood stole to Rhesus' tents,
And brought from thence the Thracian fatal steeds,
[IV. ii. 19–21.]

See Rhesus.

Duchess of Burgundy. II. i. 146.

And for your brother, he was lately sent
From your kind aunt, Duchess of Burgundy,
With aid of soldiers to this needful war.
[II. i. 146–148.]

Isabel, Duchess of Burgundy, was daughter of John the First, King of Portugal by Philippa of Lancaster, eldest daughter of John of Gaunt. Edward and she were, therefore, no more than third cousins.

Duke of Buckingham. I. i. 10.

Lord Stafford's father, Duke of Buckingham,
Is either slain or wounded dangerous;
I cleft his beaver with a downright blow:
[I. i. 10–12.]

Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham. Edward Earl of March here boasts of having either slain or wounded him at the battle of St. Albans, but according to the *Chronicle* Buckingham fell at the battle of Northampton in 1460. The *Irving edition* quotes from Hall: "Humfrey duke of Buckyngham, beyng wounded, & Iames Butler erle of Wiltshire & Ormond, seyng fortunes loweryng chaunce, left the king poste a lone & with a greate numbre fled away. What is said in the text happened after the battle of Northampton, when there "were slayn Humfrey duke of Buckyngham, Ihon Talbot erle of Shrewesbury, a valeant person, and not degenerating frō his noble parent." See also *Second Part of King Henry the Sixth*, page 829. Buckingham was the son of the Lord Stafford mentioned in the *First Part of King Henry the Fourth*.

Duke of Clarence. II. vi. 105.

Let me be Duke of Clarence, George of Gloucester,
For Gloucester's dukedom is too ominous.
[II. vi. 107.]

See Gloucester's dukedom.

Duke of Exeter. I. i. p.50, 72, 80, 147, 191, 211; II. v. p.124, 137; IV. viii. p.1, 34, 48.

Is present at the Parliament-house in the opening scene. He bids York to come down from the throne, and is charged by Warwick with being a traitor in supporting Henry. Later he admits that his conscience tells him that York is the lawful king, and on the entry of Margaret "whose looks bewray her anger" threatens to "steal away."

Is present at the battle of Towton and urges Henry not to "expostulate" but to escape, for "vengeance comes along with them."

[Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter, son of John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon; married Anne Plantagenet, sister to Edward IV., but remained a faithful adherent of the House of Lancaster. He was present at the battles of Wakefield where the Lancastrians were successful, and at Towton and Barnet, being severely wounded in the latter battle. He was attainted by Edward IV., and fell into the deepest poverty.]

Duke of Lancaster. I. i. 87, 88.

War. Be Duke of Lancaster: let him be king.
West. He is both king and Duke of Lancaster;
[I. i. 87–88.]

Warwick urges Henry to be "Duke of Lancaster" as a descendant of John of Gaunt, but

Westmoreland retorts that he is both "king and Duke of Lancaster."

Duke of Norfolk. I. i. p.1, 31; I. ii. 38; II. i. 138, 142, 179, 206; II. ii. p.81.

John Mowbray, third Duke of Norfolk.

Enters the Parliament-house and supports York in his claim to the crown, remarking that "he that flies shall die." Later he takes an oath to support Henry, but in 1460 renewed his allegiance to the House of York. He is present at the battle of St. Albans, and fought at Towton in 1461.

Duke of Somerset. IV. i. p.1, 27, 127; IV. ii. p.3, 3, 7; IV. iii. p.23, p.28, 52; IV. vi. p.1, 65; V. i. p.72, 72, 73; V. ii. p.29; V. iii. 15; V. iv. p.1, 17, 58; V. v. p.1, 3; V. vii. 5.

Edmund Beaufort, fourth and last Duke of Somerset; son of Edmund Beaufort, second Duke of Somerset and brother of Henry Beaufort, third Duke of Somerset.

First appears in the play in IV., i., where he, and other nobles, are requested by King Edward IV., to "set aside their scorns and their mislikes" and "speak freely what you think" of his marriage with Lady Grey.

When Edward IV. is taken prisoner in his tent near Warwick he is given in custody of Somerset who conveys him to Middleham Castle.

He has the charge of "young Henry, Earl of Richmond" and resolves to send him to Brittany "Till storms be past of civil enmity."

Commanded the Archers of the Lancastrian army at the battle of Barnet Field, and fought on the side of Queen Margaret at Tewkesbury, and being taken prisoner, was, in spite of a promise of pardon, beheaded by order of King Edward.

> Away with Oxford to Hames Castle straight:
> For Somerset, off with his guilty head. [V. v. 2, 3.]

Duke of York. I. i. 105.

> Thy father was, as thou art, Duke of York.
> [I. i. 105.]

A mistake. The father of Richard, Duke of York was the Earl of Cambridge and was never Duke of York. He was beheaded during the lifetime of his elder brother Edward Duke of York who was slain at the battle of Agincourt.

Dukes of Somerset, Three. V. vii. 5.

> Have we mow'd down in tops of all their pride!
> Three Dukes of Somerset, threefold renown'd
> For hardy and undoubted champions; [V. vii. 4–6.]

Edmund Beaufort, Second Duke of Somerset. Killed at the first battle of St. Albans, 1455.

Henry Beaufort, Third Duke of Somerset. Defeated the Yorkists at the second battle of St. Albans. Pardoned by Edward the Fourth; but rejoined Margaret. Taken prisoner at the battle of Hexham and executed.

Edmund Beaufort, Fourth Duke of Somerset. Taken prisoner at the battle of Tewkesbury and executed.

Dunsmore. V. i. 3.

Dunsmore Heath is four miles south-west of Rugby and about half way between Daventry and Coventry. The first messenger reports that the Earl of Oxford with his forces is at this place. The quartos read "at Daintry," *i.e.* Daventry.

Earl of Northumberland. I. i. p.50, 54; I. iv. p.27, 27, 53, 66, 172; II. i. 3, 169; II. ii. p.1, 109; V. vii. 8.

In the Parliament-house in the first scene of the Play King Henry reminds Northumberland that he has vowed revenge on the house of York for having slain his father at the battle of St. Albans.

Later in the scene, Henry submits to York's conditions. Northumberland describes this submission as an "unmanly deed":

> Be thou a prey unto the house of York,
> And die in bands for this unmanly deed!
> [I. i. 185–186.]

and forthwith leaves the room with Clifford and Westmoreland.

He takes part in the battle of Wakefield, and seeing the "inly sorrow" that "grips the soul" of York due to the indignity meted out to him, weeps over his fallen foe.

He led the vanguard of the Lancastrians at the battle of Towton, and fell fighting, sword in hand.

In V., vii., King Edward IV. pays a tribute to his memory.

[Sir Henry Percy, third Earl of Northumberland, son of Sir Henry Percy, second Earl of Northumberland, and grandson of Sir Henry Percy, called "Hotspur."]

Earl of Oxford. III. iii. p.1, 88, 98, 109, 234; IV. ii. p.1; IV. iii. p.23; IV. vi. p.1, 96; IV. viii. p.1, 17, 30; V. i. 1, p.58, 58, 59, 66; V. ii. p.29; V. iii. 15; V. iv. p.1, 16, 58; V. v. p.1, 2.

John de Vere, thirteenth Earl of Oxford, hereditary Lord Chamberlain of England, son of John de Vere, twelfth Earl of Oxford.

A retainer to Queen Margaret when she visits the French Court to solicit aid of Lewis the Eleventh. Asking Warwick how he can "without a blush" oppose Henry, whom he has supported for thirty-six years, Warwick endeavours to draw Oxford over to his side, but Oxford, who has rebelled against Edward for having condemned to death his father and elder brother, replies "while life upholds this arm, This arm upholds the house of Lancaster."

With drum and colours enters Coventry, where he is welcomed by Warwick who has joined Henry in consequence of Edward's marriage to Lady Grey.

Is present at the battle of Barnet, being in command of a wing of King Henry's army; and fights on the side of Queen Margaret at Tewkesbury. He afterwards defended Saint Michael's Mount, and upon its surrender was taken captive, and imprisoned in Hames Castle for twelve years:

> Away with Oxford to Hames Castle straight:
> For Somerset, off with his guilty head. [V. v. 2–3.]

[The Earl of Oxford is also a character in King Richard the Third (q.v.)]

Earl of Pembroke. IV. i. p.9, 130; IV. iii. 55.

Appears only in two scenes of the play.

In IV., i., he is, with Stafford, commanded by King Edward to "levy men, and make prepare for war"; and in IV., iii., Warwick, after requesting Somerset to convey Edward to Middleton Castle in the custody of the Archbishop of York, promises to follow when he has "fought with Pembroke and his fellows."

[Sir William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, Yorkist. Knighted by Henry VI.; created Baron Herbert, 1461; K.G. 1462; and on the attainder of Jasper Tudor in 1468 created Earl of Pembroke; defeated and captured by the Lancastrians at the battle of Edgecote, and executed. One of his sons, Sir Walter Herbert, is a character in *King Richard the Third*.]

Earl of Warwick. I. i. p.1, 28, 47, 52, 89, 93, 99, 170, 192, 229, 238; I. ii. 37, 56; II. i. p.95, 96, 101, 142, 148, 157, 166, 186, 188, 189; II. ii. 69, p.81, 102, 131; II. iii. p.1, 14, 19, 33, 44; II. iv. p.12, 12; II. v. 65, 126; II. vi. 29, p.31, 89, 99, 104; III. i. 29, 33, 42, 48; III. iii. p.44, 45, 46, 66, 81, 95, 106, 111, 112, 113, 134, 141, 156, 162, 168, 171, 180, 199, 233, 246, 248; IV. i. 5, 11, 15, 16, 32, 34, 107, 115, 117, 120, 123, 136, 137, 149; IV. ii. p.1, 6, 29; IV. iii. 6, 8, 18, p.23, p.28, 31, 44; IV. iv. 4, 11, 25, 35; IV. v. 29; IV. vi. p.1, 16, 23, 32, 46; IV. vii. 81, 85; IV. viii. p.1, 59; V. i. p.1, 13, 17, 21, 27, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 47, 48, 57, 80, 81, 85, 98, 107, 112; V. ii. p.1, 2, 4, 6, 22, 29, 40, 41, 47, 49; V. iv. 13; V. viii. 10.

Warwick, described by Margaret as the "Proud setter up and puller down of kings!" ends his career in this part.

He is present at the Parliament-house and supports York in his claim to the throne:

> Victorious Prince of York,
> Before I see thee seated in that throne
> Which now the house of Lancaster usurps,
> I vow by heaven these eyes shall never close.
> This is the palace of the fearful king,
> And this the regal seat: possess it, York;
> For this is thine and not King Henry's heirs.
> [I. i. 21–27.]

York takes his seat on the throne and King Henry entering, an altercation takes place between the nobles assembled. Warwick demands that Henry resign the crown or he will "fill the house with armed men." Warwick stamps his foot, soldiers enter, and Henry asks permission to let him reign during his life-time, after which the crown shall revert to York and his heirs.

Defeated at the battle of St. Albans by Margaret's forces he meets Edward after the latter had routed the Lancastrian army at Mortimer's

Cross, and suggests marching to London to proclaim Edward king.

He is present before York, where he demands Henry "yield the crown," and is taunted by Margaret:

> Why, how now, long-tongued Warwick! dare you speak?
> When you and I met at Saint Alban's last,
> Your legs did better service than your hands.
> [II. ii. 102–104.]

After the battle of Towton, where he killed his horse before he would flee, is commissioned by Edward to proceed to France to ask for the hand of the Lady Bona in marriage. He is successful in his mission, but news being received that Edward has secretly married Lady Grey, Warwick protests to the French king that he is "in the sight of heaven clear from this misdeed of Edward's" and threatens to "revenge his wrong to Lady Bona."

Warwick becomes reconciled to Margaret and agrees to marry his daughter to her son, the young Prince Edward.

Lewis gives orders for "England's messenger" to return, and "tell false Edward, thy supposed king, That Lewis of France is sending over masquers To revel it with him and his new bride, while Warwick for the "wrong he hath done me" will "uncrown him ere 't be long."

Returning to England he surprises Edward and takes him prisoner in his tent near Warwick, and restores Henry VI. to the throne.

With forces he arrives at Coventry, where Clarence, who is opposed to the Lancastrian restoration, goes over to the Yorkist side.

They march away towards London, and join battle at Barnet on the 14th April, 1471, Warwick being defeated and slain.

Margaret addressing her troops at Tewkesbury refers to him as "our anchor," and in the last scene Edward pays a tribute to the bravery of Warwick and Montague, describing them as "two brave bears, That in their chains fetter'd the kingly lion, And made the forest tremble when they roar'd."

Earl of Westmoreland. I. i. p.50, 61, 88.

Appears in the Parliament-house in the first scene of the play.

He suggests "plucking York from the throne," for his anger is so great he cannot endure it, but when Henry submits to York's conditions, calls him "Base, fearful, and despairing Henry! and bidding him "Farewell, faint-hearted and degenerate king," leaves the room in company with Northumberland and Clifford.

[Ralph Neville, second Earl of Westmoreland and grandson of Ralph Neville, sixth Baron Neville of Raby, and first Earl of Westmoreland. His first wife was Elizabeth Percy, daughter of Sir Henry Percy, called "Hotspur."]

Earl of Wiltshire. I. i. 14.

> And, brother, here 's the Earl of Wiltshire's blood,
> Whom I encounter'd as the battles join'd.
> [I. i. 14–15.]

James Butler, fifth Earl of Ormonde and Earl of Wiltshire, eldest son of James Butler, fourth Earl. He was a Lancastrian, and fought at St. Albans—where he was wounded—Wakefield, Mortimer's Cross and at Towton where he was captured and beheaded in 1460.

See also Duke of Buckingham. I. i. 10.

Edmund, Earl of Rutland. I. iii. p.1; I. iv. 74, 79, 88, 146; II. ii. 98, 115; II. iv. 3, 7; II. vi. 48, 74, 84.

Third son of Richard, third Duke of York. When not yet eighteen years of age was stabbed to death by Lord Clifford at the battle of Wakefield, 30th December, 1460, on the plea that "Thy father slew my father; therefore die."

Edward, Earl of March, afterwards King Edward the Fourth. I. i. p.1; I. ii. p.1, 40, 54; I. iv. 11; I. v. p.1; II. i. 63, 179, 191, 192, 198; II. ii. 69, p.81, 130; II. iii. p.6, 7; II. v. 66, 129; II. vi. 7, 16, 29, p.31; III. i. 30, 44, 46, 52, 69, 94, 95; III. ii. p.1, 89, 124, 129; III. iii. 27, 45, 49, 67, 100, 114, 134, 139, 146, 180, 183, 223, 235, 254, 256, 265; IV. i. p.9, 15, 65, 77, 93, 126, 144; IV. ii. 10, 23; IV. iii. 25, p.28, 35, 43, 49, 53, 58; IV. iv. 3, 18, 24, 28, 32; IV. v. p.14; IV. vi. 2, 54, 78, 89, 99; IV. vii. p.1, 21, 38, 43, 68, 69, 71, 73, 75; IV. viii. 1, 35, 47, p.52; V. i. p.16, 18, 23, 28, 39, 100, 111, 112; V. ii. p.1, 6; V. iii. p.1; V. iv. 25, 60, p.67;

V. v. p.1, 14, 17, 34 ; V. vi. 24, 87 ; V. vii. p.1.

In the opening scene of the play, Edward accompanies York to the Parliament-house, where he advises his father to seize the crown : " Sweet father, do so ; set it on your head."

After a compromise has been effected declaring York as heir-apparent, Edward leaves for the Welsh Marches, and gathering together a large army defeats the Lancastrians at Mortimer's Cross.

While he and his brother Richard are " wondering " how their father has fared at the battle of Wakefield, there appears in the sky a strange phenomenon, just as a messenger enters with the news that York has been defeated and slain. He is followed by Warwick, Montague and their army, and Warwick informs Edward that having heard the news of York's death ten days ago, he had gathered together a large force and encountered Margaret's force at St. Albans, where the Yorkists had been defeated and Henry had escaped.

In 1461 he proclaimed himself king, and gained a decisive victory over the Lancastrians at Towton.

In 1464 he secretly married Lady Grey, widow of Sir John Grey who was killed at St. Albans fighting on the side of Lancaster, while negotiations were on foot for a match with the Lady Bona of Savoy. Offended at Edward's faithlessness, Warwick goes over to the Lancastrian side, and threatens to dethrone Edward :

> Tell him from me that he hath done me wrong,
> And therefore I 'll uncrown him ere 't be long.
> [III. iii. 231–232.]

Is surprised and taken prisoner by Warwick in his tent near Warwick, and placed in the custody of the Archbishop of York. Escaping, he seeks refuge in Holland, but returning in 1471 at the head of an army, marches south, defeats and slays Warwick at the battle of Barnet, and proceeding to Tewkesbury, utterly defeats the Lancastrian forces under Queen Margaret.

[King Edward the Fourth is also a character in *King Richard the Third* (q.v.).]

Edward, Prince of Wales, son to King Henry the Sixth. I. i. p.211, 259 ; I. iv. p.27 ; II. ii. p.1, 60, 61, 175 ; II. v. p.124 ; II. ii. 130 ; III. iii. p.1, 31, 65, 73, 109, 245 ; IV. i. 117 ; IV. vi. 60 ; V. iv. p.1 ; V. v. 9, 11, 12, 51.

The only son of Henry VI. [The *Paston Letters*, edited by Gairdner, gives an account of the presentation of the infant Prince to his father. *See* Nos. 195 and 226.]

With his mother enters the Parliament-house, and after protesting against being disinherited, leaves in company with the queen, declaring that he will not see his father again until " I return with victory from the field."

He is " dubbed " knight by his father, who bids him to " draw his sword in right," and the Prince boldly declares he will

> draw it as apparent to the crown,
> And in that quarrel use it to the death. [II. ii. 64–65.]

After the defeat of the Lancastrian forces at Towton, escapes with the queen to France to solicit aid of the French king, where, after Warwick's defection, he becomes affianced to Warwick's daughter.

Returning to England he is present at the battle of Tewkesbury, and being taken prisoner is brought before Edward who demands to know " what satisfaction he can make For bearing arms," and the gallant Prince tells him he must " Speak like a subject " for he is " now his father's mouth " and denounces the Yorkists as traitors. Edward threatens to " charm his tongue," but the Prince courageously replies :

> I know my duty ; you are all undutiful.
> Lascivious Edward, and thou perjured George,
> And thou misshapen Dick, I tell ye all
> I am your better, traitors as ye are ; [V. v. 33–36.]

Edward, Gloucester and Clarence, enraged at his defiance, stab him to death. His body was interred in the Church of the monastery of the black monks in Tewkesbury.

" Immediately beneath the centre of the tower is a brass marking the traditional burial-place of Edward, Prince of Wales, only son of Henry VI. The inscription is as follows : *Hic jacet Edwardus Princeps Walliae crudeliter interfectus dum adhuc juvenis anno Domino* 1471, *mense maii die quarto. Eheu, hominum furor : matris tu sola lux es, et gregis ultima spes.* (Here lies Edward Prince of Wales, cruelly slain whilst but a youth, on May 4th, 1471. Alas, the savagery of men ! thou art the sole light of thy mother, and the last hope of thy race.) " *A New hand-*

book and guide to Tewkesbury Abbey, by Rev. Canon Ernest F. Smith.

Edward's camp near Warwick.

The Scene of Act IV., Scene iii. Being ill-guarded, Edward is surprised and taken prisoner and given in the custody of the Archbishop of York — Warwick's brother — at Middleham Castle, after which Oxford suggests that they proceed forthwith to London and free Henry, who is a prisoner in the Tower, to which Warwick agrees. Cf. *Extract* 10 *and* 12 from Holinshed. [According to Hall, Edward was captured shortly after the battle of Danesmoor.]

Elysium. I. ii. 30.

The happy abode of the blessed, who spent their time in the enjoyment of every species of felicity.

England. IV. i. 40.

> Why, knows not Montague that of itself
> England is safe, if true within itself ? [IV. i. 39–40.]

The corresponding passage in *The True Tragedy* is :

> Let England be true within it selfe,
> We need not France nor any alliance with them.

Cf. *King John*, V. vii. 117–118 :

> Nought shall make us rue,
> If England to itself do rest but true.

England. I. ii. 9.

The crown of England.

England. I. i. 128, 177 ; I. iv. 70 ; II. i. 143 ; IV. vii. 72.

England's hope. IV. vi. 68.

= Henry, Earl of Richmond (q.v.).

England's messenger. III. iii. 222.

= The Post, who brought letters to Warwick, the King of France and Margaret announcing the marriage of Edward to Lady Grey.

Essex. I. i. 156.

The County of Essex.

Europe. II. i. 71.

> O Clifford, boisterous Clifford ! thou has slain
> The flower of Europe for his chivalry ; [II. i. 70–71.]

Grafton says : " The xv. day of Iune was borne the kinges first sonne at Woodstock, and was named Edward, which in processe of tyme did grow to a noble and famous man, and was in his dayes accompted the Flower of all Chyrualrye throughout all the worlde, and also some writers name him the black prince."

Excursions. II. iii. p.1 ; II. iv. p.1 ; II. v. p.125 ; V. ii. p.1.

= Sallies.

A Father who has killed his son. II. v. p.79.

At the battle of Towton enters with a dead body which he intends to rob. He recognises the dead man as his son and bitterly remarks: "O boy, thy father gave thee life too soon, And hath bereft thee of thy life too late ! Henry laments at the father's grief, and wishes " that my death would stay these ruthful deeds ! "

Faulconbridge. I. i. 239.

> Stern Faulconbridge commands the narrow seas ;
> [I, i, 239].

Grafton says : " After thys battayle, king Edwarde rendred to God hys most humble thankes, and with good diligence returned toward London, for he was enformed how one Thomas Neuel, Bastard sonne to Thomas Lorde Fauconbridge the valyaunt capitayne, a man of no lesse courage then audacitie (who for hys euyll conditions was such an apt person, that a more meeter could not be chosen to set all the world in a broyle, and to put the estate of the realme in an yll hazarde) had of newe begon a great commocion. Thys Bastarde was before thys time appoynted by the Erle of Warwike to be Viceadmyrall of the sea, and had in charge so to keepe the passage betwene Douer and Calice, that none which either fauored King Edward or his friends should escape vntaken or vndrowned. And when by the death of the Erle of Warwike, he was brought into pouertie, he robbed both

on the Sea and the lande, as well hys enemies as also his friendes: By reason whereof he gat together a great Nauie of shippes, and spoyled on euery side, and at the laste tooke lande in Kent, and gathered together a great company of Kentish men, such as were most meete for hys purpose, and so marched toward London, where the Essex men hauyng wylde whay wormes in their heades, ioyned them wyth him, sauing that their comming and quarell was to deliuer out of captiuity king Henry the sixt, and to bring him to his wife, but whatsoeuer their outward wordes were, their inward cogitations were onely hope of spoyle, & desyre to rob and pill. For the Bastard himselfe assaulted the drawbridge of London, and a Capitayne of his called Spisyng scaled Algate with the Essex men, harnessed in their wyfes Cheesecloutes, which assaults were deadly geuen, and manfully resisted, in so much that on both parte manye were slayne and hurt, but at the last the Citizens put back the rebelles, and slue and wounded a great number of them, and draue the Bastard from all hys pray to hys shippes, liyng at Radclyffe, which hauing a good and prosperous winde, made sayle with all haste, and roued on the Sea, as before he was accustomed. . . . Now to returne to Bastard Faulconbridge, waueryng hether & thether in the doubtfull surges of the Sea, as sure of hys lyfe on the water as on the lande, which eyther thinking that no man would see hym, or that all men were blinde, and could not espie him (and especially in so secret a place) came into the open hauen of Southampton, and there tooke lande, where he was not long vntaken, but shortlie behedded."

Field of battle between Sandal Castle and Wakefield.

The Scene of Act I., Scene iii. The first part of the battle of Wakefield. Young Rutland—son to the Duke of York—is slain by Clifford. See *Extract* 3 from Holinshed and *under* Tutor. Rutland was born in 1443 and was twelve years old when his father killed the elder Clifford at the battle of St. Albans, and therefore at the time of his death was in his eighteenth year. The chroniclers make him five years younger for each event.

See also Another part of the field. [Wakefield.]

Field of battle between Towton and Saxton, in Yorkshire.

The Scene of Act II., Scene iii. This scene evidently refers to the action at Ferrybridge, which precedes the battle of Towton, where Lord Fitzwalter—brother to the Earl of Warwick—was slain. On being informed of his death, Warwick, who had withdrawn from the fight, swore he would kill his horse rather than again retreat. "The Lord Fitzwater, being stationed by King Edward, to defend the pass at Ferrybridge, was assaulted by the Lord Clifford, and immediately slain, and with hym, the bastard of Salisbury, brother to the earl of Warwycke, a valeaunt yong gentleman, and of great audacitie. When the earl of Warwicke, was informed of this feate, he lyke a man desperated, mounted on his hackeney, and came blowing to kyng Edwarde, saiyng: Syr, I praye God have mercy of their soules, which in the beginning of your enterprise hath lost their lyfes, and because of se no succors of the world, I remit the vengeance and punishment to God our creator and Redeemer; and with that lighted doune, and slewe his horse with his swourde, saying: let them flye thay wyl, for surely I wil tarye with him that wil tarye with me, and kissed the crosse of his swourde." *Hall.*

See also Another part of the field. [Towton.]

Field of battle near Barnet.

The Scene of Act V., Scene ii. In this battle which was fought on the 14th April, 1471, the Yorkists were victorious, Warwick himself being slain. The scene opens with Edward bringing forth Warwick, who is mortally wounded, and telling him to "lie down and die," goes in search of Montague—Warwick's brother. Oxford and Somerset enter and Warwick, who is at the point of death, moans for Montague. Being told that Montague has "breathed his last" Warwick counsels Oxford and Somerset to save themselves by flight, and passes away, and Oxford and other nobles leave forthwith to meet Margaret, who has landed in England from France at the head of a large force.

See also Another part of the field. [Barnet.]

Flanders. IV. v. 22.

To Lynn, my lord;
And ship from thence to Flanders. [IV. v. 21–22.]

See Lynn.

Forest in the North of England.

The Scene of Act III., Scene i. There is an interval of over three years between the last scene of Act II. and the opening of the Third Act. After being defeated at Towton, Henry, with the queen and prince, retired into Scotland. From Scotland, Margaret went to France to ask help of the French king. Meanwhile—in 1464—the Lancastrians were defeated at Hedgely Moor and at Hexham. Both of these battles are passed over by the dramatist. In 1465 Henry was arrested in Lancashire.

France. III. i. 28.

My queen and son are gone to France for aid;
[III. i. 28.]

Cf. *Extract* 8 from Holnshed.

France. III. iii. 20.

Be plain, Queen Margaret, and tell thy grief;
It shall be eas'd, if France can yield relief.
[III. iii. 19–20.]

Lewis promises, if possible, to assist Margaret.

France. IV. i. 42.

'Tis better using France than trusting France.
Let us be back'd with God and with the seas
Which he hath given for fence impregnable,
And with their helps only defend ourselves:
In them and in ourselves our safety lies.
[IV. i. 42–46.]

Johnson remarks: "This has been the advice of every man who in any age understood and favoured the interest of England."

France. V. ii. 31.

The queen from France hath brought a puissant power;
Even now we heard the news. [V. ii. 31–32.]

The following is from the *Memoirs of Philip de Commines, Lord of Argenton*, edited by Andrew R. Scoble: "The Prince of Wales (of whom I have spoken before) had landed in England before this battle, and had joined his forces with those of the Dukes of Exeter and Somerset, and several others of their family and party; so that in all (as I have been informed by those who were in that army) they amounted to above 40,000 men. If the Earl of Warwick had stayed till he had been joined by those forces, in all probability they had won the day. But the fear he had of the Duke of Somerset, whose father and brother he had put to death, and the hatred he bore to Queen Margaret, mother to the Prince of Wales, induced him to fight alone, without waiting for them."

France. I. i. 110, 127; I. ii. 73; I. iv. 111; II. ii. 150, 157; II. vi. 89, 92; III. iii. 46, 86, 91, 155, 177, 255; IV. i. 4, 36, 41, 85; IV. vi. 61; IV. vii. 72; V. iv. 18.

France. The King's Palace.

The Scene of Act III., Scene iii. Margaret appears at the French court to ask aid of Lewis XI. She is winning over Lewis to her side when Warwick arrives to ask for the hand of the Lady Bona, sister to the French king, for Edward. Lewis consents to the marriage, and orders Articles of Contract to be drawn up. A messenger enters with the news of Edward's marriage to Lady Grey, and Warwick renounces his allegiance to Edward, and becomes a zealous Lancastrian. Edward, Prince of Wales becomes betrothed to the eldest daughter of Warwick. ["The Lady Bona, was not the sister of Lewis, but of his queen, Charlotte of Savoy. The story of the Lady Bona, and of Warwick's taking offence, is in Holinshed; but the meeting between Margaret and Warwick *at this time* at Paris, and its consequences, are Shakespeare's own. The embassy of that earl to obtain for his master the hand of the Lady Bona is assigned to the year 1464, after the battle of Hexham, and he found Louis not at Paris, but at Tours, Margaret was not then in France. With one exception, however, of doubtful authority, there is no ground in contemporary historians, French or English, for Edward's suit to this Lady Bona. It was probably taken from Polydore Vergil. It is remarkable that Hearne's fragment repeats and refutes a story which sends Warwick not to France but to Spain; to seek in marriage, not Bona of Savoy, but Isabel of Castile. But all such suits, it is added, were fruitless, because the princes of Europe had not confidence in the stability of Edward's throne. . . . It was in

1470 that Margaret and Warwick did unite against Edward, and cement their union, under the mediation of Louis, by the marriage of their children. Prince Edward was betrothed to Anne (not eldest, but), second daughter of Warwick. It does not appear that the French king sent any succours to the Lancastrians at any period after the declaration of Edward's marriage." Courtenay.]

Gallia. V. iii. 8.

= France.

George, afterwards Duke of Clarence. I. iv. 74; II. i. 138, 143; II. ii. p.81; II. iii. p.9; II. vi. p.31, 104; III. ii. p.1, 112, 130; III. iii. 208; IV. i. p.1, 1, 9, 54, 59, 118, 127; IV. ii. p.3, 3, 6, 10, 12; IV. iii. p.23, 42; IV. vi. p.1, 31, 37, 38, 45, 53, 57; IV. vii. 83; IV. viii. p.1, 11, 27; V. i. 8, 11, p.76, 80, 86, 105; V. iii. p.1; V. iv. 26, p.67; V. v. p.1, 34, 46, 71, 73; V. vi. 84, 90; V. vii. p.1, 26, 30.

On the death of his father at the battle of Wakefield, was sent for safety to Burgundy, and returning in 1461 on his brother,—Edward's—accession to the crown, takes part in the battle of Towton, being created Duke of Clarence on the battlefield.

Is present at the Palace in London when Edward "makes love" to the Lady Grey, and being asked his opinion of Edward's choice, remarks:

> As well as Lewis of France, or the Earl of Warwick,
> Which are so weak of courage and in judgment
> That they 'll take no offence at our abuse
> [IV. i. 11–13.]

Being opposed to the marriage, he revolts against his brother, and when a messenger enters with the news that, owing to Edward's faithlessness, Warwick has gone over to Henry's side, and that the young Prince Edward has become affianced to Warwick's daughter, declares that

> Clarence will have the younger,
> Now, brother king, farewell, and sit you fast,
> For I will hence to Warwick's other daughter;
> That, though I want a kingdom, yet in marriage
> I may not prove inferior to yourself.
> You that love me and Warwick follow me.
> [IV. i. 118–123.]

and forthwith leaves the room followed by Somerset.

He is with Warwick when Edward is taken prisoner in his tent near Warwick, but disapproving of the restoration of Henry VI. to the throne, upon his arrival at Coventry removes the "red rose out of his hat," and with four thousand men rejoins his brother:

> Father of Warwick, know you what this means?
> [*Taking the red rose out of his hat.*
> Look here, I throw my infamy at thee:
> I will not ruinate my father's house,
> Who gave his blood to lime the stones together,
> And set up Lancaster. [V. i. 81–85.]

He is welcomed by Gloucester, "Welcome, good Clarence; this is brother-like," while Warwick remarks: "O passing traitor, perjured and unjust!

He is with Edward at Barnet, and at Tewkesbury, where after the battle he takes part in the butchery of the young Prince of Wales.

In addressing her troops, Queen Margaret describes him as a "quicksand of deceit."

After the murder of King Henry VI. by Gloucester in the Tower, Gloucester in a soliloquy declares that Clarence must "beware" for as Henry and his son are gone

> Clarence, thy turn is next, and then the rest
> Counting myself but bad till I be best. [V. vi. 90–91.]

[Son of Richard, Duke of York and a younger brother of Edward the Fourth, who created him Duke of Clarence in 1461. He married Isabel Neville, eldest daughter of the Earl of Warwick, the "King-maker."]

[George, afterwards Duke of Clarence is also a character in *King Richard the Third* (q.v.).]

George of Gloucester. II. vi. 106.

> Let me be Duke of Clarence, George of Gloucester,
> For Gloucester's dukedom is too ominous.
> [II. vi. 106–107.]

See Gloucester's Dukedom.

Gloucester's dukedom. II. vi. 107.

> Let me be Duke of Clarence, George of Gloucester,
> For Gloucester's dukedom is too ominous.
> [II. vi. 106–107.]

Hall says: "It seemeth to many men that the name and title of Gloucester hath bene unfortunate and unluckie to diverse, whiche for their honor have bene erected by creation of princes to that stile and dignitie; as Hugh

Spencer, Thomas of Woodstocke, son to kynge Edwarde the thirde, and this duke Humphrey, [who was killed at Bury;] whiche three persons by miserable death finished their daies; and after them king Richard the III, also duke of Gloucester, in civil warre was slaine and confounded; so that this name of Gloucester is taken for an unhappie and unfortunate stile, as the proverbe speaketh of Sejanes horse, whose ryder was ever unhorsed, and whose possessor was ever brought to miserie." Cf. *Extract* 6 from Holinshed.

Hames castle. V. v. 2.

Hammes Castle near Calais, where the Earl of Oxford was imprisoned for twelve years. Cf. *Extract* 17 from Holinshed.

Hector. IV. viii. 25.

Farewell, my Hector, and my Troy's true hope.
[IV. viii. 25.]

See under Troy.

Helen of Greece. II. ii. 146.

Helen of Greece was fairer far than thou, [II. ii. 146.]

Supposed to have been the most beautiful woman of classical antiquity.

Henry, Earl of Richmond. IV. vi. p.1, 67, 93, 100.

Appears in only one scene of the Play.

King Henry enquires of Somerset "what youth is that Of whom you seem to have so tender care" and being told Henry, Earl of Richmond, Henry, addressing him as "England's hope" lays his hand on his head, and predicts:

This pretty lad will prove our country's bliss.
His looks are full of peaceful majesty,
His head by nature fram'd to wear a crown,
His hand to wield a sceptre. [IV. vi. 70–73.]

Somerset declares that Henry's "presaging prophecy Did glad his heart" and suggests that Richmond be sent forthwith to Brittany till all this "civil enmity be past."

[Henry, Earl of Richmond, afterwards King Henry VII., is also a character in *King Richard the Third* (q.v.).]

Henry the Fifth. I. i. 107; III. iii. 85, 90.

Henry the Fourth. I. i. 132, 139; III. iii. 83.

Hercules. II. i. 53.

But Hercules himself must yield to odds; [II. i. 53.]

This proverb is taken from Aulus Gellius. "Ne Hercules quidem contra duos."="Not Hercules even could struggle against two." Hercules was a mythological Greek hero of great physical strength.

Huntsman, A. IV. v. p.14, 26.

Aids Edward to escape from Middleham Castle, and accompanies him in his flight, as it is "Better to do so than tarry and be hang'd."

Hyrcania. I. iv. 155.

O, ten times more than tigers of Hyrcania. [I. iv. 155.]

See under Hyrcan tiger, page 92, and Hyrcanian beast, page 213.

Icarus. V. vi. 21.

I, Dædalus; my poor boy, Icarus. [V. vi. 21.]

See Dædalus.

Ireland. IV. vii. 72.

Jephthah. V. i. 91.

To keep that oath were more impiety
Than Jephthah's, when he sacrificed his daughter.
[V. i. 90–91.]

One of the twelve judges of Israel, who, before going to fight against the Ammonites, vowed that if successful, he would sacrifice to the Lord the first thing that met him on his return home. His daughter coming out to welcome him was accordingly offered up, but before her death she went into the wilderness to bewail her virginity.

Jerusalem. I. iv. 122.

Thy father bears the type of King of Naples,
Of both the Sicils and Jerusalem,
Yet not so wealthy as an English yeoman.
[I. iv. 121–123.]

See under Reignier.

Jerusalem. V. v. 8.

So part we sadly in this troublous world,
To meet with joy in sweet Jerusalem. [V. v. 7–8.]

= Paradise, Heaven.

Jerusalem. V. vii. 39.

Reignier, her father, to the King of France
Hath pawn'd the Sicils and Jerusalem,
And hither have they sent it for her ransom.
[V. vii. 38–40.]

See Reignier.

John of Gaunt. I. i. 19.

Such hope have all the line of John of Gaunt!
[I. i. 19.]

Henry the Sixth was a descendant of John of Gaunt, his grandfather being Henry Bolingbroke, afterwards King Henry the Fourth.

John of Gaunt. III. iii. 81, 83.

Then Warwick disannuls great John of Gaunt,
Which did subdue the greatest part of Spain;
And, after John of Gaunt, Henry the Fourth,
[III. iii. 81–83.]

Dr. Law says: "John of Gaunt did conduct an expedition into Spain, and by right of marriage, laid claim to the Spanish throne, but he did not 'subdue the greatest part.' His military success there was merely nominal, and his royal pretensions were satisfied by his daughter's marriage to the heir-apparent. In the height of the feeling against Spain after the destruction of the Armada, Englishmen were frequently reminded of John of Gaunt's victories. Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* tells us, contrary to history, that he took King of Castile prisoner. On May 14, 1594, was entered on the Stationers' Register *the famous historye of John of Gaunte . . . with his Conquest of Spaine*; and in 1601, Philip Henslowe paid Hathway and Rankins for writing a play, *The Conquest of Spain by John of Gaunt*. Boswell Stone remarks: "John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, claimed Castile in right of his second wife Constance, elder daughter of Pedro the Cruel. The Duke, however, failed to dethrone John I., son of Pedro's bastard brother Henry II., and obtained but a few transient successes by his invasion of Spanish territory."

Jove's spreading tree. V. ii. 14.

The oak-tree which was sacred to Jove or Jupiter. Cf. Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (Golding's translation), VII. 802–803:

This tree (as all the rest of Okes) was sacred unto Jove
And sprouted of an Acorne which was fet from Dodon grove.

Judas. V. vii. 34.

To say the truth, so Judas kiss'd his master,
And cried "all hail!" when as he meant all harm.
(V. vii. 33–34.]

Judas Iscariot, who betrayed Christ.

Kent. I. i. 156; IV. viii. 12.

The county of Kent.

King Henry the Sixth. I. i. 20, 27, 33, 41, p.50, 70, 73, 81, 120, 131, 153, 159, 164, 178, 189, 202, 204, 248; I. ii. 10, 34, 59; I. iv. 97, 102, 103; II. i. 119, 153; II. ii. p.1, 81, 101, 126; II. v. p.1; II. vi. 2, 7, 10, 14, 34; III. i. p.13, 15, 43, 45, 95; III. ii. 118, 130; III. iii. 24, 31, 58, 72, 73, 79, 87, 89, 100, 118, 143, 151, 190, 194, 198, 201, 214, 264; IV. i. 96; IV. ii. 27; IV. iii. 50, 64; IV. iv. 27; IV. vi. p.1, 50, 92; IV. vii. 4, 19, 20, 28, 66, 82, 84; IV. viii. p.1, 52; V. i. 38, 45; V. iv. 76; V. vi. p.1, 69, 89, 93.

The weakness of the King is even more portrayed in this part, than in the two preceding plays.

In the first scene on entering the Parliament-house and seeing York seated in the chair of state denounces him as a "rebel," but when his followers suggest "plucking York from the throne," Henry in his usual submissive manner counsels patience, it being far from his "heart To make a shambles of the parliament-house!", and finally asks Warwick's permission to allow him to reign in peace during his life-time, after which the crown shall revert to York and his heirs, Thus he was disinheriting his only son.

On being welcomed before York by Margaret who points out to him the head of his arch-enemy over the city gates, Henry declares that the sight "irks his very soul" and implores God to "withhold revenge, 'tis not my fault,"

At the request of the Queen, he knights his son, and bids him to " draw his sword in right." He realises that the conflict is the outcome of past wrongs :

> I 'll leave my son my virtuous deeds behind ;
> And would my father had left me no more !
> [II. ii. 49–50.]

Chidden from the field of Towton he weeps over the carnage which unfolds before his eyes, and longs for death : " Would I were dead ! if God's good will were so ; For what is in this world but grief and woe ? " and appeals to " gentle heaven for pity," and " stay these ruthful deeds."

Arrested and thrown into the Tower where he lies peacefully and contemplatively for a period of four years, he is released by Warwick and proclaimed king, but on the entry of Edward into London is dethroned and sent back to the Tower, where he is stabbed by Gloucester.

He dies praying for forgiveness and pardon for the " undigested and deformed lump " who murders him, and foretells the ultimate downfall of the House of York.

Thus the sin against which Henry the Fifth prayed on the eve of the battle of Agincourt :

> O God of battles ! steel my soldier's hearts ;
> Possess them not with fear ; take from them now
> The sense of reckoning, if the opposed numbers
> Pluck their hearts from them. Not to-day, O Lord !
> O ! not to-day, think not upon the fault
> My father made in compassing the crown.
> I Richard's body have interred new,
> And on it have bestow'd more contrite tears
> Than from it issued forced drops of blood.
> Five hundred poor I have in yearly pay,
> Who twice a day their wither'd hands hold up
> Toward heaven, to pardon blood ; and I have built
> Two chantries, where the sad and solemn priests
> Sing still for Richard's soul. More will I do ;
> Though all that I can do is nothing worth,
> Since that my penitence comes after all,
> Imploring pardon. [*Henry the Fifth*, IV. i. 295–311.]

had come to pass. Retribution, for the usurpation of the crown by his grandfather, Henry IV., and the subsequent murder of Richard II., in Pomfret Castle, had fallen on the House of Lancaster. But the day of reckoning of the House of York was yet to follow.

Bell in his *Tower of London* says : " it is said, King Henry VI., was at prayer when he was murdered, on the very night of Edward IV's arrival in London in triumph, after Barnet and Tewkesbury had been fought, ' between xi and xii of the clock, the Duke of Gloucester being then at The Tower, and many others.' "

King of Naples. I. iv. 121.

> Thy father bears the type of King of Naples,
> Of both the Sicils and Jerusalem,
> Yet not so wealthy as an English yeoman.
> [I. iv. 121–123.]

See under Reignier.

Lady Grey, afterwards Queen to Edward the Fourth. III. ii. p.1 ; III. iii. 174 ; IV. i. 2, p.9, 25 ; V. vii. p.1, 15.

Widow of Sir John Grey, killed at the second battle of St. Albans, fighting on the Lancastrian side.

In III., ii., presents a petition for the restitution of her late husband's estates which had been seized by Edward IV., after his victory at Towton.

Edward promises to consider her suit, and requests her to " come some other time to know our mind," but the lady " cannot brook delay " and asks for the matter to be settled forthwith.

After an animated conversation Edward grants her request, and dropping a curtsy, she thanks the king with " many thousand thanks." She is on the point of leaving, but Edward tells her to stay as she has misunderstood his meaning, and after further conversation Edward tells her to " Answer no more, for thou shalt be my queen."

When Edward is taken prisoner by Warwick in his camp near Warwick, in order to " prevent the tyrant's violence,—" she will " hence forthwith unto the sanctuary, To save at least the heir of Edward's right " : for if Warwick " take us we are sure to die."

[Lady Grey—as Queen to King Edward IV.—is also a character in *KingRichard the Third* (q.v.).]

Lancaster. I. i. 23, 46 ; I. ii. 13, 46 ; II. i. 176 ; II. vi. 3 ; III. iii. 107.

The House of Lancaster.

Leicestershire. IV. viii. 15.

Lewis the Eleventh, King of France. III. i. 34; III. iii. p.1, 3, 4, 23, 74, 143, 159, 169, 181, 203, 224; IV. i. 11, 15, 29, 34, 91, 94, 96; IV. iii. 57.

The eldest son of Charles the Seventh, called "The Victorious," and first cousin, on his father's side, to King Henry VI., and the same relationship on his mother's side, to Queen Margaret.

After the battle of Towton, Margaret escapes to France to seek aid of Lewis who promises her his help, but on the entrance of Warwick to solicit the hand of the Lady Bona for Edward IV., he changes his mind and gives his consent to this proposal. A messenger enters with the news that Edward has secretly married the Lady Grey, and Lewis is so indignant at Edward's having "scorned us in this manner," that he offers to supply Warwick and Oxford with five thousand men for the invasion of England, to be followed by a "fresh supply" under Queen Margaret and Prince Edward. His character is well and fully portrayed by Sir Walter Scott in "Quentin Durward."

Lieutenant of the Tower. IV. vi. p.1, 1, 9; V. vi. p.1.

Lieutenant of the Tower on the night of the murder of King Henry the Sixth.

French observes: "From the language used in Act IV., Scene vi., by "master lieutenant" and the reply of Henry VI., to his apology, we may infer that this officer is intended for John Tibetoft, first Earl of Worcester, of that name, who was appointed "Constable of the Tower," by Edward IV., at his accession; the Earl, who was a zealous Yorkist, was beheaded in 1471, when the Lancastrians were in power for a brief space. His successor was John Sutton, Lord Dudley, K.G., who will be the "Lieutenant," attending in Act V., Scene vi., when he is ordered by Gloucester to leave him alone with the ill-fated Henry VI.,—

Sirrah, leave us to ourselves; we must confer."

London. I. i. 207.

And I 'll keep London with my soldiers. [I. i. 207.]

Warwick determines to hold London with his forces after agreeing that Henry the Sixth should reign during his lifetime.

London. I. ii. 36.

Brother, thou shalt to London presently,
And whet on Warwick to this enterprise.
[I. ii. 36–37.]

The corresponding passage in *The True Tragedie* reads thus:

And Richard thou to London straight shalt post,
And bid Richard Neuill Earle of Warwike
To leaue the cittie, and with his men of warre,
To meete me at Saint Albons ten daies hence.

London. II. i. 174, 182.

And now to London all the crew are gone,
[II. i. 174.]
Why, Via! to London will we march amain,
[II. i. 182.]

Hart quotes Hall: "The erles of Marche and Warwycke, hauing perfite knowledge that the kyng and quene with their adherentes were departed from Saint Albons, determined first to ryde to London as the chefe Key, and common spectacle to the whole Realme, thinking there to assure them selfs of the East and West parte of the kingdome [Norfolk and Wales], as King Henry and his faction nesteled and strengthened him and his alies in the North regions and boreal plage: meaning to haue a buckelar against a sword, and a southerne byl to counteruayle a Northern bassard."

London. II. i. 111; II. v. 64; II. vi. 87, 109; IV. iii. 62; IV. iv. 26; IV. viii. 4, 22; V. v. 47, 84, 88.

London. The Palace.

The Scene of Act III., Scene ii.; Act IV., Scenes i., iv., and viii.; Act V., Scene vii.

Act III., Scene ii. Opens with a petition by Lady Grey for the restitution of her husband's lands, who was slain at the second battle of St. Albans. [Sir John—not Richard—Grey fell in the second battle of St. Albans fighting—not for the house of York as represented in the play—but on the Lancastrian side, and it was Edward himself who seized his lands after the battle of Towton. Shakespeare has corrected this in *King Richard the Third*, Act I., Scene iii.] The interview ends with Edward expressing his intention to marry Lady Grey. See *Extract* 7 from Holinshed. Henry is brought in a prisoner, and is committed to the Tower, and the scene closes with a lengthy

soliloquy by Gloucester in which he reveals his secret designs on the crown. Johnson remarks: "Richard speaks here the language of nature. Whoever is stigmatized with deformity has a constant source of envy in his mind, and would counter-balance by some other superiority those advantages which he feels himself to want. Bacon remarks that the deformed are commonly daring; and it is almost proverbially observed that they are ill-natured. The truth is, that the deformed, like all other men, are displeased with inferiority, and endeavour to gain ground by good or bad means, as they are virtuous or corrupt."

Act IV., Scene i. This scene shows the dislike of Edward's brothers to his marriage with Lady Grey, as well as the discontent of the nobles at the favours which Edward has bestowed upon his wife's relatives. The messenger from France enters and delivers his messages as portrayed at the end of Act III., Scene iii. Clarence leaves Edward and joins Warwick, whose daughter he intends to marry. Clarence is followed by Somerset, but Gloucester, Pembroke and Stafford remain faithful to Edward. Montague and Hastings—respectively brother and brother-in-law to Warwick—are suspected, but each gives assurances of his loyalty. [Courtenay observes: "It may be asked how it is that Somerset, who is mentioned in the *dramatis personæ* as a 'Lord on King Henry's side,' and whose predecessor was slain fighting in that king's cause, is placed at King Edward's court. The duke who was slain at St. Alban's, left a son Henry, who fought for Henry VI. at Towton, and escaped. He afterwards made his submission to Edward (in company with Sir Ralph Percy and others), but again revolted to King Henry when Margaret obtained her brief successes in the north. At Hexham he was taken and beheaded. All this was really prior to Edward's marriage and to Warwick's defection; but I can find no other ground for the tergiversation of a Duke of Somerset in the play. The successor of Duke Henry was faithful to the Lancastrian side, and was beheaded after the battle of Tewksbury. Pembroke and Stafford are correctly made faithful to Edward. Montagu was the brother, and Hastings the brother-in-law of Warwick, and they were therefore reasonably suspected."]

Act IV., Scene iv. News arrives at the Palace that Edward has been captured, and Queen Elizabeth takes refuge in the sanctuary at Westminster. [Hart quotes from Hall: "innumerable people resorted to the erle of Warwycke to take his parte, but all kyng Edwardes trusty frendes went to diuers sentuaries, dayly loking . . . to hear of his . . . prosperous return. Emongst other, Quene Elizabeth his wyfe, allmoste desperate of all comfort, took sentuary at Westmynster, and there in great penurie forsaken of all her frendes was deliuered of a fayre sonne called Edward."]

Act IV., Scene viii. Warwick announces that Edward has arrived in England at the head of a large army comprised of "hasty Germans and blunt Hollanders," and Henry orders men to be levied to meet him. Having bidden farewell to Henry, Warwick and the other lords,—with the exception of Exeter—depart for Coventry. Left alone, the king and Exeter are conversing when there are shouts and Edward with soldiers enters the palace, seizes Henry, and commits him again to the Tower, after which the Yorkists proceed to Coventry to meet Warwick. Cf. *Extract* 14 from Holinshed.

Act V., Scene vii. This, the final scene of the play shows us Edward seated upon his throne, with Queen Elizabeth and the young prince Edward beside him. In triumph, he recounts the foemen he has slain in the wars. Kissing his young son—the future Edward the Fifth—he bids both his brothers to "kiss their princely nephew" too. The child receives the caresses of both Clarence and Gloucester, and the latter, turning aside, confesses that his is indeed a Judas kiss. Margaret is banished and the play concludes with Edward—who is a great lover of pleasure—announcing that he intends spending his time

> With stately triumphs, mirthful comic shows,
> Such as befits the pleasure of the court.
> Sound drums and trumpets! farewell sour annoy!
> For here, I hope, begins our lasting joy.

Hall says: "Queene Margaret lyke a prisoner was brought to London, where she remayned till kyng Reiner her father ransomed her with money, which summe (as the French writers afferme) he borrowed of Kyng Lewes . . . to repaye so great a dutie, he solde to the French

King & his heires, the Kyngdomes of Naples and both the Siciles, with the county of Prouynce. . . . After the ransome payed, she was conveyed in to Fraunce with small honor."

London. I. ii. 36.

Brother, thou shalt to London presently,
And whet on Warwick to this enterprise. [I. ii. 36-37]

The corresponding passage in *The True Tragedie* reads thus:

And Richard thou to London straight shall post,
And bid Richard Neuill Earle of Warwike
To leaue the cittie, and with his men of warre,
To meete me at Saint Albons ten daies hence.

London. The Parliament House.

The Scene of Act I., Scene i. Opens with the Yorkists entering the Parliament-house, where the Duke of York takes possession of the throne. Henry enters and a fierce altercation takes place between the opposing parties. Henry claims that his grandfather—Henry the Fourth—was lawful king, Richard the Second having resigned the crown in his favour, and his father—Henry the Fifth—was therefore heir. Exeter is of opinion that York is the lawful heir and turns against Henry. [There is no authority for this, as Exeter is named among the nobles who refused to acknowledge the parliamentary settlement of the crown, and fought under Queen Margaret for the house of Lancaster.] A compromise is effected, whereby Henry is to reign during his life-time, after which the crown shall pass to York and his heirs. Grafton says: "After long arguments made, and deliberate consultation had among the Peeres, Prelates, and commons of the realme: vpon the vigile of all Saintes, it was condescended and agreed, by the three estates, for so much as king Henry had beene taken as king, by the space of xxxviij yeres and more, that he should enioy the name and tytle of king, and haue possession of the realme, during his life naturall: And if he eyther died or resigned, or forfeited the same, for infringing any point of this concorde, then the sayde Crowne and aucthoritie royall, should immediately dissende to the Duke of Yorke, if he then lyued, or else to the next heyre of his line or linage, and that the Duke from thenceforth should be Protector and Regent of the land. Prouided alway, that if the king did closely or apertly studie or go about to breake or alter this agrement, or to compasse or imagine the death or destruction of the sayde Duke or hys bloud, then he to forfeit the crowne, and the Duke of Yorke to take it. These articles with many other, were not onely written, sealed and sworne by the two parties: but also were enacted in the high court of Parliament. For ioy whereof, the king hauing in his company the sayde Duke, rode to the Cathedrall Church of saint Paule, within the Citie of London, and there on the day of all saintes, went solempnly wythe the Diademe on his head in procession, and was lodged a good space after in the Bishops Palace, nere to the sayd Church. And vpon the Saturday next ensuyng, Richard Duke of Yorke, was by the sound of a trumpet, solempnly proclaimed heyre apparaunt to the crowne of Englande, and Protectour of the realme."

For York's Oath see *Extract* 1 from Holinshed,

Margaret appears on the scene and in anger denounces her husband for having acknowledged York as his heir and disinherited their only son. [This is unhistorical.] Grafton says: "The Duke of Yorke well knowyng, that the Queene would spurne and impugne the conclusions, agreed and taken in this Parliament, caused her and her sonne, to be sent for by the king: but she being a manly woman, vsyng to rule and not to be ruled, and thereto counsayled by the Dukes of Excester and Sommerset, not only denyed to come but also assembled together a great armie, intendyng to take the king by fine force, out of the Lordes handes, and to set them to a newe schoole." [There is an interval of five years between the first battle of St. Albans alluded to at the opening of this scene and the parliamentary acknowledgment of York as successor to Henry. During this interval many important events had taken place, including the battles of Blore Heath, 1459, and Northampton, 1460, in both of which the Yorkists were victorious. The same year York claimed the crown and was made heir to Henry by Parliament. In the December following the battle of Wakefield was fought in which York was killed. *See* Scene 4.]

London. The Tower.

The Scene of Act IV., Scene vi.; Act. V., Scene vi.

Act IV., Scene vi. Warwick and Clarence proceed to the Tower and liberate Henry, who

appoints Warwick and Clarence joint protectors of the realm. See *Extract* 12 from Holinshed. At the court in charge of Somerset, is Henry, Earl of Richmond, whom Henry declares is "England's hope." This youth was afterwards Henry VII., grandfather of Queen Elizabeth. [In the *Chronicle* the young Earl of Richmond is introduced by his uncle Lord Pembroke. See *Extract* 13 from Holinshed.] A messenger enters with the news that Edward has escaped from Middleham Castle and has fled to Burgundy; yet in the next scene he appears before York.

Act V., Scene vi. This scene depicts the murder of Henry in the Tower; the address of the unhappy king to Gloucester—which is taken almost verbatim from *The True Tragedie*—and Gloucester's soliloquy, in which he compares the deformity of his mind to that of his body.

The circumstances attending the death of Henry VI. are involved in deep obscurity. The balance of testimony supports the popular tradition that he was murdered on the night of Edward's entry into London, 21st May, 1471: "And the same nyghte that Kynge Edwarde came to Londone, Kynge Herry, beynge inwarde in persone in the Toure of Londone, was putt to dethe, the xxj. day of Maij., on a tywesday nyght, betwyx xj. and xij. of the cloke, beynge thenne at the Toure the Duke of Gloucetre, brothere to Kynge Edwarde, and many other; and one the morwe he was chestyde and brought to Paulys, and his face was opyne that every manne myghte see hyme; and in hys lyinge he bledde one the pament ther; and afterward at the Blake Fryres was broughte, and ther he blede new and fresche; and from thens he was caryed to Chyrchsey abbey in a bote, and buryed there in oure Lady chapelle."

Dr. Warkworth, whose chronicle furnishes the above extract, was a contemporary writer, Master of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, from 1473 to 1498, and a man of learning and ability. Fabyan, a citizen of London in the time of Henry the Seventh, is more explicit: "Of the death of this Prynce dyverse tales were tolde: but the most common fame wente, that he was stykked with a dagger by the handes of the Duke of Gloucester."

On the other hand, the Yorkist party contended that the deposed monarch died of grief and melancholy: "In every party of England, where any commotion was begonne for Kynge Henry's party, anone they were rebuked, so that it appered to every mann at eye the sadye partie was extincte and repressed for evar, without any mannar hope of agayne quikkening: utterly despaired of any maner of hoope or releve. The certainte of all whiche came to the knowledge of the sayd Henry, late called Kyng, being in the Tower of London; not havynge, afore that, knowledge of the saide matars, he toke it to so great dispite, ire, and indingnation, that, of pure displeasure, and melencoly, he dyed the xxiij day of the monithe of May. Whom the kynge dyd to be browght to the friers prechars at London, and there, his funerall service donne, to be caried, by watar, to an Abbey upon Thamys syd, xvj myles from London, called Chartsey, and there honorably enteryd." *Arrivall of Edward IV.*

["I quite agree with Walpole as to the improbability of Richard's becoming the murderer of the captive and childless king. On the other hand, it is sufficiently clear, that, from the very first, it was suspected that Henry was murdered, and that the perpetrator was in station so high as to be called *a tyrant*, and that a rumour was prevalent at any early period, but perhaps not until *after Richard's death*, that Gloucester was the murderer." *Courtenay.*]

Lord Aubrey Vere. III. iii. 102.

Eldest son of John, twelfth Earl of Oxford. Holinshed remarks: "The earle of Oxford far striken in age, and his sonne and heire the lord Awbreie Veer, either through malice of their enimies, or for that they had offended the king, were both, with diuerse of their councellours, attainted, and put to execution; which cause Iohn earle of Oxford euer after to rebell."

Lord Bonville. IV. i. 57.

William Bonville. His daughter and heiress Cicely married Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset, son by the first husband, of Elizabeth, queen to Edward the Fourth.

Lord Clifford. I. i. 7.

Lord Clifford, and Lord Stafford, all abreast,
Charged our main battle's front, and breaking in
Were by the swords of common soldiers slain.

[I. i. 7-9.]

This personage is the Lord Clifford in the *Second Part of King Henry the Sixth* (q.v.) slain in combat with York at the battle of St. Albans.

Lord Clifford. p.50, 55, 58, 83, 101, 160, 163; I. iii. 2, p.3, 8, 16, 18, 24, 36; I. iv. p.27, 27, 44, 51, 54, 66, 80, 149, 167; II. i. 3, 12, 58, 63, 70, 103, 126, 169, 201; II. ii. p.1, 43, 45, 107, 112, 125; II. iii. 16; II. iv. p.1, 1, p.12; II. v. 16; II. vi. p.1, 1, 12; II. v. 16; II. vi. p.1, 37, 46, 53, 61, 69, 70, 71, 76, 78; V. vii. 7.

This personage, the "relentless foe of the House of York" and the son of the Lord Clifford slain at the battle of St. Albans, first appears with the other nobles in the Parliament-house in the opening scene of the play. He vows to fight in defence of King Henry, be his "title right or wrong," and hopes the ground will "gape and swallow him alive" before he will "kneel to him that slew his father."

He takes part in the battle of Wakefield and slays in cold blood the young Earl of Rutland, because "Thy father slew my father," and is the first to plunge his sword in the breast of captive York. "Here's for my oath; here's for my father's death."

At the battle of Towton he encounters Richard, but Warwick appearing on the scene, he takes to flight. Later in the battle he falls mortally wounded, and his head is cut off and placed over the gates of York.

> off with the traitor's head,
> And rear it in the place your father's stands.
> [II. iv. 85–86.]

[John de Clifford ("Young Clifford" in the *Second Part*), thirteenth Baron Clifford; ninth Baron of Westmoreland, son of Thomas de Clifford, twelfth Baron Clifford. He was slain in a skirmish at Ferrybridge on the 28th March, 1461.]

Lord Cobham. I. ii. 40, 56.

> You, Edward, shall unto my Lord Cobham,
> With whom the Kentishmen will willingly rise:
> In them I trust; [I. ii. 40–42.]

Sir Edward Brooke. At the battle of Northampton, 1469, commanded the left wing of the Yorkist forces. Grafton says: "The Duke of Yorke and his adherentes perceiuyng, that neyther exhortacion serued, nor accusement preuayled against the Duke of Sommerset, determined to reuence their quarrell, and obteyne their purpose, by open warre and Marciall aduenture, and no lenger to slepe in so waightie a businesse. So he beyng in the Marches of Wales, associate with his speciall friendes, the Erles of Sarisbury, and Warwike, the Lorde Cobham, and other, assembled an army, and gathered a great power, and like warlike persons, marched toward London."

Lord Hastings. IV. i. p.9, 47, 134, 144; IV. iii. 11, p.28, 29; IV. v. p.1, 1, 16; IV. vi. 82; IV. vii. p.1, 1 V. vii. p.1.

When Montague suggests that they seek alliance with France, Hastings declares that "England is safe, if true within itself." He is of opinion that their safety lies in their trust in God, and the "seas Which he hath given for fence impregnable," and in themselves, for it is better to "use France" than "trust France," to which Clarence opines that "Hastings well deserves To have the heir of the Lord Hungerford."

In order to test Hastings' loyalty, Edward asks him whether he "loves Warwick more than me?" and being assured of Hastings' faithfulness, declares "then am I sure of victory."

He escapes when Edward IV. is taken prisoner in his tent near Warwick, and with the assistance of Gloucester and Stanley helps Edward to escape from Middleham Castle.

He is present before York, when the Mayor is prevailed upon to open the gates of the city to allow York to enter.

[Lord Hastings is also a character in *King Richard the Third* (q.v.).]

Lord Hungerford. IV. i. 48.

> For this one speech Lord Hastings well deserves
> To have the heir of the Lord Hungerford,
> [IV. i. 47–48.]

Johnson remarks: "It must be remembered, that till the restoration the heiresses of great estates were in the wardship of the king, who in their minority gave them up to plunder, and afterwards matched them to his favourites. I

know not when liberty gained more than by the abolition of the court of wards."

Sir Thomas Hungerford, eldest son of the third Lord Hungerford. Charged with conspiracy, condemned and executed 17th January, 1469. The heiress of Hungerford was married to the son of Lord Hastings of this play.

Lord of Northumberland. I. i. 4; V. vii. 8.

Henry Percy, the second Earl of Northumberland.

Mentioned in I., i., as having been slain at the battle of St. Albans; and in V., vii., King Edward IV. pays a tribute to his memory.

Lord of Somerset. I. i. 18.

Duke of Somerset. Edmund Beaufort, second Duke of Somerset. He was slain at the first battle of St. Albans, 1455, (see *Second Part of King Henry the Sixth*, V., ii.), but here is represented as having fallen by the hand of Richard Duke of Gloucester, afterwards King Richard the Third. His eldest son Henry, who succeeded him, was captured at the battle of Hexham and beheaded. His second son, Edmund, became the fourth Duke and is the Somerset of this play.

Lord Rivers, brother to Lady Grey. IV. iv. p.1, 1.

Appears in only one scene of the Play, being told by his sister, Queen Elizabeth, that Edward had been taken prisoner by Warwick, and committed to the custody of the Archbishop of York.

[Lord—as Earl Rivers—is also a character in *King Richard the Third* (q.v.).]

Lord Scales. IV. i. 52.

Anthony Woodville, Baron Scales and second Earl Rivers, and brother to Elizabeth, queen of Edward the Fourth. On the death of Edward he was executed for treason.

See under Lord Rivers, brother to Lady Grey.

Lord Stafford. I. i. 6, 10.

Earl of Stafford, son of Humphrey, first Duke of Buckingham.

Mentioned as having been slain at the battle of St. Albans.

> Lord Clifford, and Lord Stafford, all abreast,
> Charged our main battle's front, and breaking in
> Were by the swords of common soldiers slain.
> [I. i. 7–9.]

Lord Stafford. IV. i. p.9, 130.

Appears in only one scene of the play, where he is, with Pembroke, commanded by King Edward to "levy men, and make prepare for war; . . . Myself in person will straight follow you."

[Sir Humphrey Stafford, son of William Stafford. Created Lord Stafford, 1464, and Earl of Devon, 1469; sent to oppose the northern rebels, but a quarrel breaking out between him and the Earl of Pembroke, he deserted with all his troops, and Edward IV., ordered his execution.]

Lynn. IV. v. 21.

> To Lynn, my lord;
> And ship from thence to Flanders. [IV. v. 21–22.]

Kings Lynn in Norfolk. It was proposed that Edward the Fourth after his escape from Middleham Castle should proceed to Lynn and take ship to Flanders. Cf. *Extract* 11 from Holinshed.

Machiavel. III. ii. 193.

> And set the muederous Machiavel to school.
> [III. ii. 193.]

An anachronism. Machiavel was not born till 1469. In the *True Tragedie* the corresponding passage is:

> And set the aspiring Catalin to schoole.

March, A. II. i. p.1, p.95; II. ii. p.81; V. i. p.16; V. iv. p.1.

= A movement of soldiers.

Marquess of Montague. I. i. p.1; I. ii. p.1, 55; II. i. p.95, 167, 198; II. ii. p.81; II. vi. p.31; III. iii. 164; IV. i. p.1, 27, 39, 134, 143; IV. vi. p.1; IV. viii. p.1, 14, 30; V. i. 4, 5, p.67, 67; V. ii. 3, 34, 39, 40; V. iv. 14; V. vii. 10.

Enters the Parliament-house in the opening scene, and supports York in his claim to the crown.

After the defeat of the Yorkist forces at St. Albans was imprisoned at York, but was liberated by Edward IV. after Towton.

Reverted to the Lancastrians and with drum and colours enters Coventry crying "Montague,

Montague, for Lancaster!" to which Gloucester remarks:

> Thou and thy brother both shall buy this treason
> Even with the dearest blood your bodies bear.
> [V. i. 68–69.[

He fights on the side of Queen Margaret at the battle of Barnet, where he is slain.

At Tewkesbury Margaret refers to him as "Montague our topmast," while Edward in the concluding scene of the play pays a tribute to his and his brother's bravery, describing them as "two brave bears."

[Sir John Neville, Marquess of Montague and Earl of Northumberland, third son of Richard Neville, first Earl of Salisbury, a character in the *Second Part of King Henry the Sixth.*]

Mayor of Coventry. V. i. p.1.

A supernumerary. In Act V., Scene i., where the action is laid at Coventry, a town much devoted to the interests of Henry and his Queen, the stage direction is, "*Enter upon the walls* Warwick, *the* Mayor *of* Coventry, *two* Messengers, *and others.*" As this occurs, as we learn from the context, just before the battle of Barnet, April 14, 1471, it may be concluded that the Mayor was John Brett, who served 1470–1, and who for his adherence to Henry VI., was deprived of his sword of state by Edward IV., and the citizens had to pay a fine of 500 marks to recover the sword, and their franchise. Four years later, Edward IV., kept the festival of St. George at Coventry, and became sponsor to the infant child of the Mayor. *French.*

Mayor of York. IV. vii. p.17, 20, 27, p.35.

When Edward appears before the City of York, the Mayor refuses to open the gates as they "owe allegiance unto Henry," but being told that Edward seeks admission as "Duke of York" and a friend of King Henry, he gives orders for York to be admitted. "A wise, stout captain, and soon persuaded!" remarks Gloucester, to which Hastings adds that when they have entered, he has no doubt that "we shall soon persuade Both him and all his brothers unto reason."

[Thomas Beverley, Sheriff of York, 1451, and Lord Mayor in 1460 and again in 1471.]

Menelaus. II. ii. 146.

> Helen of Greece was fairer far than thou,
> Although thy husband may be Menelaus;
> And ne'er was Agamemnon's brother wrong'd
> By that false woman as this king by thee.
> [II. ii. 146–149.]

The reference is to men who have faithless wives.

In *Troilus and Cressida*, V., i., 58–61, Thersites, speaking of Menelaus terms him the "goodly transformation of Jupiter there, his brother, the bull, the primitive statue, and oblique memorial of cuckolds."

Menelaus was king of Sparta, and husband of Helen, who was carried off to Troy by Paris. Homer represents him as being of a mild disposition. Edward IV., here considers Helen "fairer" and not so false to her husband, as Margaret has been to her husband (Henry VI.).

[Menelaus is a character in *Troilus and Cressida.*]

Messenger. I. ii. p.49.

= Gabriel. *See* Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York.

Messengers. I. ii. p.48; II. i. p.43, p.205; II. ii. p.67; V. i. p.1; V. iv. p.60.

Minos. V. vi. 22.

> Thy father, Minos, that denied our course;
> [V. vi. 22.]

In classical mythology King of Crete who shut up Dædalus and Icarus in the famous labyrinth, hence "denied the course."

Naples. I. iv. 121.

> My father bears the type of King of Naples.
> [I. iv. 121.]

See under Reignier.

Naples. II. ii. 139.

> Iron of Naples hid with English gilt. [II. ii. 139.]

Applied to Margaret by Richard.

Ned. V. iv. 19; V. v. 51.

Edward, Prince of Wales, son of Henry the Sixth and Queen Margaret.

Ned. V. vii. 16.

Son of Edward the Fourth and Queen Elizabeth.

Nero. III. i. 40.

Nestor. III. ii. 188.

I 'll play the orator as well as Nestor, [III. ii. 188.]

Nestor was King of Pylos in Greece and one of the Grecian generals at the siege of Troy. He was distinguished for his wisdom. He is one of the speaking characters in *Troilus and Cressida* (q.v.).

Nobleman, A. III. ii. p.118.

Appears only once in the Play and announces to King Edward that Henry has been taken prisoner.

Probably Sir James Harrington is the nobleman referred to.

Norfolk. I. i. 156, 208; IV. viii. 12.

The county of Norfolk.

Northampton. IV. viii. 15.

The county of Northampton.

Northumberlands, Two. V. vii. 8.

And two Northumberlands: two braver men
Ne'er spurr'd their coursers at the trumpet's sound;
[V. vii. 8–9.]

Henry Percy, second Earl of Northumberland. Killed at St. Albans.

Henry Percy, third Earl of Northumberland. Killed at Towton.

Nurse with the young prince. V. vii. p.1.

A supernumerary, who enters carrying the young prince Edward, son of Edward and Elizabeth.

Olympian games. II. iii. 53.

And if we thrive promise them such rewards
As victors wear at the Olympian games.
[II. iii. 52–53.]

The Olympian games were held at Olympia in Elis every four years in honour of Zeus. They were first instituted by Hercules in 1222 B.C.

Oxfordshire. IV. viii. 18.

Park near Middleham Castle in Yorkshire.

The Scene of Act IV., Scene 4. Taken prisoner by Warwick, Edward is placed in the custody of the Archbishop of York at Middleham Castle, but is liberated, while hunting, by Gloucester and others. [Courtenay says: "These improbable events, excepting always as to Gloucester, who is improperly brought into every occurrence, are taken from Holinshed. Some historians disbelieve them, but Lingard, on the authority of one contemporary, and an ambiguous record, gives credence to the statement of the captivity of Edward. The error of the dramatist consist of placing the event after the junction between Margaret and Warwick. There is no authority for the mode of escape, which, on the contrary, is said to have occurred with the consent of the Earl of Warwick. There is, in the whole transaction, a mystery which I cannot solve. When released, Edward did not, as in the play, fly to Lynn, and thence to Flanders; that flight was in 1470."] [Hart quotes from Hall: "Kyng Edward beyng thus in captiuitie, spake euer fayre to the Archebishop and to the other kepers, (but whether he corrupted them with money or fayre promises) he had libertie diuers days to go on huntynge, and one day on a playne there met with hym syr William Stanley, syr Thomas of Borogh, and dyuers other of hys frendes with suche a great band of men, that neither his kepers woulde, nor once durst moue him to retorne to prison agayn." King Edward then "went streyghte to York, where he was with grete honor receyued . . . from Yorke to Lancaster, where he found the Lord Hastynges hys chamberlayne, well accompanyed. . . . He then . . . came safe to the cytye of London."]

Phaëton. I. iv. 33; II. vi. 12.

Now Phaëton hath tumbled from his car,
And made an evening at the noontide prick. [I. iv. 33.]

O Phœbus, hadst thou never given consent
That Phaëton should check thy fiery steeds,
Thy burning car never had scorch'd the earth;
[II. vi. 12.]

See also Phaëton, *The Tragedy of King Richard the Second*, page 463, and *Shakespeare's Ovid* [Golding's translation]. Book II.

Phœbus. II. vi. 11.

> O Phœbus, hadst thou never given consent
> That Phaëton should check thy fiery steeds
> Thy burning car never had scorch'd the earth;
> [II. vi. 11–13.]

Malone remarks: "The Duke of York had been entrusted by Henry with the reins of government both in Ireland and France; and hence perhaps was taught to aspire to the throne."

Phœnix. I. iv. 35.

> My ashes, as the phœnix, may bring forth
> A bird that will revenge upon you all; [I. iv. 35–36.]

See *The Tempest*, page 158.

Plain in Warwickshire.

The Scene of Act IV., Scene ii. Warwick and Oxford arrive with French soldiers. They are joined by Clarence and Somerset who both affirm their allegiance to Henry, and after promising his daughter in marriage to Clarence, Warwick suggests that they surprise Edward in his tent and take him prisoner.

Plain near Mortimer's Cross in Herefordshire.

The Scene of Act II., Scene i. Opens with Edward and Richard—neither of whom fought at the battle of Wakefield—wondering whether their father escaped from that battle. [There is some confusion here. Edward was at this time in Gloucestershire raising an army intending to intercept Margaret on her way to London, but being pursued by Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke—half-brother to Henry the Sixth—halted and obtained a victory at Mortimer's Cross, but the battle is passed over by the dramatist.]

The appearance in the heavens of "three glorious suns" is mentioned by the Chronicles.

Edward and Richard hear of their father's death at Wakefield. Warwick and Montague enter and report their defeat by Margaret at the second battle of St. Albans. [Wordsworth says that "this second battle of St. Albans, in which Margaret was victorious, was fought after the meeting at York (see next scene) and not before as represented here.]

The scene closes with a messenger entering who announces that Margaret with forces is at hand, and yet the next scene is placed Before York, without any announcement that the Lancastrians have retreated before the Yorkists.

A Pedestal, erected near the fifth milestone of the turnpike road leading from Leominster to Wigmore, to commemorate the battle of Mortimer's Cross, bears the following inscription:

> This Pedeſtal is erected to perpetuate the Memory of an obſtinate, bloody, and deciſive battle fought near this Spot in the civil Wars between the ambitious Houſes of York and Lancaſter on the 2nd Day of February 1461 between the Forces of Edward Mortimer Earl of March (afterwards Edward the Fourth) on the Side of York and thoſe of Henry the Sixth on the wide of Lancaſter.
>
> The King's Troops were commanded by Jaſper Earl of Pembroke. Edward commanded his own in Perſon and was victorious. The Slaughter was great on both ſides four Thousand being left dead on the Field and many Welſh Perſons of the firſt diſtinction were taken Prisoners among whom was Owen Tudor (great grandfather to Henry the Eighth and a Deſcendant of the illuſtrious Cadwallader) who was afterwards beheaded at Hereford. This was the deciſive Battle which fixed Edward the Fourth on the Throne of England[1] who was proclaimed King in London on the fifth of March following.
>
> Erected by Subſcription
> in the year 1799.

[1] Brooke comments:—"The inscription is not altogether accurate, in stating that the battle of Mortimer's Cross fixed Edward IV., on the throne of England. He certainly was proclaimed King by his partisans, in London, soon after the battle, but he was indebted to the subsequent battle of Towton, for his being really placed upon the throne. The statute 1st Edward IV., passed in 1461, declared the 4th of March to be the date when Edward IV., commenced his reign; 'the fourth day of the moneth of Marche last past toke upon hym to use his right and title to the seid Reame of Englond and Lordship and entred into the exercise of the Roiall estate, dignite, preemynence and power of the same coroune, and to the Reigne and governaunce of the seid Reame of Englond and Lordship; and the same fourth day of March amoeved Henry late called King Henry the Sixt son of Henry, son to the seid Henry late Erle

of Derby, son to the seid John of Gaunt, from the occupation, usurpation, intrusion, reigne, and governaunce of the same Reame of Englond and Lordship.' "

For accounts of the Battle of Mortimer's Cross, see *exempli gratia*, Brooke's *Visits to Fields of Battle, in England, of the fifteenth century*; Barrett's *Battles and Battlefields in England*; *Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the fifteenth Century*.

Plains near Tewksbury.

The Scene of Act V., Scene iv. Opens with Margaret delivering a soul-stirring speech to her soldiers on the eve of the battle of Tewkesbury, which the dramatist has immortalised [V. iv. 1 *et seq.*] A messenger enters with the news that Edward is at hand and amid a flourish of trumpets, Edward with Clarence, Gloucester and forces enter, and the scene closes with Margaret again exhorting her followers in " God's name " to " Be valiant." Hall says: " When the Queene was come to Tewkesbury, and knewe that Kyng Edward followed her . . . she was sore abashed and wonderfully amased and determined in her selfe to flye into Wales to Jasper erle of Pembroke. But the Duke of Somerset, willyng in no wyse to flye . . . determined there to tarye, to take such fortune as God should send. . . . When all these battayles were thus ordered and placyd, the Queene and her sonne prince Ednard rode about the field, encouragyng their souldiers promising to them (if they did shew them selfe valyaunt) . . . greate rewardes . . . bootie . . . and renoune."

See also Another part of the field. [Tewksbury.]

Post. III. iii. p.163; IV. i. p.84; IV. vi. p.77.

In III. iii. p.163, the messenger brings letters to Warwick, the King of France, and Margaret, which announce the marriage of Edward to Lady Grey.

In IV. i. p.84, enters with news from France.

In IV. vi. p.77, that Edward has escaped from Middleham Castle.

Priam. II. v. 120.

Son, for the loss of thee, having no more,
As Priam was for all his valiant sons.
[II. v. 119–120.]

" I having but one son, will grieve as much for that one, as Priam, who had many, could grieve for many." *Johnson.*

Proteus. III. ii. 192.

Change shapes with Proteus for advantages.
[III. ii. 192.]

Called " the prophetic old man of the sea " because he had the power of assuming various shapes. Cf. Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (Golding's translation), viii. 916–922:

As thou O Protew dwelling in the sea that cleepes the land.
For now a yoonker, now a boare, anon a Lyon, and
Streyght way thou didst become a Snake, and by and by a Bull,
That people were afrayd of thee too see thy horned skull.
And oftentymes thou seemde a stone, and now and then a tree,
And counterfetting water sheere thou seemedst oft to bee
A River: and another whyle contrarie thereuntoo
Thou wart a fyre.

Queen Margaret. I. i. p.211, 228, 257; I. iv. p.27; II. i. 207; II. ii. p.1; II. v. 16, p.124; II. vi. 75; III. i. 35, 53; III. iii. p.1, 1, 4, 19, 30, 78, 109, 138, 144, 218; IV. i. 102, 115; IV. iv. p.1; IV. vi. 60; V. iv. p.1; V. v. p.1; V. vi. 37.

At the opening of the play enters the Parliament-house and indignantly denounces her husband for having entailed the crown to York and his heirs, declaring

Had I been there, which am a silly woman,
The soldiers should have toss'd me on their pikes
Before I would have granted to that act;
[I. i. 243–245.]

and threatens to "divorce" herself "Until that act of Parliament be repeal'd Whereby my son is disinherited."

Leaving in company with her son and gathering together an army of " northern earls and lords " defeats and takes prisoner the Duke of York at Wakefield. Clifford the " relentless foe of the House of York " is on the point of stabbing York, but is restrained by Margaret who " would prolong awhile the traitor's life."

Ordering York to be placed on a molehill, she taunts and mocks him, and declaring that "York cannot speak unless he wear a crown," a paper crown is set upon his head. York fiercely denounces Margaret, calling her a "She-wolf . . . Whose tongue more poisons than the adder's tooth," after which he is stabbed to death and his head cut off and placed over the gates of York.

Appears before York and taunts Warwick for having run away at the battle of St. Albans. Edward calls her a "shameless callet" and defying her, orders the trumpets to sound, and

> let our bloody colours wave!
> And either victory, or else a grave. [II. ii. 173–174.]

averring that "These words will cost ten thousand lives this day."

The Lancastrian forces being defeated at the battle of Towton, she escapes to Scotland with her son, and subsequently proceeds to France to solicit aid of Lewis, the French king. She is on the point of winning over Lewis but is frustrated by the entry of Warwick who has arrived to ask for the hand of Lady Bona in marriage to King Edward. Calling Warwick "Proud setter up and puller down of kings!" for it is "thy device By this alliance to make void my suit" she declares she will not "hence, till, with my talk and tears, Both full of truth, I make King Lewis behold Thy sly conveyance and thy lord's false love; For both of you are birds of self-same feather."

A messenger enters with the news that Edward has secretly married Lady Grey. Remarking "I told your majesty as much before: This proveth Edward's love and Warwick's honesty," Margaret is overjoyed, while Warwick protests to Lewis that he is "clear from this misdeed of Edward's," and vows revenge.

Renouncing allegiance to Edward, Warwick and Margaret are reconciled, and Warwick to assure his "constant loyalty" suggests that his eldest daughter marry the young Prince, to which Margaret consents:

> Yes, I agree, and thank you for your motion.
> Son Edward, she is fair and virtuous,
> Therefore delay not, give thy hand to Warwick;
> And, with thy hand, thy faith irrevocable,
> That only Warwick's daughter shall be thine.
> [III. iii. 244–248.]

Returning to England, and marching to Tewkesbury, where she hears of the defeat and death of Warwick at Barnet, she engages the Yorkist forces under Edward and being defeated is captured and brought to London where she remains a prisoner for five years, until released by the Treaty of Pecquigny and leaves England for ever.

"There are many stories told of what happened to Queen Margaret on the crushing defeat of her troops. Brave and fearless as she had often shown herself, it is easy to believe the historians who say that she was utterly cast down with grief on this occasion, and so found by some monks, who led her away to a place of hiding not far distant from the town. Fabian, who wrote the narrative of the affair under the auspices of Henry VII., states that Margaret and her son, the Prince of Wales, were taken prisoners together, but no corroboration of such an occurrence is forthcoming. All of the other early historians agree in the statement that she found a temporary refuge, where for several days the vigilance of those sent in pursuit of her was eluded.

> 'The Tuesday, vii day of May, the Kynge departed from Tewxbery, towards the citie of Worcester, and, on the way, he had certayne knowledge that Qwene Margarete was founden nat fer from there, in a powre religious place, where she had hyd hir selfe, for the surty of hir parson, the Saturdaye, erlye in the mornynge, after hir sonne Edward, callyd Prince, was gon to the filde, for to withdraw hir selfe from the adventure of the battayle; of whome also he was assured that she shuld be at his commandment.'

There is every reason for believing that this extract contains a correct statement of fact, so far as Queen Margaret's escape from the field, three days' hiding and eventual capture goes, but, judging of her by the undaunted courage which had in former times been so conspicuous in her behaviour, we may discard the motives given—that she sought safety in flight before the battle began—as an outcome of Yorkist prejudice. After her capture, Margaret was held as a prisoner of state until her father was able to pay her ransom, for which the great sum of fifty thousand crowns was demanded, and provided as a loan to him by Louis XI., of France. She survived her restoration of liberty but a few years, dying in France in 1482." *Descriptive particulars of the Battle of Tewkesbury*

and of all known local scenes and memorials of the Battle.

For Queen Margaret's Proclamation for Musters, *see* Appendix III.

[Queen Margaret is also a character in *King Richard the Third* (q.v.).]

Ravenspurgh. IV. vii. 8.

> What then remains, we being thus arrived
> From Ravenspurgh haven before the gates of York,
> But that we enter, as into our dukedóm?
> [IV. vii. 7–9.]

Hart quotes from Hall: "Kyng Edward beyng thus furnished . . . hauying with hym onely ii M. men of warre beside mariners . . . sailed into England and came on the cost of Yorkeshire, to a place called Rauenspurr . . ."

See *Historie of the arrivall of Edward IV., in England and the finall recouerye of his kingdomes from Henry VI., A.D. M.CCCC.LXXI.* Edited by John Bruce. (Camden Society).

Reignier. V. vii. 38.

> Reignier, her father, to the King of France
> Hath pawn'd the Sicils and Jerusalem,
> And hither have they sent it for her ransom.
> [V. vii. 38–40.]

Hart quotes Hall: "Queene Margaret lyke a prisoner was brought to London, where she remayned till kyng Reiner her father ransomed her with money, which summe (as the French writers afferme) he borrowed of Kyng Lewes . . . to repaye so great a dutie, he solde to the French King & his heires, the Kyngdomes of Naples and both the Siciles, with the county of Prouynce. . . . After the ransome payed, she was conveyed into Fraunce with small honor."

Rhesus. IV. ii. 20.

In Greek legend, a warlike king of Thrace who went to the assistance of Priam, when the Trojan war broke out. On the night of his arrival before Troy, Diomed and Ulysses attacked and slew him and carried away his white steeds in order to prevent the fulfilment of a prophecy that if they grazed on the Trojan plains and drank the waters of the Xanthus, the city would never be overthrown. Cf. Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (Golding's translation), xiii. 122–124; 307–310:

> Let Dulychius match with theis, the horses whyght
> Of Rhesus,dastard Dolon, and the coward carpetkynght
> King Priams Helen, and the stelth of Palladye by nyght,
> Of all theis things was nothing doone by day nor nothing wrought
> Without the helpe of Diomed.
>
> Proceeding further too the Camp of Rhesus streyght I went,
> And killed bothe himselfe and all his men about his tent,
> And taking bothe his chariot and his horses which were whyght,
> Returned home in trymph like a conquerour from fyght.

Richard. I. i. 138.

King Richard the Second.

Richard, afterwards Duke of Gloucester. I. i. p.1, 17; I. ii. p.1, 35, 38, 54; I. iv. 9, 15; II. i. p.1, 87, 151, 198; II. ii. p.81; II. iii. p.14; II. iv. p.1, 5, 129; II. vi. 29, p.31, 40, 103, 109; III. ii. p.1, 1, 146; IV. i. p.1, 19, 145; IV. iii. p.28, 29; IV. v. p.1, 16; IV. vi. 81; IV. vii. p.1, 1; IV. viii. p.52; V. i. p.16, 101; V. iii. p.1; V. iv. 27, p.67; V. v. p.1, 35, 42, 78, 83; V. vi. p.1, 4; V. vii. p.1, 26.

At the opening of the play enters the Parliament-house, and throwing down the head of Somerset, remarks:

> Speak thou for me, and tell them what I did.
> [I. i. 16.]

He encourages his father to assume the crown:

> You are old enough now, and yet, methinks, you lose,
> Father, tear the crown from the usurper's head.
> [I. i. 113–114.]

After a compromise has been effected, he accompanies his father to Sandal Castle, and incites him to break his oath of allegiance to Henry:

> An oath is of no moment, being not took
> Before a true and lawful magistrate
> That hath authority over him that swears:
> Henry had none, but did usurp the place;
> Then, seeing 'twas he that made you to depose,
> Your oath, my lord, is vain and frivolous.
> [I. ii. 22–27.]

With his brother Edward, defeats the Lancastrian forces at the battle of Mortimer's Cross.

He appears before the City of York where he has a fierce altercation with Queen Margaret who tells him :

> But thou art neither like thy sire nor dam,
> But like a foul misshapen stigmatic,
> Mark'd by the destinies to be avoided.
> [II. ii. 135–137.]

At the battle of Towton he encounters Clifford, who flees on the appearance of Warwick. Clifford falls mortally wounded, and his body being discovered on the battlefield, Edward orders ;

> See who it is, and, now the battle 's ended.
> If friend or foe let him be gently us'd. [II. vi. 44–45.]

but Richard demands that the " doom of mercy be revoked, for 'tis Clifford."

Created Duke of Gloucester in 1461 although he prefers to be Duke of Clarence " For Gloucester's dukedom is too ominous."

Is present at the Palace in London when Lady Grey presents her suit for the restoration of her late husband's estates, and in a long soliloquy unfolds his impious motives to seize the crown, for though " many lives stand between me " he will :

> like one lost in a thorny wood,
> That rents the thorns and is rent with the thorns,
> Seeking a way and straying from the way ;
> Not knowing how to find the open air,
> But toiling desperately to find it out,
> Torment myself to catch the English crown :
> And from that torment I will free myself,
> Or hew my way out with a bloody axe.
> (III. ii. 174–181.]

Asked by Edward whether he is " offended " at his marriage with Lady Grey, ironically replies :

> Not I :
> No, God forbid that I should wish them severed
> Whom God hath join'd together ; ay, and 'twere pity
> To sunder them that yoke so well together.
> [IV. i. 20–23.]

With Hastings, takes to flight when Edward is taken prisoner in his tent near Warwick, and accompanies Edward when he escapes from Middleham Castle in his exile to Holland.

Returning, he is present before York and Coventry, and at the battle of Barnet, where Warwick is defeated and slain, commands the left wing of the Yorkist forces.

He led the vanguard at Tewkesbury, and after the battle, takes part in the butchery of young Edward, and forthwith, proceeding to London, enters the Tower and stabs to death King Henry VI., remarking as he does so :

> For this, amongst the rest, was I ordain'd.
> [V. vi. 58.]

In a soliloquy Gloucester declares that as Clarence stands between him and the throne he must " beware " for " I will sort a pitchy day for thee " ; and " buzz abroad such prophecies That Edward shall be fearful of his life " ; and " then, to purge his fear, I 'll be thy death."

> King Henry and the prince his son are gone :
> Clarence, thy turn is next, and then the rest,
> Counting myself but bad till I be best. [V. vi. 90–92.]

In the last scene of the play he kisses Edward's infant son :

> And, that I love the tree from whence thou sprang'st,
> Witness the loving kiss I give the fruit. [V. vii. 31–32.]

and then aside, mutters with deadly meaning :

> To say the truth, so Judas kiss'd his master,
> And cried " all hail ! " when as he meant all harm.
> [V. vii. 33–34.]

[Richard, Duke of Gloucester, afterwards King Richard the Third is also a character in *King Richard the Third* (q.v.).]

Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York. I. i. p.1, 21, 26, 40, 48, 49, 65, 74, 77, 83, 95, 105, 121, 152, 166, 174, 185, 202, 204, 233, 254 ; I. ii. p.4 ; I. iii. 30, 49 ; I. iv. p.1, 30, 79, 84, 86, 93, 94, 99, 180 ; II. i. 35, 46, 68, 100, 101 ; II. ii. 19, 54, 99 ; II. iv. 2, 6 ; II. vi. 51, 73, 84.

In the first scene of the play enters the Parliament-house and taking possession of the throne, openly claims the crown of England. A compromise is effected, by which Henry is to reign during his life-time, Richard is proclaimed heir-apparent and protector, and forthwith leaves for Sandal Castle, his residence near Wakefield.

On hearing that her son has been disinherited, Queen Margaret assembles a large force of

"northern earls and lords." Marching to Wakefield, she joins battle with the forces of York, who is defeated and taken prisoner.

He is derided and mocked by Margaret who orders a paper crown to be set upon his head, after which he is stabbed to death and his head cut off and placed over the gates of York.

> Off with his head, and set it on York gates:
> So York may overlook the town of York.
> [I. iv. 179–180.]

Roger Mortimer, Earl of March. I. i. 106.

See *Second Part of King Henry the Sixth*, page 857.

Roscius. V. vi. 10.

> What scene of death hath Roscius now to act?
> [V. vi. 10.]

The celebrated Roman tragedian. The allusion here is to Richard's hypocritical character.

Saint Albans. II. i. 114, 120.

> March'd toward Saint Alban's to intercept the queen,
> [II. i. 114.]
>
> Short tale to make, we at Saint Alban's met,
> [II. i. 120.]

See under London, II. i. 174, 182.

Saint Albans. II. ii. 103.

> When you and I met at Saint Alban's last,
> Your legs did better service than your hands.
> [II. ii. 103–104.]

An allusion to the proverb "One pair of heels is worth two pairs of hands."

Saint Albans field. III. ii. 1.

The second battle of St. Albans, 1455. Cf. *Extract* 7 from Holinshed.

Saint George. II. i. 204; II. ii. 80; IV. ii. 29; V. i. 113.

The patron Saint of England.

Sandal—Sandal Castle. I. ii. 63.

The Scene of Act I., Scene ii. The residence of the Duke of York, near Wakefield. For the sake of the crown, Edward and Richard—sons to York—urge their father to disregard his oath of allegiance to Henry. He is won over just as a messenger enters with the news that Queen Margaret is at hand at the head of a large army intending to besiege York in his castle. [It will be no more than justice to York, if we recollect that this scene, so far as respects the oath, and his resolution to break it, proceeds entirely from our author's imagination. Neither the Earl of March nor Richard was then at Sandal; the latter being likewise a mere child, barely turned of eight years old. His appearance, therefore, and actions in this, and, at least, the two first Acts of the following play, are totally unsupported by history and truth. It may be likewise observed that the Queen was not actually present at this battle, not returning out of Scotland till some little time after.]

Scotland. III. i. 13; III. iii. 26, 151.

> From Scotland am I stol'n, even of pure love
> To greet mine own land with my wishful sight.
> [III. i. 13–14.]

After the Lancastrian forces were defeated at Towton, Henry took refuge in Scotland. Hall says: "And on that parte that marched upon Scotlande, he laied watches and espialles, that no persone should go out of the realme to kyng Henry and his company, which then laye soiornyng in Scotlande; but whatsoever ieoperdy or peryll might bee construed or demed to have insued by the meanes of kyng Henry, all suche doubtes were now shortly resolved and determined, and all feare of his doynges were clerely put under and extinct; for he hymselfe, whether he were past all feare, or was not well stablished in his perfite mynde, or could not long kepe hymselfe secrete, in a disguysed apparell boldely entered into Englande. He was no soner entered, but he was knowen and taken of one Cantlowe, and brought towarde the kyng, whom the erle of Warwicke met on the waie, by the kynges commaundement, and brought hym through London to the towre, and there he was laied in sure holde."

Sennet. I. i. p.206.

A signal call on a trumpet.

Septentrion. I. iv. 136.

> Thou art as opposite to every good
> As the Antipodes are unto us,
> Or as the south to the Septentrion. [I. iv. 134–136.]

= North.

She-wolf of France. I. iv. 111.

> She-wolf of France, but worse than wolves of France,
> Whose tongue more poisons than the adder's tooth!
> [I. iv. 111–112.]

This expression is applied to Margaret by Richard, Duke of York. Thomas Gray in his ode *The Bard* adopts the same phrase, and applies it to Isabel of France, Queen of Edward the Second :

> She-wolf of France, with unrelenting fangs
> That tearst the body of thy mangled mate,
> From thee be born, who o'er thy country hangs
> The scourge of heaven.

Sicils. I. iv. 122.

> Thy father bears the type of King of Naples,
> Of both the Sicils and Jerusalem,
> Yet not so wealthy as an English yeoman.
> [I. iv. 121–123.]

See *Second Part of King Henry the Sixth*, page 865.

Sicils. V. vii. 39.

> Reignier, her father, to the King of France
> Hath pawn'd the Sicils and Jerusalem,
> And hither have they sent it for her ransom.
> [V. vii. 38–40.]

See Reignier, V. vii. 38.

Sinon. III. ii. 190.

> And, like a Sinon, take another Troy. [III. ii. 190.]

A crafty Greek who persuaded the Trojans to receive the wooden horse into their city. He was the grandson of Autolycus and a relative of Ulysses. Virgil in his Æneid says that "by his false words and self-inflicted wounds obtained for the wooden horse, in which armed Greeks were hidden, admission into Troy."

Sir John Montgomery. IV. vii. p.40, 40, 42, 45, 51, 76.

This personage should be Sir Thomas Montgomery, brother to Sir John.

On his arrival at York, Gloucester refers to him as our "trusty friend." He is welcomed by Edward who enquires "why come you in arms," and Montgomery replies to help King Edward gain the crown as "every loyal subject ought to do."

Thanking him for his loyalty Edward reminds him that he only "claims the dukedom till God please to send the rest." "Then fare you well," remarks Montgomery, "I came to serve a king and not a duke," and giving orders "Drummer, strike up," is about to march away, but is requested by Edward to stay and they will talk over the best means to recover the crown. Proclaiming himself as "Edward's champion," he throws down his gauntlet, and challenges to single fight whoever disputes "King Edward's right." Edward thanks "brave Montgomery," and promises that "If fortune serve me, I 'll requite this kindness."

Sir John Mortimer.
Sir Hugh Mortimer. Uncles to the Duke of York. I. ii. p.62, 62.

These two characters, who appear in only one scene of the play, were, according to Mr. T. P. Courtenay, the illegitimate sons of Anne Mortimer. They were both killed at the battle of Wakefield, 30th December, 1460.

Sir John Somerville. V. i. p.7, 7.

Appears in only one scene of the Play.

Asked by Warwick as to the whereabouts of Clarence, Somerville replies that he left him at Southam with his forces, and expects him in about two hours' time.

Sir Richard Grey. III. ii. 2.

> Brother of Gloucester, at Saint Alban's field
> This lady's husband, Sir Richard Grey, was slain,
> [III. ii. 1–2.]

Sir John Grey, who was killed at the second battle of St. Albans in 1461 fighting on the Lancastrian side. Cf. *Extract* 7 from Holinshed.

Sir William Stanley. IV. v. p.1, 1, 24.

Appears in only one scene of the Play. With Gloucester and Lord Hastings assists Edward in his escape from Middleham Castle.

[Sir William Stanley, brother of Sir Thomas Stanley, first Earl of Derby, and also of Sir John Stanley, a character in the *Second Part of King Henry the Sixth*. Is mentioned in *King Richard the Third*.]

Soldiers. I. i. p.1 ; I. iii. p.3 ; I. iv. p.27 ; II. i. p.1, p.95 ; II. ii. p.81 ; II. vi. p. 31 ; IV. ii. p.1 ; IV. iii. p.23 ; IV. vii. p.1 ; IV. viii. p.52 ; V. i. p.16 ; V. iv. p.1, p.67 ; V. v. p.1, p.12.

A son that has killed his father. II. v. p.54.

At the battle of Towton entering with a dead body which he intends to rob, he recognises the dead man as his father. Asking forgiveness of God for " I knew not what I did," and his father for " I knew not thee," he declares that " My tears shall wipe away these bloody marks." Henry laments over the scene enacted " O piteous spectacle ! O bloody times ! . . . Weep, wretched man, I 'll aid thee tear for tear."

Southam. V. i. 9.

> At Southam I did leave him with his forces,
> And do expect him here some two hours hence.
> [V. i. 9–10.]

About seven miles south-east of Leamington. Sir John Somerville tells Warwick that he left Clarence with his forces at this place.

Southam. V. i. 12.

> It is not his, my lord ; here Southam lies :
> The drum your honour hears marcheth from Warwick.
> [V. i. 12–13.]

" The Warwick road entered Coventry on the south-west by Greyfriars Gate : that from Southam appears to have entered by New Gate. From either this or Gosford Gate—outside which Edward is elsewhere said to have encamped—Warwick would be looking eastwards. On coming up from Warwick Edward must be supposed to have found the Greyfriars Gate closed against him, and to be coming round the city wall. Warwick hears the drum somewhere behind him, whereas the road from Southam, which Somerville points to, is before him." *Irving edition*.

Spain. III. iii. 82.

> Then Warwick disannuls great John of Gaunt,
> Which did subdue the greatest part of Spain ;
> [III. iii. 81–82.]

See John of Gaunt, III. iii. 81, 83.

Suffolk. I. i. 156 ; IV. viii. 12.

The county of Suffolk.

Tewksbury. V. iii. 19.

> We are advertis'd by our loving friends
> That they do hold their course toward Tewksbury.
> [V. iii. 19–20.]

In Gloucestershire. Margaret was at this time marching with her forces in the direction of Tewkesbury.

Thracian fatal steeds. IV. ii. 21.

See Rhesus.

Three Suns. II. i. 25, 26.

> *Edw.* Dazzle mine eyes, or do I see three suns ?
> *Rich.* Three glorious suns, each one a perfect sun ;
> [II. i. 25–26.]

This supernatural incident is related by Holinshed as having taken place on the morning of the battle of Mortimer's Cross. Grafton says : " The Duke of Yorke called Erle of Marche, somewhat spurred and quickned with these nouelties, retired backe, and met with his enemies in a fayre plaine, neere to Mortimers crosse, not farre from Herford East, on Candlemasse day in the mornyng, at which tyme the Sunne (as some write) appered to the Erle of Marche like three Sunnes, and sodainely ioyned all together in one, and that vpon the sight thereof, he tooke such courage, that he fiercely set on his enemyes, and them shortly discomfited : for which cause, men imagined that he gaue the Sunne in his full brightnesse for his Cognisaunce or Badge."

Tower. III. ii. 120.

> See that he be convey'd unto the Tower :
> [III. ii. 120.]

See under Scotland. Cf. *Extract* 6 from Holinshed.

Tower. IV. viii. 57 ; V. i. 46.

> Hence with him to the Tower ! let him not speak.
> [IV. viii. 57.]

Hall describes Henry's capture ; " When the Duke of Somerset and other of Kynge Henryes frendes, saw the world thus sodaynly changed euery man fled and in haste shyfted for hym selfe, leuyng Kyng Henry alone, as an host that should be sacrificed, in the Bishops palace of London . . . in whiche place he was by Kynge Edward taken and agayne committed to prison and captiuitie."

Tower. V. v. 50, 85.

> To London, all in post ; and, as I guess,
> To make a bloody supper in the Tower. [V. v. 84–85.]

Cf. *Extract* 19 from Holinshed.

Troy. III. ii. 190.

An ancient city of Asia Minor, and the scene of *Troilus and Cressida*.

Troy. II. i. 51, 52 ; IV. viii. 25.

> Environed he was with many foes,
> And stood against them, as the hope of Troy
> Against the Greeks that would have enter'd Troy.
> [II. i. 50–52.]

Hope of Troy = Hector. Cf. IV. viii. 25.

Tutor to Rutland. I. iii. p.1.

At the battle of Wakefield the Tutor pleads for the life of young Rutland who has fallen into the hands of Lord Clifford, and being told the youth must die, expresses a wish to die with him. He is ordered away by Clifford, for thy " priesthood saves thy life."

Sir Robert Aspall, Chaplain and schoolmaster to the young earl of Rutland. Hall remarks : " While this battaill was in fightyng, a prieste called sir Robert Aspall, chappelain and schole master to the yong erle of Rutland ii. sonne to the above named duke of Yorke, scarce of the age of xii. yeres, a faire gentleman, and a maydenlike person, perceivyng that flight was more savegard, then tariyng, bothe for him and his master, secretly conveyed therle out of the felde, by the lord Cliffordes bande, toward the towne, but or he coulde enter into a house, he was by the sayd lord Clifford espied, folowed, and taken, and by reson of his apparell, demaunded what he was. The yong gentelman dismaied, had not a word to speake, but kneled on his knees implorying mercy, and desiryng grace, both with holding up his handes and making dolorous countinance, for his speache was gone for feare. Save him sayde his Chappelein, for he is a princes sonne, and peradventure may do you good hereafter. With that word, the lord Clifford marked him and sayde : by Gods blode, thy father slew myne, and so wil I do the and all thy kyn, and with that woord, stacke the erle to the hart with his dagger, and bad his Chappeleyn bere the erles mother and brother worde what he had done, and sayde. In this acte the lord Clyfford was accompted a tyraunt, and no gentelman, for the propertie of the Lyon, which is a furious and an unreasonable beaste, is to be cruell to them that withstande hym, and gentle to such as prostrate or humiliate them selfes before him."

Two brave bears. V. vii. 10.

> With them, the two brave bears, Warwick and Montague,
> That in their chains fetter'd the kingly lion,
> And made the forest tremble when they roar'd.
> [V. vii. 10–12.]

An allusion to the well-known badge of the bear and the ragged staff. " This well-known badge of the Neville family came to the Earl of Warwick from the Beauchamps though his marriage with the heiress of Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick.". Cf. *Second Part of King Henry the Sixth*, V. i, 144-147 :

> Call hither to the stake my two brave bears,
> That with the very shaking of their chains
> They may astonish these fell-lurking curs :
> Bid Salisbury and Warwick come to me.

Two Keepers. III. i. p.1.

Appear in only one scene of the Play. They are awaiting the approach of deer in the forest, when Henry, disguised, enters. They recognise him, and in " God's name, and the king's " seize him and convey him " unto the officers."

Holinshed says : " whether he was past all feare ; or that hee was not well established in his wits and perfect mind ; or for that he could not long keepe himselfe secret, in *disguised* at[t]ire boldlie entred into England. He was no sooner entred, but he was knowne and taken

of one Cantlow, and brought toward the king; whom the earle of Warwike met on the way by the kings commandement, and brought him through London to the Tower & there he was laid in sure hold."

Ulysses. III. ii. 189.

Deceive more slyly than Ulysses could, [III. ii. 189.]

During the siege of Troy he distinguished himself as a cunning spy and a prudent and eloquent negotiator. He is supposed to have devised the stratagem of the wooden horse and was one of those who were concealed in it. A speaking character in *Troilus and Cressida*.

Ulysses. IV. ii. 19.

That as Ulysses and stout Diomede
With sleight and manhood stole to Rhesus' tents,
[IV. ii. 19–20.]

See Rhesus.

Wakefield. II. i. 107.

After the bloody fray at Wakefield fought,
[II. i. 107.]

The battle of Wakefield. The Scene of Act I., Scenes III. and IV.

Warwickshire. IV. viii. 9.

Watchmen. IV. iii. p.1.

York. I. iv. 180.

Off with his head, and set it on York gates:
So York may overlook the town of York.
[I. iv. 179-180.]

Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York. (q.v.)

York. I. iv. 179, 180; II. i. 65.

Off with his head, and set it on York gates:
So York may overlook the town of York.
[I. iv. 179–180.]

The city of York. Holinshed says: "After this victorie by the queene,the earle of Salisbury and all the prisoners were sent to Pomfret, and there beheaded; whose heads (togither with the duke of Yorkes head) were conueied to Yorke, and there set on poles ouer the gate of the citie, in despite of them and their linage."

York. IV. vii. 8, 78.

What then remains, we being thus arrived
From Ravenspurgh haven before the gates of York,
[IV. vii. 7-8.]

The city of York. *See* Ravenspurgh.

York. II. ii. 1; II. vi. 52.

The city of York.

York. III. ii. 6; III. iii. 108, 186; V. i. 74.

The House of York.

APPENDIX I.

EXTRACTS FROM HOLINSHED[1] THAT ILLUSTRATE THE *Third Part of King Henry the Sixth.*

1. [On the battle-field of St. Albans,] laie Henrie, the second of that name, earle of Northumberland ; Humfrie earle of Stafford, sonne to the duke of Buckingham ; Thomas lord Clifford ; . . .

Humfreie, duke of Buckingham, being wounded, and Iames Butler, earle of Ormond and Wilshire, . . seeing fortune thus against them, left the king alone, and with a number fled awaie.

Maister *Edward Hall* in his chronicle maketh mention of an oration, which the duke of Yorke vttered, sitting in *the regall seat*, there in the chamber of the peeres, either at this his first comming in amongst them, or else at some one time after : the which we haue thought good also to set downe ; though *Iohn Whethamsted*, the abbat of saint Albons, who liued in those daies, and by all likelihood was there present at the parlement, making no further recitall of anie words, which the duke should vtter at that time in that his booke of records, where he intreateth of this matter. But for the oration (as maister *Hall* hath written thereof) we find as followeth : During the time (saith he) of this parlement, the duke of Yorke with a bold countenance entered into the chamber of the peeres, and sat downe in the throne roiall, vnder the cloth of estate, (which is the kings peculiar seat), and, in the presence of the nobilitie, as well spirituall as temporall (after a pause made), he began to declare his title to the crowne, in this forme and order as insueth.

[When Queen Margaret perceived that] she could attempt nothing against him neere to London ; because the duke was in more estimation there, than either the king hir husband, or hir selfe : . . .

After long debating of the matter, and deliberate consultation amongest the peeres, prelats, and commons ; vpon the vigill of All saints, it was condescended : for so much as king Henrie had beene taken as king by the space of thirtie and eight yeares and more, that he should inioy the name and title of king, and haue possession of the realme during his naturall life. And, if he either died, or resigned, or forfeited the same, by breaking or going against anie point of this concord, then the said crowne & authoritie roiall should immediatlie be deuoluted and come to the duke of Yorke, if he then liued ; or else to the next heire of his linage.

Item, the said Richard duke of Yorke, shall promit and bind him by his solemne oth, in maner and forme as followeth :

" In the name of God, Amen : I, Richard duke of Yorke, promise and sweare by the faith and " truth that I owe to almightie God, that I shall neuer consent, procure, or stirre, directlie or " indirectlie, in priuie or apert, neither (as much as in me is) shall suffer to be doone, consented, " procured, or stirred, anie thing that may sound to the abridgement of the naturall life of king " Henrie the sixt, or to the hurt or diminishing of his reigne or dignitie roiall, by violence, or anie " other waie, against his freedome or libertie " : . . .

And vpon the saturdaie [November 8, 1460] next insuing [All Saints' Day,] Richard duke of Yorke was by sound of trumpet solemnelie proclamed heir apparant to the crowne of England, and protectour of the realme.

The duke of Yorke, well knowing that the queene would spurne against all this, caused both hir and hir sonne to be sent for by the king. But she, as woont rather to rule than to be ruled, and thereto counselled by the dukes of Excester and Summerset, not onelie denied to come, but also assembled a great armie ; intending to take the king by fine force out of the lords hands.

[Yorke] assigned the duke of Norffolke, and erle of Warwike, his trutie freends, to be about the king, while he, with the earles of Salisburie and Rutland, and a conuenient number, departed out of London the second daie of December, northward ; and appointed the earle of March his eldest sonne to follow him with all his power. The duke came to his castell of Sandall beside Wakefield on Christmasse eeuen, & there began to make muster of his tenants and freends.

2. [When a Yorkist army was passing] through Kent, there came to them the lord Cobham, Iohn Gilford, William Pech, Robert Horne, and manie other gentlemen ; . . .

The people of that countrie and other parts were altogither bent in their fauor ; and no lesse addicted to doo them seruice both with bodie and goods, than the Irishmen seemed to be at their receiuing of the said duke of Yorke, and his yoonger sonne Edmund earle of Rutland ; whom they so highlie honoured, that they offered to liue and die in their quarrell. . . .

But it is to be read in a late writer, that the commons of Kent . . . sent priuilie messengers to Calis to the foresaid erles ; beseeching them in all hast possible to come to their succour. Wherevpon the said earles sent ouer into Kent the lord Fauconbridge, to know if their deeds would accord with their words : so that anon the people of Kent, and the other shires adioining, resorted to the said lord Fauconbridge in great number.

1. *Shakespeare's Holinshed*, by W. G. Boswell-Stone.

[Margaret] determined to cope with him yer his succour were come.

Now she, hauing in hir companie the prince hir sonne, the dukes of Excester and Summerset, the earle of Deuonshire, the lord Clifford, the lord Ros, and in effect all the lords of the north parts, with eighteene thousand men, or (as some write) two and twentie thousand, marched from Yorke to Wakefield, and bad base to the duke, euen before his castell gates.

[The Duke,] hauyng with hym not fully fiue thousande persones, determined incontinent to issue out, and to fight with his enemies; and all though sir Dauy Halle, his old seruant and chief counsailer, auysed him to kepe hys Castle, and to defende the same with his smal numbre, till his sonne the Erle of Marche wer come with his power of Marchemen and Welshe souldiours, yet he would not be counsailed, but in a great fury saied: "a, Dauy, Dauy! hast thou loued me so "long, and now wouldest haue me dishonored? Thou neuer sawest me kepe fortres when I was "Regent in Normandy, when the Dolphyn hymself, with his puissaunce, came to besiege me, "but, lyke a man, and not like a birde included in a cage, I issued and fought with myne enemies, "to their losse euer (I thanke God) and to my honor . . . wouldest thou that I, for dread of "a scolding woman, . . . should incarcerate my self, and shut my gates?"

3. [Halle relates that, while the battle of Wakefield] was in fighting, a prieste called sir Robbert Aspall, chappelain and schole master to the yong erle of Rutland, (ii. sonne to the aboue named duke of Yorke, sca[r]ce of the age of xii. yeres, a faire gentleman and a maydenlike person,) perceiuying that f[l]ight was more sauegard than tariyng bothe for hym and his master, secretly conueyd therle out of the felde, by the lord Cliffordes bande, toward the towne; but, or he coulde entre into a house, he was by the sayd lord Clifford espied, folowed, and taken, and, by reson his apparell, demaunded what he was. The yong gentelman, dismayed, had not a word to speake, but kneled on his knees, imploryng mercy and desirying grace, both with holding vp his handes and making dolorous countinance, for his speache was gone for feare. "Saue him," sayde his Chappelein, "for he is a princes sonne, and peraduenture may do you good hereafter." With that word, the lord Clifford marked him and sayde: "by Gods blode! thy father slew myne, and so will I do the and all thy kyn!" and, with that woord, stacke the erle to the hart with his dagger, and bad his Chappeleyn bere the erles mother & brother worde what he had done and sayde. In this acte the lord Clyfford was accompted a tyraunt and no gentelman, for the propertie of the Lyon (which is a furious and an vnreasonable beaste) is to be cruell to them that withstande hym, and gentle to such as prostrate or humiliate them selfes before hym. Yet thus cruel Clifforde, and deadly bloudsupper, [was] not content with this homicyde of chyldkyllyng, . . .

4. [Though York] fought manfullie, yet was he within half an houre slaine and dead, and his whole armie discomfited: with him died of his truetie freends, his two bastard vncles, sir Iohn and sir Hugh Mortimer, sir Dauie Hall, sir Hugh Hastings, sir Thomas Neuill, William and Thomas Aparre, both brethren; and two thousand and eight hundred others, whereof manie were yoong gentlemen, and heires of great parentage in the south parts: whose kin reuenged their deaths within foure moneths next, as after shall appeare.

[Clifford, not satisfied with Rutland's murder,] came to the place where the dead corpse of the duke of Yorke laie, caused his head to be striken off, and set on it a crowne of paper, fixed it on a pole, and presented it to the queene, not lieng farre from the field, in great despite, at which great reioising was shewed: but they laughed then that shortlie after lamented, and were glad then of other mens deaths that knew not their owne to be so neere at hand. Some write that the duke was taken aliue, and in derision caused to stand vpon a molehill; on whose head they put a garland in steed of a crowne, which they had fashioned and made of sedges or bulrushes; and, hauing so crowned him with that garland, they kneeled downe afore him (as the Iewes did vnto Christ) in scorne, saieng to him: "Haile, king without rule! haile, kind without heritage! "haile, duke and prince without people or possessions!" And at length, haiing thus scorned him with these and diuerse other the like despitefull words, they stroke off his head, which (as yee haue heard) they presented to the queene.

After this victorie by the queene, the earle of Salisburie and all the prisoners were sent to Pomfret, and there beheaded; whose heads (togither with the duke of Yorkes head) were conueied to Yorke, and there set on poles ouer the gate of the citie, in despite of them and their linage.

5. [Edward had begun his march thence when] newes was brought to him, that Iasper earle of Penbroke, halfe brother to king Henrie, and Iames Butler, earle of Ormund and Wilshire, had assembled a great number of Welsh and Irish people to take him; he, herewith quickned, retired backe and met with his enimies in a faire plaine neere to Mortimers crosse, not far from Hereford east, on Candle masse daie [Feb. 2, 1461] in the morning. At which time the sunne (as some write) appeared to the earle of March like three sunnes, and suddenlie ioined altogither in one. Upon which sight he tooke such courage, that he, fiercelie setting on his enimies, put them to flight: and for this cause men imagined that he gaue the sunne in his full brightnesse for his badge or cognisance.

[When] true report came not onelie to the queene, but also to the citie; that the earle of March, hauing vanquished the earles of Penbroke and Wilshire, had met with the earle of Warwike (after this last battell at saint Albons) at Chipping Norton by Cotsold; and that they with their powers were comming toward London.

[Queen Margaret] still came forwarde with her Northern people, entendyng to subuerte and defaict all conclusions and agrementes enacted and assented to in the last Parliament. And so after her long iorney she came to the town of sainct Albons; wherof the duke of Northfolke, the erle of Warwycke, and other, (whom the duke of Yorke had lefte to gouerne the kyng in his absence,) beyng aduertised, by the assent of ye kyng, gathered together a great hoste, and set forward towarde saincte Albons, hauyng the kyng in their company, as the head and chefetayn of the warre; and so, not myndyng to differre the tyme any farther, vpon shrouetues.day, early in the mornyng, set vpon their enemyes. Fortune that day so fauored the Quene, that her parte preuayled, & the duke and the elre were discomfited, and fled, leauing the king . . .

[The Yorkist] nobles that were about the king, perceiuing how the game went, and withall saw no comfort in the king, but rather a good will and affection towards the contrarie part, . . . withdrew . . ., leauing the king . . .

Now after that the noble men and other were fled, and the king left in maner alone without anie power of men to gard his person, he was counselled by an esquier called Thomas Hoo, a man well languaged, and well seene in the lawes, to send some conuenient messenger to the northerne lords, aduertising them, that he would now gladlie come vnto them, (whome he knew to be his verie freends, and had assembled themselues togither for his seruice,) to the end he might remaine with them, as before he had remained vnder the gouernement of the southerne lords. . . .

[The Lancastrian lords conveyed Henry to Clifford's tent,] and brought the queene and hir sonne prince Edward vnto his presence, whome he ioifullie receiued, imbracing and kissing them in most louing wise; and yeelding hartie thanks to almightie God, whome it had pleased thus to strengthen the forces of the northerne men, to restore his deerelie beloued and onelie sonne againe into his possession.

[Queen Margaret] caused the king to dub hir sonne prince Edward, knight; with thirtie other persons, which the day before fought on hir side against his part.

[Queen Margaret was] fortunate in hir two battles [Wakefield and 2nd St. Albans], but vnfortunate was the king in all his enterprises: for where his person was present, the victorie still fled from him to the contrarie part.

6. [In the conflict at Ferrybridge was slain] the bastard of Salisburie, brother to the earle of Warwike, a valiant yoong gentleman, and of great audacitie.

When the earle of Warwike was informed hereof, like a man desperat, he mounted on his hacknie, and hasted puffing and blowing to king Edward, saieng: "Sir, I praie God haue mercie "of their soules, which in the beginning of your enterprise haue lost their liues! And bicause "I see no succors of the world but in God, I remit the vengeance to him our creator and redeemer." With that he alighted downe, and slue his horse with his sword, saieng: "Let him flee that will, "for suerlie I will tarrie with him that will tarrie with me": and kissed the crosse of his sword as it were for a vow to the promise.

King Edward, perceiuing the courage of his trustie friend the earle of Warwike, made proclamation, that all men which were afraid to fight should depart: and, to all those that tarried the battell, he promised great rewards; with addition, that anie souldier which voluntarilie would abide, and afterwards, either in or before the fight should seeme to flee or turne his backe, then he that could kill him should haue a great reward and double wages.

This deadly battayle and bloudy conflicte continued x houres in doubtful victorie, the one parte some tyme flowyng, and sometime ebbyng, . . .

This conflict was in maner vnnaturall, for in it the sonne fought agaynst the father, the brother agaynst the brother, the nephew against the vncle, and the tenaunt agaynst his lord, . . .

King Henrie, after he heard of the irrecouerable losse of his armie, departed incontinentlie with his wife and sonne to the towne of Berwike; and, leauing the duke of Summerset there, went into Scotland, and, comming to the king of Scots, required of him and his councell, aid and comfort.

[A Yorkist force passed the Aire] at Castelford, three miles from Ferribridge, intending to haue inuironed the lord Clifford and his companie. But they, being therof aduertised, departed in great hast toward king Henries armie; yet they met with some that they looked not for, & were so trapt yer they were aware. For the lord Clifford, either for heat or paine, putting off his gorget, suddenlie with an arrow (as some saie, without an head) was striken into the throte, and immediatelie rendred his spirit; . . .

[Edward reached York on March 30,] and first he caused the heads of his father, the earle of Saliburie, and other his freends, to be taken from the gates, and to be buried with their bodies: and there he caused the earle of Deuonshire, and three other, to be beheaded, and set their heads in the same place.

[Edward] returned, after the maner and fashion of a *triumphant* conquerour, with great pompe vnto London ; where, according to the old custome of the realme, he called a great assemblie of persons of all degrees ; and the nine & twentieth daie of Iune was at Westminster with solemnitie *crowned* and annointed *king*. . . .

Also, after this, he created his two yoonger brethren dukes ; that is to saie, lord George, duke of Clarence, lord Richard, duke of Glocester ; . . .

Some thinke that the name and title of Glocester hath beene vnluckie to diuerse, which for their honours haue beene erected by creation of princes to that stile and dignitie ; as Thomas Spenser, Thomas of Woodstoke, sonne to king Edward the third, and this duke Humfreie : which three persons by miserable death finished their daies ; and after them King Richard the third also, duke of Glocester, in ciuill warre slaine.

[Henry,] whether he was past all feare ; or that hee was not well established in his wits and perfect mind ; or for that he could not long keepe himselfe secret, in *disguised* at[t]ire boldlie entred into England.

He was no sooner entred, but he was knowne and taken of one Cantlow, and brought toward the king ; whom the earle of Warwike met on the way by the kings commandement, and brought him through London to the Tower, & there he was laid in sure hold.

7. [In 1464] there came to make a sute by petition to the king dame Elizabeth Greie, which was after his queene, at that time a widow, borne of noble bloud by hir mother, duches of Bedford yer she maried the lord Wooduile, hir father.

Howbeit, this dame Elizabeth hir selfe, being in seruice with queene Margaret, wife vnto king Henrie the sixt, was maried vnto one Iohn Greie, an esquier, whome king Henrie made knight vpon the field that he had on Barnet heath by saint Albons, against king Edward. But litle while inioied he that knighthood : for he was at the same field slaine . . . this poore ladie made humble sute vnto the king, that she might be restored vnto such small lands as hir late husband had giuen her in iointure.

The king, being on hunting in the forrest of Wichwood besides Stonistratford, came for his recreation to the manor of Grafton, where the duchesse of Bedford then soiourned, wife to sir Richard Wooduile lord Riuers ; on whome was then attendant a daughter of hirs, called the ladie Elizabeth Graie, widow of sir Iohn Graie knight, slaine at the last battell of saint Albons, . . .

This widow, hauing a sute to the king for such lands as hir husband had giuen hir in iointure, so kindled the kings affection towards hir, that he not onelie fauoured hir sute, but more hir person ; for she was a woman of a more formall countenance than of excellent beautie ; and yet both of such beautie and fauour, that, with hir sober demeanour, sweete looks, and comelie smiling, (neither too wanton, nor too bashfull,) besides hir pleasant toong and trim wit, she so allured and made subiect vnto hir the heart of that great prince, that, after she had denied him to be his paramour, (with so good maner, and words so well set as better could not be deuised,) he finallie resolued with himselfe to marrie hir ; not asking counsell of anie man, till they might perceiue it was no bootie to aduise him to the contrarie of that his concluded purpose ; . . .

Whome when the king beheld, and heard hir speake, as she was both faire and of a goodlie fauour, moderate of stature, well made, and verie wise : he not onelie pitied her, but also waxed inamoured of hir. And, taking hir afterward secretlie aside, began to enter in talking more familiarlie. Whose appetite when she perceiued, she vertuouslie denied him.

But that did she so wiselie, and with so good maner, and words so well set, that she rather kindled his desire than quenched it. And, finallie, after manie a meeting much wooing, and many great promises, she well espied the kings affection toward hir so greatlie increased, that she durst somewhat the more boldlie saie her mind ; as to him whose hart she perceiued more feruentlie set, than to fall off for a word. And, in conclusion, she shewed him plaine, that, as she wist hir selfe *too* simple *to be* his wife, so thought she hir selfe *too good to be* his *concubine*. The king, much maruelling at hir constancie, (as he that had not been woont elsewhere to be so stiffelie said naie,) so much esteemed hir continencie and chastitie, that he set hir vertue in the steed of possession and riches : and thus, taking counsell of his desire, determined in all possible hast to marie her.

Now after he was thus appointed, and had betweene them twaine insured hir ; then asked he counsell of his other freends, and that in such maner, as they might then perceiue it booted not greatlie to say naie.

8. [Henry, being] somwhat setled in the relme of Scotland, . . . sent his wife and his sonne into France to king Reiner hir father ; trusting by his aid and succour to assemble an armie, and once againe to recouer his right and dignitie : but he in the meane time made his aboad in Scotland, to see what waie his friends in England would studie for his restitution.

The queene, being in France, did obteine of the yoong French king, then Lewis the eleuenth, that all hir husbands friends, and those of the Lancastriall band, might safelie and suerlie haue resort into anie port of the realme of France ; prohibiting all other of the contrarie faction anie accesse or repaire into that countrie.

[In 1464, when Edward had brought England] into a good & quiet estate, it was thought meet by him and those of his councell, that a marriage were prouided for him in some conuenient place ; and therefore was the earle of Warwike sent ouer into France, to demand the ladie Bona, daughter to Lewes duke of Sauoie, and sister to the laide Carlot, then queene of France ; which Bona was at that time in the French court.

The earle of Warwike, comming to the French king, then lieng at Tours, was of him honourablie receiued, and right courteouslie interteined. His message was so well liked, and his request thought so honourable for the aduancement of the ladie Bona, that hir sister queene Carlot obteined both the good will of the king hir husband, and also of hir sister the foresaid ladie : so that the matrimonie on that side was cleerelie assented to, and the erle of Dampmartine appointed (with others) to saile into England, for the full finishing of the same.

The earle of Oxford far striken in age, and his sonne and heire the lord Awbreie Veer, either through malice of their enimies, or for that they had offended the king, were both, with diuerse of their councellours, attainted, and put to execution ; which caused Iohn earle of Oxford euer after to rebell.

Incontinentlie was Edward earle of March, sonne and heir to Richard duke of Yorke, by the lords in the said councell assembled, named, elected, and admitted for king and gouernour of the realme.

On which daie, the people of the earles part being in their muster in S. Iohns field, and a great number of the substantiall citizens there assembled to behold their order, the lord Fauconbridge, who tooke the musters, wiselie anon declared to the people the offenses and breaches of the late agreement, committed by king Henrie the sixt ; and demanded of the people, whether they would haue him to rule and reigne anie longer ouer them ? To whome they with whole voice answered : " Naie, naie ! " Then he asked them, if they would serue, loue, honour, and obeie the erle of March, as their onelie king and souereigne lord ? To which question they answered : " Yea, yea ! " crieng, " King Edward ! " with manie great showts & clapping of hands in assent and gladnesse of the same.

The lords were shortlie aduertised of the louing consent which the commons frankelie and freelie had giuen. Whervpon, incontinentlie, they all with a conuenient number of the most substantiall commons repaired to the erle of Bainards castell ; making iust and true report of their election and admission, and the louing assent of the commons. . . .

After that this prince Edward earle of March had taken vpon him the gouernement of this realme of England (as before ye haue heard), the morow next insuing, being the fourth of March, he rode to the church of saint Paule, and there offered ; and, after *Te Deum* soong, with great solemnitie he was conueied to Westminster, and there set in the hall with the scepter roiall in his hand : whereto people in great numbers assembled. His claime to the crowne was declared to be by two maner of waies ; the first, as sonne and heire to duke Richard his father, right inheritor to the same ; the second, by authoritie of parlement, and forfeiture committed by king Henrie. Wherevpon it was againe demanded of the commons, if they would admit and take the said erle as their prince and souereigne lord ; which all with one voice cried : " Yea, yea ! "

The French king was not well pleased to be thus daillied with ; but he shortlie (to appease the greefe of his wife and hir sister the ladie Bona) married the said ladie Bona to the duke of Millan.

Now when the earle of Warwike had knowledge by letters sent to him out of England from his trustie friends, that king Edward had gotten him a new wife, he was not a little troubled in his mind ; for that he tooke it his credence thereby was greatlie minished, and his honour much stained, namelie, in the court of France : for that it might be iudged he came rather like an espiall, to mooue a thing neuer minded, and to treat a marriage determined before not to take effect. Suerlie he thought himselfe euill vsed, that when he had brought the matter to his purposed intent and wished conclusion, then to haue it quaile on his part ; so as all men might thinke at the least wise, that his prince made small account of him, to send him on such a sleeuelesse arrand.

All men for the most part agree, that this marriage was the onlie cause, why the earle of Warwike conceiued an hatred against king Edward, whome he so much before fauoured.

When queene Margaret, that soiourned with duke Reiner hir father, heard tell that the earle of Warwike was come to the French court, with all diligence shee came to Ambois to see him, with hir onelie sonne prince Edward.

With hir also came Iasper earle of Penbroke, and Iohn earle of Oxford, which, after diuerse imprisonments latelie escaped, fled out of England into France, and came by fortune to this assemblie. These persons, after intreatie had of their affaires, determined by meanes of the French king to conclude a league and amitie betweene them. And first to begin withall, for the sure foundation of their new intreatie, Edward prince of Wales wedded Anne second daughter to the earle of Warwike, which ladie came with hir mother into France. After which mariage, the duke and the earles tooke a solemne oth, that they should neuer leaue the warre, till either king Henrie the sixt, or his sonne prince Edward, were restored to the crowne : and that the queene and the prince should depute and appoint the duke and the earle to be gouernors & conseruators of the common wealth, till time the prince were come to estate. . . .

The French king lent both ships, men, and monie vnto queene Margaret, and to hir partakers; and appointed the bastard of Burbon, admerall of France, with a great nauie, to defend them against the nauie of the duke of Burgognie; which he laid at the mouth of the riuer Saine, readie to incounter them, being of greater force than both the French nauie and the English fleet.

9. The earle of Warwike, being a far casting prince, perceiued somewhat in the duke of Clarence, whereby he iudged that he bare no great will towards the king his brother; and thervpon, feeling his minde by such talke as he of purpose ministred, vnderstood how he was bent, and so wan him to his purpose: . . .

The erle had not halfe tolde his tale, but ye duke in a greate fury answered: "why, my lorde, "thynke you to haue hym kynd to you, that is vnkynd, yea, and vnnatural to me, beyng his "awne brother? thynke you that frendship will make hym kepe promise where neither nature "nor kynred in any wise can prouoke or moue him to fauor his awne bloud? Thynke you that "he will exalte and promote hys cosin or alie, whiche litle careth for the fall or confusion of hys "awne line and lignage? This you knowe well enough, that the heire of the Lorde Scales he "hath maried to his wifes brother, the heire also of the lorde Bonuile and Haryngton he hath "geuen to his wifes sonne, and theire of the lorde Hungerford he hath graunted to the lorde "Hastynges: thre mariages more meter for hys twoo brethren and kynne then for suche newe "foundlynges as he hath bestowed theim on. But, by swete saincte George, I sweare, if my "brother of Gloucester would ioyne with me, we would make hym knowe that wee were all three "one mannes sonnes, of one mother and lignage discended, which should be more preferred and "promoted then straungers of his wifes bloud."

The Duke of Clarence, being come to Calis with the earle of Warwike, after he had sworne on the sacrament to keepe his promise and pact made with the said earle whole and inuiolate, he married the ladie Isabell, eldest daughter to the earle, in our ladies church there.

King Edward, hauing perfect knowledge of all the dooings of the earle of Warwike, and of his brother the duke of Clarence, was by diuerse letters certified of the great armie of the northerne men, with all speed comming toward London; and therefore in great hast he sent to William lord Herbert, whom (as yee haue heard) he had created earle of Penbroke; requiring him without delaie to raise his power, and incounter with the northerne men. . . .

And, to assist him with archers, was appointed Humfrie lord Stafford of Southwike, named but not created earle of Deuonshire by the king; in hope that he would serue valiantlie in that iournie: he had with him eight hundred archers.

10. It is almost not to be beleeued, how manie thousands men of warre at the first tidings of the earles landing resorted vnto him.

[After Warwick's landing, in 1470,] he made proclamation in the name of king Henrie the sixt, vpon high paines commanding and charging all men able to bear armor, to prepare themselues to fight against Edward duke of Yorke, which contrarie to right had usurped the crowne.

[Edward] assembled his power, and was comming toward the earle, who, being aduertised thereof, sent to the duke of Clarence, requiring him to come and ioine with him. The duke, being not farre off, with all speed repaired to the earle, and so they ioined their powers togither, and vpon secret knowledge had, that the king (bicause they were entered into termes by waie of communication to haue a peace) took small heed to himselfe, nothing doubting anie outward attempt to his enimies.

The earle of Warwike, intending not to leese such opportunitie of aduantage, in the dead of the night, with an elect companie of men of warre, (as secretlie as was possible,) set on the kings field, killing them that kept the watch, and, yer the king was ware, (for he thought of nothing lesse than of that which then hapned,) at a place called Wolnie [? Honiley, Warwickshire], foure miles from Warwike, he was taken prisoner and brought to the castell of Warwike. And, to the intent his friends should not know what was become of him, the earle caused him by secret iournies in the night to be conueied to Middleham castell in Yorkeshire; and there to be kept vnder the custodie of the archbishop of Yorke, and other his freends in those parties.

[All his] trustie freends went to diuerse sanctuaries, and amongst other his wife queene Elizabeth tooke sanctuarie at Westminster, and there, in great penurie, forsaken of all hir friends, was deliuered of a faire son called Edward.

King Edward, being thus in captiuitie, spake euer faire to the archbishop, and to his other keepers, so that he had leaue diuerse daies to go hunt. . . .

11. Now, on a daie, vpon a plaine, when he was thus abrode, there met with him sir William Stanelie, sir Thomas a Borough, and diuers other of his friends, with such a great band of men, that neither his keepers would, nor once durst, moue him to returne vpon prison againe. Some haue thought that his keepers were corrupted with monie, or faire promises, and therefore suffred him thus to scape out of danger.

Accompanied with the duke of Glocester his brother, the lord Hastings his chamberlaine, (which had maried the earles sister, and yet was euer true to the king his maister,) and the lord

Scales, brother to the queene, he departed into Lincolneshire. And, bicause he vnderstood that all the realme was vp against him, and some part of the earle of Warwiks power was within halfe a daies iournie of him, following the aduise of his counsell, with all hast possible, he passed the Washes in great ieopardie, & comming to Lin found there an English ship, and two hulkes of Holland, readie (as fortune would) to make saile.

Wherevpon he, with his brother the duke of Glocester, the lord Scales, and diuerse other his trustie friends, entered into the ship. The lord Hastings taried a while after, exhorting all his acquaintance, that of necessitie should tarie behind, to shew themselues openlie as friends to king Henrie for their owne safegard, but hartilie required them in secret to continue faithfull to king Edward. This persuasion declared, he entered the ship with the other, and so they departed ; being in number in that one ship and two hulkes, about seuen or eight hundred persons, hauing no furniture of apparell or other necessarie things with them, sauing apparell for warre.

12. On the fiue and twentith day of the said moneth, the duke of Clarence, accompanied with the earles of Warwike and Shrewesburie, the lord Strange, and other lords and gentlemen, some for feare, and some for loue, and some onelie to gaze at the wauering world, went to the Tower, and from thense brought king Henrie, apparelled in a long gowne of blew veluet, through London to the church of saint Paule ; the people on euerie side the streets reioising and crieng, " God saue the king ! " as though ech thing had succeeded as they would haue had it : and, when he had offered (as kings vse to doo), he was conueied to the bishops palace, where he kept his household like a king.

When king Henrie had thus readepted and eftsoons gotten his regall power and authoritie, he called his high court of parlement, to begin the six and twentith day of Nouember, at Westminster ; in the which king Edward was adiudged a traitor to the countrie, and an vsurper of the realme. *His goods were confiscat and forfeited.*

Moreouer, . . . the crownes of the realmes of England and France were by authoritie of the same parlement intailed to king Henrie the sixt, and to his heiress male ; and, for default of such heires, to remaine to George duke of Clarence, & to his heires male : and, further, the said duke was inabled to be next heire to his father Richard duke of Yorke, and to take from him all his landes and dignities, as though he had beene his eldest sonne at the time of his death.

13. When queene Margaret vnderstood by hir husbands letters, that the victorie was gotten by their freends, she with hir sonne prince Edward and hir traine entered their ships, to take their voiage into England : but the winter was so sharpe, the weather so stormie, and the wind so contrarie, that she was faine to take land againe, and to deferre hir oiurnie till another season.

Jasper earle of Penbroke went into Wales, to visit his lands in Penbrokeshire, where he found lord Henrie, sonne to his brother Edmund earle of Richmond, hauing not full ten yeares of age ; he being kept in maner like a captiue, but honorablie brought vp by the ladie Herbert, late wife to William earle of Penbroke, . . .

The earle of Penbroke tooke this child, being his nephue, out of the custodie of the ladie Herbert, and at his returne brought the child with him to London to king Henrie the sixt ; whome when the king had a good while beheld, he said to such princes as were with him : " Lo, suerlie this is " he, to whom both we and our aduersaries, leauing the possession of all things, shall hereafter " giue roome and place." So this holie man shewed before the chance that should happen, that this earle Henrie, so ordeined by God, should in time to come (as he did indeed) haue and inioy the kingdome and whole rule of this realme of England.

[Pembroke] was conueied to Tinbie, where he got ships, and with his nephue, the lord Henrie earle of Richmond, sailed into Britaine, where, of the duke, they were courteouslie interteined ; with assurance made, that no creature should doo them anie wrong or iniurie within his dominions.

[The Duke of Burgundy] would not consent openlie to aid king Edward ; but yet secretlie vnder hand by others he lent vnto him fiftie thousand florens of the crosse of S. Andrew, and further caused foure great ships to be appointed for him in the hauen of de Veere, otherwise called Camphire in Zeland, which in those daies was free for all men to come vnto, and the duke hired for him fourteene ships of the Easterlings well appointed, & for the more suretie tooke a bond of them to serue him trulie, till he were landed in England, and fifteene daies after.

14. Kyng Edward, without any wordes spoken to hym, cam peaceably nere to Yorke of whose commynge, when the citiezens wer certefied, without delay they armed themselfe, and came to defend the gates ; sendyng to hym two of the chiefest Aldermen of the citie, whych ernestly admonished hym on their behalfe to come not one foote nerar, nor temeariouslye to enter in to so great ieopardy ; consideringe that they were fully determined and bent to compell hym to retract with dent of swourd. King Edward . . . determined to set forward neither with army nor with weapon, but with lowly wordes & gentel entreatynges ; requyryng moste hartely the messengers that were sent to declare to the citizens that he came neither to demaund the realme of England, nor the superiorities of the same, but onely the duchie of Yorke, his olde enheritance ; the which duchie, if he might by their meanes readept and recouer, he would neuer let passe out

of hys memorie so great a benifite, and so frendly a gratuitie to hym exhibited. And so with fayre wordes and flatterynge speche he dismissed the messengers, and with good spede he and his folowed so quickly after that they were almost at ye gates as sone as the Ambassadors. The citezens, heryng his good answere, that he ment nor entended nothynge preiudiciall to kynge Henry nor his royall authoritie, were much mitigated & cooled, & began to commen with him from their walles, willyng him to conuey hym self into some other place without delay, which if he did they assured hym that he should haue neither hurte nor damage; but he, gently speakyng to all men, and especially to suche as were Aldermen, (whome he called worshipfull, and by their proper names them saluted,) after many fayre promises to them made, exhorted & desyred them that by their fauourable frendshyp & frendly permission he might enter into his awne towne, of the which he had both his name and title. All the whole daye was consumed in doubtful communication & ernest interlocution. The citiezens, partely wonne by hys fayre wordes, & partly by hope of hys large promises, fell to this pact & conuencion, that, yf kyng Edward woulde swere to entertayne his citiezens of Yorke after a gentell sorte & fashyon, and here after to be obedient and faythfull to all kyng Henryes commaundementes and preceptes, that then they woulde receyue hym in to their citie, & ayde and comfort hym with money. . . . When kyng Edward had appesed the citiezens, and that their fury was past, he entred in to the citie, & clerely forgettinge his othe, he first set a garrison of souldiers in the towne, to the entent that nothyng should be moued agaynst hym by the citezens, & after he gathered a great host, by reason of his money.

There came to him sir Thomas Burgh, & sir Thomas Montgomerie, with their aids; which caused him at their first comming to make proclamation in his owne name, to wit, of K. Edward the fourth: boldlie affirming to him, that they would serue no man but a king.

[When] the duke of Somerset, and other of kynge Henryes frendes, saw the world thus sodaynly chaunged, euery man fled, and in haste shifted for hym selfe, leuinge kyng Henry alone, as an hoste that shoulde be sacrificed, in the Bishops palace of London adioyninge to Poules churche; not knowyng of whom, nor what, counsayll to aske, as he which wyth troble and aduersitie was clerely dulled and appalled: in whych place he was by kyng Edward taken, and agayne committed to prison and captiuitie.

15. [Edward] auaunced hys power toward Couentre, & in a playn by the citie he pytched his felde. And the next daye after that he came thither, hys men were set forwarde, and marshalled in array, & he valiantly bad the erle battayle: which mistrustyng that he should be deceaued by the duke of Clarence (as he was in dede) lept hym selfe close within the Walles.

[After Clarence had been reconciled to Edward,] was it concluded emongest the iii. brethren to attempt therle of Warwicke, if by any fayr meanes he might be reconciled or by any promise allured to their parte. To whom the duke of Clarence sent diuers of hys secrete frendes, first to excuse him of the act that he had done, secondarely to require him to take some good ende now, while he might, with kyng Edward.

When the erle had hard paciently the dukes message, lorde, how he detested & accursed him! crienge out to him that he, contrary to his oth, promise, & fidelitie, had shamefully turned hys face from his confederates & alies. But to the dukes messengers he gaue none other answere but thys: that he had leuer be alwayes lyke him selfe then lyke a false and a *periured* duke; and that he was fully determined neuer to leue war, tyll eyther he had lost hys owne naturall lyfe, or vtterly extinguished & put vnder hys foes and enemies.

[Warwick sent hastily] for the duke of Clarence to ioyne with hym; which had conscribed & assembled together a great host about London. But when he perceiued that the duke lyngered, & dyd al thinges negligently, as though he were in doubt of warre or peace, he then began somwhat to suspect that the Duke was of hys bretherne corrupted & lately chaunged; . . . yet he had perfect worde that the duke of Clarence came forward toward hym with a great army. Kyng Edward, beynge also therof enformed, raysed his campe, & made toward ye duke. . . . When eche host was in sight of other, Rychard duke of Gloucester, brother to them both, as though he had bene made arbiter betwene them, fyrst rode to the duke, and with hym commoned very secretly: from hym he came to kyng Edward, and with lyke secretnes so vsed hym that in conclusion no vnnaturall warre, but a fraternall amitie, was concluded and proclaymed; and then, leuyng all armye and weapon a syde, both the bretherne louyngly embraced, and familierly commoned together.

16. Kyng Edward, thus beyng [by Clarence's alliance,] furnished of a strong hoste, went without any maner of diffidence or mistrust toward London. Therle of Warwycke, pondering that the gain of the whole battail stode in makyng hast, with al diligence followed his enemies; hopynge (that yf they wer neuer let so lytle with any stop or tariyng by ye waye) to fight with them before thei should come to London. . . . [After resting awhile at St. Albans] he remoued to a village in the meane waye between London & saynct Albones, called Barnet, beyng tenne myle distaunt from bothe the tounes.

[Towards the close of the battle of Barnet, Warwick,] beyng a manne of a mynde inuincible, rushed into the middest of his enemies, whereas he (auentured so farre from his awne compaignie, to kill & sley his aduersaries, that he could not be rescued) was, in the middes of his enemies, striken doune & slain. The marques Montacute, thynkynge to succor his brother whiche he sawe was in great ieoperdy, & yet in hope to obtein the victory, was likewise ouerthrowen and slain.

17. [Queen Margaret, having heard of Edward's return,] gathered together no small compaignie of hardy and valiaunt souldiours, determined with all haste and diligence, with Prince Edwarde her sonne, to saile into Englande; but yet once again (suche was her destinie) beyng letted for lacke of prosperous wynde, & encombered with to[o] muche rigorous tempeste, "a daie after "the faire," (as the common prouerbe saieth,) landed at the Port of Weymouth, in Dorsetshire.

[When news of Barnet field came,] she, like a woman al dismaied for feare, fell to the ground, her harte was perced with sorowe, her speache was in maner passed, all her spirites were tormented with Malencoly.

Iohn earle of Oxford, which after Barnet field both manfullie and valiantlie kept saint Michaels mount in Cornewall, either for lacke of aid, or persuaded by his friends, gaue vp the mount, and yeelded himselfe to king Edward (his life onelie saued), which to him was granted. But, to be out of all doubtfull imaginations, king Edward also sent him ouer the sea to the castell of Hammes, where, by the space of twelue yeeres, hee was in strong prison shut vp and warilie looked to.

18. [On May 6, 1471,] was Edmond duke of Somerset . . . behedded in the market-place at Tewkesbury.

After the field was ended, proclamation was made, that whosoeuer could bring foorth prince Edward aliue or dead, should haue an annutie of a hundred pounds during his life, and the princes life to be saued, if he were brought foorth aliue. Sir Richard Crofts [the Prince's captor], nothing mistrusting the kings promise, brought foorth his prisoner prince Edward, being a faire and well proportioned yoong gentleman; whom when king Edward had well aduised, he demanded of him, how he durst so presumptuouslie enter into his realme with banner displaied?

Wherevnto the prince boldie answered saieng: "To recouer my fathers kingdome & heritage, "from his father and grandfather to him, and from him after him to me, lineallie descended." At which words king Edward said nothing, but with his hand thrust him from him, or (as some saie) stroke him with his gantlet; whom, incontinentlie, George duke of Clarence, Richard duke of Glocester, Thomas Greie marquesse Dorcet, and William lord Hastings, that stood by, suddenlie murthered: . . .

19. [Henry died on May 21 or 22, 1471. He was] in the Tower spoiled of his life, by Richard duke of Glocester, (as the constant fame ran,) who (to the intent that his brother king Edward might reigne in more suertie) murthered the said king Henrie with a dagger.

APPENDIX II.

Richard, Duke of York nominated next heir to Henry VI.[1]

" On halmesse evyn, abowt thre after noyne, comyn into the Comowne Howus, the Lordys spiritual and temporal, excepte the Kyng, the Duk of York, and hys sonys ; And the Chawnceler reherset the debate had bytwyn owre soveren Lord the Kyng and the Duk of York upon the tytelys of Inglong, Fraunce, and the Lordschep of Erlond, wyche mater was debat, arguet, and disputet by the seyd lordes spiritual and temporal byfore owre soveren Lord and the Duk of York longe and diverse tymys. And at the last, by gret avyce and deliberacion, and by the assent of owre soveryn Lord and the Duke of York, and alle the lordes spiritual and temporal ther assemelyd by vertu of thys present parlement, assentyt, agreyt, and acordyt, that owre sovereyne Lord the Kyng schal pessabylly and quyetly rejoys and possesse the crowne of Inglond and of Fraunce and the Lordchip of Irlond, with al hys preemynences, prerogatyves, and liberteys duryng hys lyf. And that after hys desese the coroun, etc. schal remayne to Rychard Duk of York, as rythe inheryt to hym, and to hys issue, prayng and desyring ther the comownes of Inglond, be vertu of thys present parlement assemylet, to comyne the seyd mater, and to gyff therto her assent. The wyche comyns, after the mater debatet, comynt, grawntyt, and assentyt to the forseyd premisses. And ferthermore was granted and assentyt, that the seyd Duk of York, the Erl of March, and of Rutlond, schul be sworne that they schuld not compas ne conspyrene the kynges deth ne hys hurt duryng hys lyf. Ferthermore the forseyd Duk schulde he had, take, and reportyt as eyr apparent prince and ryth inheryter to the crowne aboveseyd. Ferthermore for to be had and take tresoun to ymagyne or compas the deth or the hurt of the seyd Duk, wythe othye prerogatyves as long to the prince and eyr parawnt. And fferthermore the seyd Duk and hys sonys schul have of the Kyng yerly x.Ml., marces, that is to sey, to hemself v.Ml., to the Erl of Marche iijMl., the Erl of Rutlond ijMl. marces. And alle these mateyrs agreyd, assentyt, and inactyt by the auctorite of thys present parlement. And ferthermore, the statutes mad in the tyme of Kyng Herry the fowrth, wherby the croune was curtaylet to hys issu male, utterly anullyd and evertyth, wyth alle other statutes and grantys mad by the seyd Kynges days, Kyng Herry the V. and Kyng Herry the vj^{te}, in the infforsyng of the tytel of Kyng Herry the fourth in general." Rot. Harl. C. 7, Membr. 4, dorso.

1. Warkworth's *Chronicle*, Ed. by Halliwell [Camden Society].

APPENDIX III.

Queen Margaret's Proclamation for Musters.[1]

" *Jhesus. Maria. Johannes.*

. . . the most nobylle and Crysten prynce, oure most dradde soverayne Lorde Kynge Hary the syxte, verrey true undoutyde Kynge of Englonde and of Fraunce, nowe beynge in the hondys of hys rebellys and gret en[e]my, Edwarde, late the Erl of Marche, usurper, oppressour, and distroyer of oure seyed Soverayn Lorde, and of the nobylle blode of the reme of Englonde, and of the trewe commenes of the same, by hys myschevus and inordinate newe founden lawes and ordenaunces inconveniant, to the uttyrmoste destruccion of the goode commenes of the seyde reme of Englonde ; yf yt so schulde contenne ffor the reformacion wherof, in especialle for the comenwelle of alle the seyde reme, the rygt hyghe and mygty Prynce George Duke [of] Clarens, Jasper Erl of Penbroke, Richarde Erl of Warewyke, and Johnne Erl of Oxenforde, as verrey and trewe feygtfulle cosyns, subgettes, and liege men to oure seyde soveraine Lord Kynge Harry the syxt, by sufficiante autorite commysyd unto theme in thys behalfe, be the hole voyse and assent of the moste nobylle pryncesse Margaret, Quene of Englonde, and the Rygt Hyge and mygty Prynce Edwarde, atte thys tyme beyng Quene, into thys reme to putte theme in ther moste uttermoste devers to dylyver oure seyd Sopheraine Lord oute of hys grete captivite, and daungere of hys enmyes, unto hys liberte, and by the grace of Gode to rest hym in his rialle estate, and crowne of thys hys seyd reme of Englond, and reforme . . . and amende alle the grete myschevus oppressions, and alle odyr inordinate abusions, nowe raynynge in the seyd reme, to the perpetualle pese, prosperyte, to the comene welfare of thys reme. Also ytt ys fully concludyd and grauntyde that alle mail men within the reme of Englonde, of whatt estat, degre, condicion that they be of, be fully pardonede of alle maner tresoun or trespace imagenyd or done, in eny maner of wyse contrary to ther legeyns, agayne oure soveraine Lorde the Kynge, the Quene, and my Lorde the prynce, before the day of comynge and entre of the sayde Duke and Erles in thys sayde reme ; so that they putte them in ther uttermost dever, and att thys tyme drawe them to the compeny of the seyde Duke and Erles, to helpe and to fortefy theme in ther purpose and jorney ; excepte suche persons as be capitalle enmyes to oure seyde soferaine Lorde, withowte punyschement of the whyche god pece and prosperite of thys reme cannatte he had ; and excepte alle suche as atte thys tyme make any rescistens ageyns the seyde Duke and Erlys, or eny of theme, or of ther compeny. Also the sayde Duke and Erlys, in the name and behalfe of oure seyde soferaine Lorde Kynge Harry the syxt, chargyne and commawndyne that alle maner of men, that be betwen xvj. yeres and lx^{ti}., incontinently and immediatly aftyr thys proclamacion made, be redy, in ther best aray defensabell, to attende and awayte upponne the sayde Duke and Erlys, to aschyst theme in ther jorney, to the entente afore rehercyd, upponne payne of dethe and forfiture of alle that they [may forfeyte], withinne the reme of Englond ; excepte suche persons as be visette with syknesse, or with suche noune poure that they may not go."

1. Warkworth's *Chronicle*, Ed. by Halliwell [Camden Society].

APPENDIX IV.

Extract from the Act of Attainder of the 1st. Edward IV., passed against the Lancastrians who had taken part in the second Battle of St. Alban's, the Battle of Wakefield, and the Battle of Towton.—*Rot. Parl.* I Edward IV. (A.D. 1461), vol. v. p. 476, 477, and 478.[1]

" For asmoche as Henry, late Kyng Henry the sixt, ayenst the honoure and trouth that owe to be stablisshed in every Christen Prynce, dissimilyng with the right noble and famous Prynce Richard Duc of York, to whome it lyked at the grete and speciall instaunce of the same Henry, and of the Lordes Spuelx and Temporelx, and Commyns of the Reame of Englond, solempnely to hym made, and for the tender and and naturall zele and affection that he bare unto the commyn wele, good pollitique, and restful governaunce therof, to take his viage from the Cite of London, toward the North parties of the seid Reame, to represse, subdue and resist the unleefull and inordynat commotion and riotte there bigonne, to the subversion of the seid Cōen wele, politique and restfull governaunce : Natheles procured, stered and excited, ayenst his promisse, and the forme of the Convention and Concorde made bitwene hem of and uppon the right and title of the seid Coroune, roiall power, dignite, estate, preemynence and possession of the seid Reame, the murdre of the same Duc. And where the seid Henry Usurpour, dissimilyng the destruction of other lordes and persones of the same reame, by his writts, called to assist hym to attend uppon his persone, to resiste and represse another commocion of people, by his assent and wille gadered, and waged not oonly in the North parties, but also oute of Scotlond, commyng from the same parties with Margarete late called Quene of Englond, and hir son Edward, late called Prynce of Wales, extendyng to the extreme destruction of the seid Reame, namely of the South parties thereof, wherof experience sheweth the clerenes, respect had to the spoile by theym of Godds chirch, of Chalesses, Crosses of sylver, Boxes for the Sacrament, and other onourments longyng therunto, of defoulyng and ravisshing religious wymmen, wedowes and maydens, of unmanly and abhomynable entretyng of wymmen beyng in the naturall labour and bataille of travailyng of child, by the moyne therof piteously disperaged, Heven sorowyng the lost therby of the Soules that shuld have been of the felauship of Cristendom and of the blisse of Heven, not abhorryng of unmanly, unnaturall and beestly cruelte to drawe wymmen beyng in childebedde from their bedds naked, and to spoile hem of all her goods, a piteous desolacion. The same Henry, actour, factour and provoker of the seid commocion, and assentyng of covyne with the seid Margarete, Henry Duc of Somerset, and Henry late Erle of Northumberlond, in a battaille to be shewed unto hym, and offered of fraudulent dissimilacion, in a feld beside the toune of Seint Albones, the xvii day of Feverer last past, not joynyng his persone and blode to the defence, tuition and salvacion of the same Lordes and persones commen to assist hym by his auctorite and commaundement, lyke a victorious and a noble captayne, but lyke a disseyvable coward, ayenst princely and knyghtly duetee, sodenly, privately and shamefully refused theym, sufferyng and procuryng to disseivably th'effucion of their blode, and horrible murdre and deth, not havyng therof sorowe, pitee or compassion ; adheryng to the seid Margaret, and to the seid Duc of Somerset, and other Lordes and persones that committed the seid orrible and cruell murdre of the seid Duc of York, and of the Erles of Rutlond and Salesbury, and also of the seid people, in the seid felde beside the seid toune of Seint Albones, yevyng therfor to the seid Duc and other assistyng theym therin, a speciall laude and thank ; from thensforth appliyng to theym and to their outrageous and unlawfull riotts and misgovernaunce ; after that sufferying wilfully thoo worthy and good Knyghtes, William Lord Bonvile, and Sir Thomas Kiryell, for the prowesse of knyghthode approved in their persones called to the order of the Garter, and William Gower Squier, the Berer of oon of his Baners, whom to he made feith and assurans under Kynges word, procedyng from his mouth, to kepe and defend theym there from all hurt, joupardie and perell, to be murdred, and after that tyrannyously heded, with grete violence, withoute processe of lawe or any pitee, contrary to his seid feith and promysse, abhomynable in the heryng of all Christen Prynces. For asmoch also as Henry Duc of Somerset, purposyng, ymaginyng and compassyng, of extreme and insaciate malice and violence, to destroy the right noble and famous Prynce of wurthy memorie, Richard late Duc of York, fader to oure Liege and Soverayne Lord Kyng Edward the fourth, and in his lyf verrey Kyng in right of the reame of Englond, singuler protectour lover and defensour of the good governaunce, pollicie, commyn wele, peas and tranquillite therof ; and also Thomas Courteney late Erle of Devonshire, Henry Erle of Northumberlond, Thomas Lord Roos, John late Lord Nevill, John Whelpdale late of Lychefeld, Clerk, Philip Lowes late of Thouresby in the counte of Lincoln Clerk, Bawdewyn Fulforth Knyght, Alexander Hody Knyght, Nicholas Latymer Knyght, James Loterell Knyght, Edmund Mountford Kynght, Thomas

1. Brooke's *Visits to Fields of Battle, in England, of the fifteenth century.*

Fyndern Knyght, Henry Lewes Knyght, John Heron of the Forde Knyght, Richard Tunstall Knyght, Henry Belyngeham Knyght, Robert Whityngham Knyght, William Grymmesby late of London late Squier, Thomas Tunstall late of Thurland in the shire of Lancastr' Squier, Symond Hammes Knyght, Thomas Dalton late of Lilbourne in the counte of Northumberlond Gentilman, James Dalton late of the same Gentilman, George Dalton late of the same Gentilman, John Clapam late of Skipton in Craven in Yorkshire Yoman, Andrew Trollop late of Guysnes Squier, Antony Noteill Knyght, John Botiller late of Howke in the counte of Dorset Squier, Gawen Lampleugh late of Warkeworth in the shire of Northumberlond, Gentilman, Edmund Fyssh late of York Taylleour, Thomas Frysell late of the same Smyth, John Smothyng late of the same Yoman, John Caterall late of Brayton in the counte of York Gentilman, Thomas Barton late of Helmesley in the counte of York Gentilman, William Fyppes late of Southduffeld in the counte of York Yoman, Henry Clyff th' elder late of Lokyngton in the counte of York Yoman, Robert Tomlynson late of Helagh in the counte of York Yoman, and Thomas Barton late of York Mason ; at Wakefield in the shire of York, on Tywesday the xxx day of Decembr' last past, with grete despite and cruell violence, horrible and unmanly tyrannye, murdred the seid right noble Prynce Duc of York. And where also Henry Duc of Excestr', Henry Duc of Somerset, Thomas Courteney late Erle of Devonshire, Henry late Erle of Northumberlond, William Vicecount Beaumont, Thomas Lord Roos, John late Lord Clyfford, Leo late Lord Welles, John late Lord Nevill, Thomas Gray Knyght Lord Rugemond Gray, Randolf late Lord Dacre, Humfrey Dacre Knyght, John Morton late Person of Blokesworth in the shire of Dorset Clerk, Rauff Makerell late Person of Ryseby in the shire of Suff' Clerk, Thomas Mannyng late of New Wyndesore in Berkshire Clerk, John Whelpdale late of Lychefeld in the counte of Stafford Clerk, John Nayler late of London Squier, John Preston late Wakefield in the shire of York Preest, Philip Wentworth Knyght, John Fortescu Knyght, William Tailboys Knyght, Edmund Mountford Knyght, Thomas Tresham Knyght, William Vaux Knyght, Edmund Hampden Knyght, Thomas Fyndern Knyght, John Courteney Knyght, Henry Lewes Knyght, Nicholas Latymer Knyght, Waltier Nuthill late of Ryston in Holdernes in the shire of York Squier, John Heron of the Forde Knyght, Richard Tunstall Knyght, Henry Belyngeham Knyght, Robert Whityngham Knyght, John Ormond otherwise called John Botillier Knyght, William Mille Knyght, Symonde Hammes Knyght, William Holand Knyght called the Bastard of Excestr', William Josep' late of London Squier, Everard Dykby late of Stokedry in the shire of Ruthlond Squier, John Myrfyn late of Suthwerk in the shire of Surr' Squier, Thomas Philip late of Dertyngton in Devonshire Squier, Thomas Brampton late of Guysnes Squier, Giles Seyntlowe late of London Squier, Thomas Claymond, the seid Thomas Tunstall Squier, Thomas Crawford late of Caleys Squier, John Aldeley late of Guysnes Squyer, John Lenche of Wyche in the shire of Worcestre Squier, Thomas Ormond otherwise called Thomas Botillier Knyght, Robert Bellyngeham late of Burnalshede in the shire of Westmerlond Squier, Thomas Everyngham late of Newhall in the shire of Leycestr' Knyght, John Penycok late of Waybrigge in the counte of Surr' Squier, William Grymmesby late of Grymmesby in the shire of Lincoln' Squier, Henry Ross late of Rokyngham in the shire of Northampton Knyght, Thomas Danyell late of Rysyng in the shire of Norff' Squier, John Doubiggyng late of the same Gentilman, Richard Kirkeby late of Kirkeby Ireleth in the shire of Lancastr' Gentilman, William Ackeworth late of Luton in the shire of Bed' Squier, William Weynsford late of London Squier, Richard Stucley late of Lambehith in the counte of Surr' Squier, Thomas Stanley late of Carlile Gentilman, Thomas Litley late of London Grocer, John Maydenwell late of Kirton in Lyndesey in the counte of Lincoln Gentilman, Edward Ellesmere late of London Squier, John Dauson late of Westmynster in the shire of Midd' Yoman, Henry Spencer late of the same Yoman, John Smothyng late of York Yoman, John Beaumont late of Goodby in the shire of Leyc' Gentilman, Henry Beaumont late of the same Gentilman, Roger Wharton otherwise called Roger of the Halle, late of Burgh in the shire of Westmerlond Grome, John Joskyn late of Branghing in the shire of Hertf' Squier, Richard Litestr' the yonger late of Wakefield Yoman, Thomas Carr late of Westmynster Yoman, Robert Bollyng late of Bollyng in the shire of York Gentilman, Robert Hatecale late of Barleburgh in the same shire Yoman, Richard Everyngham late of Pontfreyt in the same shire Squier, Richard Fulnaby of Fulnaby in the shire of Lincoln Gentilman, Laurance Hille late of Moch Wycombe in the counte of Buk' Yoman, Rauff Chernok late of Thorley in the counte of Lancastr' Gentilman, Richard Gaitford of Estretford in Cley in the shire of Notyngh' Gentilman, John Chapman late of Wymbourne Mynster in Dorset shire Yoman, and Richard Cokerell late of York Marchaunt ; on Sonday called comynly Palme Sonday, the xxix day of Marche, the first yere of his reigne, in a feld bitwene the townes of Shirbourne in Elmett, and Tadcastr' in the seid Shire of York, called Saxtonfeld and Tawtonfeeld, in the shire of York, accompanyed with the Frensshmen and Scotts, the Kynges Ennemyes, falsely and traiterously ayenst their feith and liegeaunce, there rered werre ayenst the same Kyng Edward, their rightwise, true, and naturall liege Lord, purposyng there and then to have distroyed hym, and deposed hym of his roiall estate, coroune and dignite ; and then and there, to that entent, falsely and traiterously moved bataille ayenst his seid astate, shedyng therein the blode of a grete nombre of his subgetts : In the which bataille, it pleased Almyghty

God to yeve unto hym, of the mysterie of his myght and grace, the victorie of his ennemyes and rebelles, and to subdue and avoyde th' effect of their fals and traiterous purpose. And where also the seid Henry, late called Kyng Henry the Sixt, Margarete his wyf, late called Quene of Englond, and Edward her Son, late called Prynce of Wales, and also Henry Duc of Excestre, Henry Duc of Somerset, Thomas Lord Roos, Thomas Grey Knyght Lord Rugemond Gray, in the fest of Seint Marc Evangelist last past, purposyng and ymaginyng the destruction of oure seid Soverayne Lord Kyng Edward, to depose hym of his roiall astate and dignite, procured of James Kyng of Scotts, and of his subgetts, then ennemyes of our seid Soverayne Lord, their eyde, assistence and armed power, to entre uppon the same oure Soverayne Lord into his seid reame, to put hym from the reigne thereof, and to distroy hym ; and to that entent, convened with the same James Kyng of Scotts, and ayeinst their feith and liegeaunce, delyvered to hym to his possession and obeisaunce, in the seid Fest, the toune and castell of Berwyk, of ourse seid liege Lordes, then beyng their rightwisse, true, and naturall liege Lord, to that ende and effect, that the seid Kyng of Scotts soo than possessed of the seid toune and castell, the key of the Estmarches of Englond, shuld therby have entre, to execute the unjust, untrue, and malicious purpose and entent of the same Henry, Margaret and Edward. And for asmoch also as the seid Margarete, and also Henry Duc of Excestr' Henry Duc of Somerset, Jasper Erle of Pembroke, James late Erle of Wilteshire, Robert Lord Hungerford, Thomas Mannyng Clerk, John Lax, late Parsoune of Walton in the shire of Somerset Clerk, Henry Lewes Knyght, Robert Whitynghamm Knyght, John Ormond otherwise called John Botillier Knyght, Frere Robert Gasley, of the ordre of the Freres Prechours, and Thomas Cornewayle Squier, have ayenst their feith and liegeaunce, dyvers tymes sith the fourth day of Marche last past, stured laboured and provoked the ennemyes of oure seid soverayne Lord Kyng Edward the Fourth, of outeward landes, to entre into his seid reame with grete bataillé, to rere werre ayenst his astate within this seid reame, to conquere the same from his possession and obeysaunce, to depose hym of roiall astate, corounes and dignitie, and to destroy his moost noble persone and subgetts. And where also the same Margarete, and Edward her son, and also the seid Henry Duc of Excestr', Thomas Grey Lord Rugemonde Grey, Humfrey Dacre Knyght, Edmund Hampden Knyght, Robert Whitynghamm Knyght, Henry Bellyngeham Knyght, and Richard Tunstall Knyght, adheryng to the Scotts, ennemyes of oure seid soverayne Lord Kyng Edward the Fourth, comvened with the same Scotts, procuryng, desiring and wagyng theym to enter into his seid reame, to make there werre ayenst his Roiall Majeste, bringyng the same Scotts and ennemyes to his cite of Carlile, besegyng and envirounyng it, brennyng the subarbes thereof, distroiyng the howses, habitacions and landes of his subgetts nygh therunto, in manere of conquest ; purposyng, ayenst their feith and liegeaunce, to have delyvered the seid cite, the key of the Westmarches of Englond, into the possession and obeysaunce of the seid Kyng of Scotts, and to have spoiled the coroune of Englond therof, as they didde of the seid toune of Berwyk. And over that, where the seid Henry, late called Kyng of Englond the Sixt, and also Thomas Lord Roos, Thomas Gray Lord Rugemond Grey, Humfrey Dacre Knyght, John Fortescu Knyght, William Tailboys Knyght, Edmund Mountford Knyght, Thomas Nevill late of Brauncepath in the Bisshopryke of Durham Clerk, Humfrey Nevill late of the same Squier, and Thomas Elwyke late of Caleys Squier, the xxvi day of Juyne last past, at Ryton and Brauncepath in the Bisshopryke of Durham, with standardes and gyturons unrolled, rered werre ayenst oure seid Lord Kyng Edward, purposying to have deposed hym of his roiall astate, coroune and dignitie, ayenst their feith and liegeaunce. And for asmoch also as Henry Duc of Excestre, Jasper Erle of Pembroke, and Thomas Fitz Herry late of Herford Squier, at a place called Tutehill, besid' the toune of Carnarvan in Wales, on Friday next after the fest of Translacion of Seint Edward last past, rered werre ayenst the same oure soverayne Lord, purposyng then and there to have proceeded to his destruction, of fals and cruell violence, ayenst their feith and liegeaunce."

The act then declares Henry, late called King Henry the Sixth, convicted of high treason, and to forfeit all castles, manors, lordships, lands, &c., &c., parcel of the Duchy of Lancaster ; and the said Margaret, late called Queen of England, convicted of high treason ; and the said Margaret, and also the said Edward her son, disabled from having or enjoying any name of dignity, pre-eminence, &c., &c., ; and declares the said Margaret, and Edward her son, to forfeit all castles, manors, lordships, lands, goods, &c., &c., and also declares the noblemen comprised in it disabled from having or enjoying any name of dignity, pre-eminence, &c., &c., and the noblemen, knights, and other persons comprised in the act, convicted of high treason, and to forfeit all their manors, lordships, lands, possessions, &c., to the King ; except such as were within the liberty of the Bishop of Durham, which were declared forfeited to the Bishop, who claimed them in right of the Cathedral Church of St. Cuthbert of Durham ; within which liberty the Bishops of Durham were alleged to have had immemorially the right to all forfeitures of that description.

APPENDIX V.

Extract from the Act of Attainder of 14th Edward IV. passed against some of the Lancastrians who had taken part in the Battles of Barnet, Tewkesbury, &c.—*Rot. Parl.* 14th Edward IV. (A.D. 1475), vol. vi. fos. 144, 145, 146.[1]

" And also where John Veer late Erl of Oxford, late of Wyvenho in the counte of Essex Knyght, George Veer, late of the same toune Knyght, Thomas Veer late of the same toune Knyght, Robert Harlyston, late of Shymplyng in the counte of Suffolk Squyer, William Godmanston, late of Bromle in the counte of Essex, Squyer, John Durraunt, late of Colleweston in the counte of Northampton Yoman, and Robert Gybbon, late of Wyngfeld in the counte of Suffolk Squyer, in the solempne and high fest of Ester Day, the which was the xiiiith day of Aprill, the xith yere of the reigne of our said sovereigne liege Lord, at Barnet in the counte of Hertford, and there and thenne togider assembled theym, with grete multitude of his innaturall subgiettes, rebelles and traytours, felonsle falsle and traiterousle, levied werre agayns Kyng Edward the IIIIth, their naturall liege Lord, his roiall persone then and there beyng, and his baner displayed, entendyng traiterousle then and there the fynall distruction of his said moost roiall persone, purposyng to have distroyd' hym, and deposed hym of his roiall astate, corone, and dignitee, and there and then falsle and traiterousle made and reared werre agayns his astate, sheddyng there the blode of grete nombre of his subgiettes ; in the which bataill, it pleased Almyghty God to gyf hym victorie of hys annemyes and rebelles, and to subdue the effecte of their fals and traiterous purpose. And also where Thomas Tresham late of Sywell in the counte of Northampton Knyght, John Delves, late of Uttokeshater, in the counte of Stafford Squyer, and Robert Baynton, late of Farleston in the counte of Wilteshire Knyght, with grete nombre of rebelles and traytours, assembled theym the IIIIth day of the moneth of May,the said XIth yere of the reigne of oure said sovereigne Lord, at Tewkesbury in the counte of Gloucestr', and there and then felonsle falsle and traiterousle levied werre agayns Kyng Edward the IIIIth, their naturall liege Lord, his roiall persone then and there beyng, and his baner displaied, entendyng traiterousle then and there the fynall destruction of his said moost roiall persone."

The act then declares the persons comprised in it convicted of high treason, and all their castles, manors, lordships, lands, &c., forfeited to the King, and also declares that they were disabled from having or enjoying any name of dignity, pre-eminence, &c., &c.

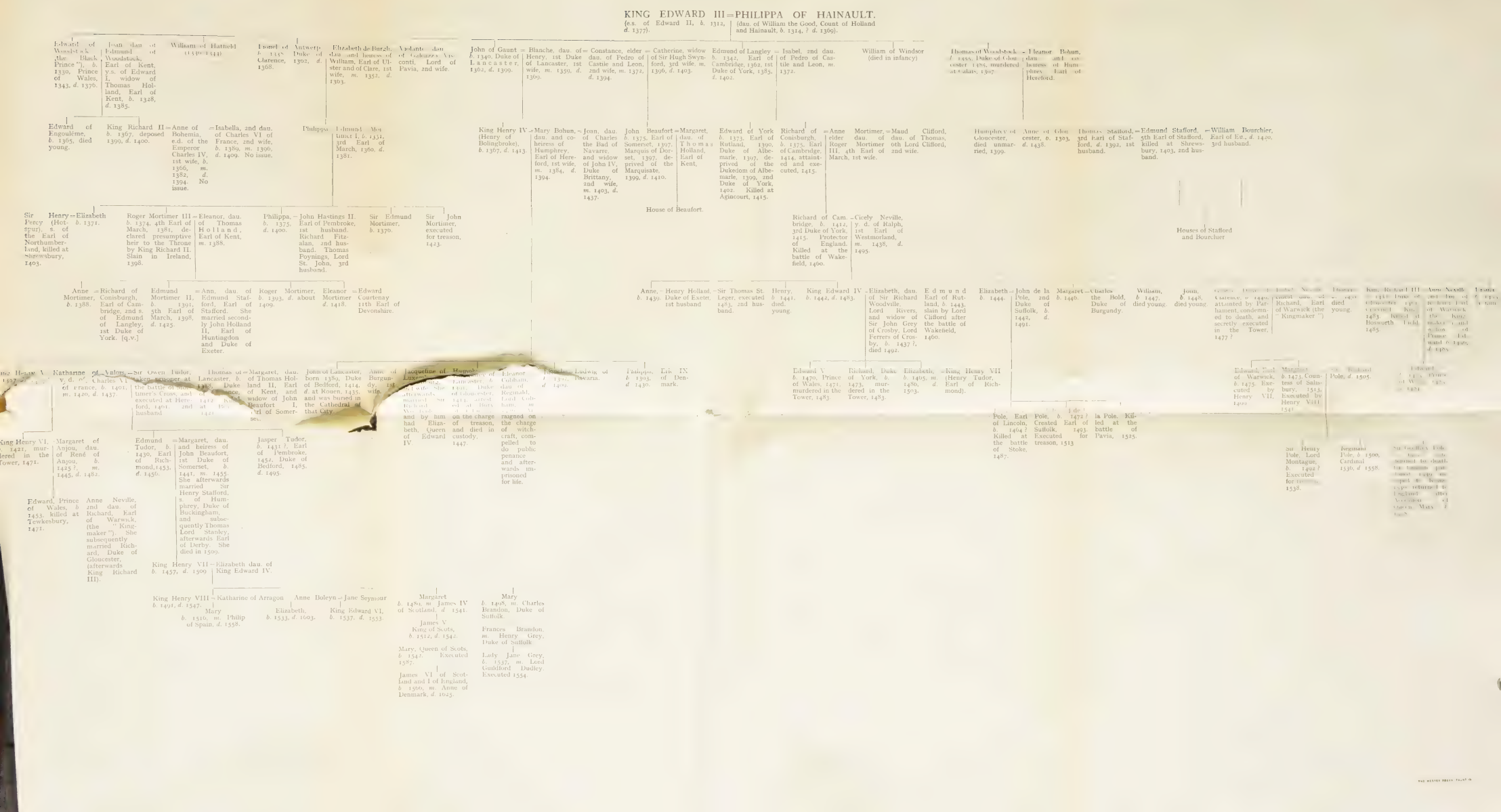
1. Brooke's *Visits to Fields of Battle, in England, of the fifteenth century.*

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15.

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